THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. I.

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Third Edition.

" No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away "—MILTON

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ART. I.—1. *Anglo-India, Social, Moral, and Political; being a collection of papers from the Asiatic Journal.* 3 *vols.* 8*vo.* *London.* 1838.

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NOT very many years have passed away, since even well-informed people in England knew little more about an Anglo-Indian, than that he was very rich—very yellow—and very ill-tempered; that he dwelt in a country where fevers and liver complaints were abundant, where tigers and mosquitoes preyed on the human race, where hookahs were smoked and widows burned, and curry eaten and wealth acquired; that he left England young, healthy and poor, and came back old, decrepit, and rich; that he spent a life of luxurious solitude and wretchedness, and brought home his ill-gotten wealth, to bestow it after a few years of isolation and discontent, upon some distant relative, or compliant friend, who had invested his patience in a profitable market, and borne with the old man's humors to the last. These liver-decayed old Indians were principally useful in bad novels and worse comedies. They appeared, in the third volume or the fourth act, to make a virtuous maiden happy for life, or to disconcert the schemes of some unprincipled nephew, (for it will be observed that in novels and comedies old Indians are always uncles,) to the consummation of poetical justice and the advancement of public morals. Of India itself little more was known, than that Calcutta and Madras were, somehow or other, two of its principal components; that the climate was very hot and very unhealthy; and that the Great Mogul, the hero of the playing cards, was one of its most magnificent potentates.

Whether Madras was in Calcutta, or Calcutta in Madras; or whether they were contiguous cities, like London and Westminster; whether Tippoo Sahib was the Great Mogul, or whether the Great Mogul was one of the Princesses of Oude: all these were questions, which only the very knowing were competent satisfactorily to solve. We have now before us a novel written just a quarter of a century ago—one, too, which enjoyed some popularity in its day—wherein the heroine is said to have proceeded to Madras up the River Hooghly; and another party is described as spending his time between Calcutta and Madras, as though they were as close as London and Hampstead. We quote this as no solitary instance of the amount of knowledge possessed even by book-writers, when we were some few years younger than we are now. It is not to be forgotten that a certain reverend poet, novelist and dramatist, conspicuous less for his talents in either of these capacities, than for his intense admiration of a profligate monarch, commenced his greatest poetical work with the notable line—

'There's glory on thy mountains, proud Bengal!'

Bengal being about as famous for its mountains, as the Pays-Bas; but not more so. We need not multiply examples. Whilst writers, undertaking to instruct the public, manifested this amount of ignorance, it is not surprising that more ordinary people, in the intercourse of daily life, fell into the most egregious blunders;—confounding the three presidencies; conceiving India to be one small integral principality, traversed in a few days; entrusting to a Bengal cadet or writer, letters or parcels for parties at Bombay, with strict injunctions to deliver them in person; enquiring from a returned Bengallee after some denizen of Madras, whom of course he "*must* know"—all these things, we say, were not to be wondered at, even although there were few respectable families in the country, not connected, through some of their members, with our glorious dependencies in the east.

Until within the last ten years, the communication between England and India has been both slow and irregular. The establishment of a line of steam-vessels, reducing the distance by two-thirds, and conveying not only mails but passengers, from India to England in little more than a month—this, following close upon the renewal of the Charter, under which the country was thrown open to adventurers of every class—has increased, in an enormous degree, the amount of passengers and letters despatched to and from India; and by giving a proportionate impetus to the local press, still further multiplied the sources of information thus thrown open to the mother country.

The number of letters, despatched every month, by the Bombay steamers, exceeds thirty thousand; the number of printed papers ten thousand. Many of these letters and papers are delivered in London five weeks after they are despatched; and in little more than two months an answer to a letter sent from Bombay may be received at that place. This rapidity of communication, coupled with its certainty,* is an extreme provocative to frequent correspondence, not only between parties engaged in business, but between private individuals. In former years a letter was four, five, six, perhaps, seven months on its way. "We are now," wrote Sir James Mackintosh, in 1805, "within five days of six months from the date of our last London papers;" and again in 1811, "seven months from the date of the last London News." If an answer were received within the year, the letter-writer thought himself fortunate. This was disheartening and repelling. Correspondence, even between intimate friends and dear relatives, soon flagged; fell off by degrees; and ere long ceased altogether. Parties in England, or in the interior of India, had no knowledge of the date of a vessel's departure. Hence further delays. A letter was, perhaps, several weeks, lying idle at the General Post-office, or in the *duftur-khana* of a Calcutta agent. After this long rest, it was probably despatched by a vessel, bound for several intermediate ports, and did not reach its destination, until other letters of a more recent date had been received. All this was vexatious, in the highest degree, and as regular correspondence was out of the question, people soon began to meditate on the expediency of abandoning that, which was fraught with so much inconvenience and annoyance. The establishment of a regular Steam Communication between the two countries has remedied all this, and made every Englishman and Englishwoman, in the three presidencies, a periodical letter-writer.

The rapidity and regularity of the communication between the two countries induced, at the same time, a greater desire after Indian News. The number of local journals despatched to England was soon multiplied. A class of publications, unknown before, sprang up, and in a short time acquired a strenuous vitality. Papers were prepared, expressly for the Overland Mail, containing a summary of the month's news, and issued on the morning of Post-day. These were despatched, in large numbers, by Indian residents to their friends at home. The British press soon began to perceive the importance of obtaining the earliest and most correct Indian

* It is very, very rarely that an Overland Mail miscarries; the *Memnon*, Iron Steamer, with the Indian Mails, of July, 1843, was lost near Aden, and few of the boxes were saved; but a similar mischance had not occurred for many years.

intelligence. The leading morning journals secured the services of clever and experienced correspondents at Calcutta and Bombay. These writers despatched their letters, containing an abstract of the month's news, and the most interesting extracts, afforded by the Indian journals, to the care of an agent at Paris, whose business it was to forward the despatches to the coast by a special courier. Thus the French mail was often anticipated by several hours. Second editions were published; and the Indian news, for the time, was even more talked of than the last partisan debate in Parliament, or the state of the poll at a pending election.

It must be admitted, however, that much of the interest, which has lately been attached to the news from India, owes its birth to the important and exciting character of the events, which have been enacted in the romantic countries beyond the Sutlej and the Indus. The history of the English in India, during the last six years, is one of extraordinary interest. The chronicles of the whole world do not furnish a series of more vivid and exciting scenes of picturesque warfare. Contemplating the whole, it is difficult to believe, that we are not poring over some highly wrought narrative of fictitious adventure. "Truth is strange; stranger than fiction." The siege of Herat—Herat, wrested from the grasp of the Persian by the wondrous energy of a young British officer,* who chance-guided to the "gate of India," threw himself into the beleaguered city to revive the failing energies of the besieged, and sustain them unvanquished, until diplomacy had done the rest; the assemblage of the "Army of the Indus;" the magnificent gathering at Ferozepore; the march of the Bengal and Bombay columns of the grand force, through an unknown and dangerous country; the triumphant entry of Shah Soojah into Candahar; the capture of the stronghold of Ghuznee; the preparations made for our reception at Urghundee, where Dost Mahomed, having drawn up his guns in position, was basely deserted by his followers; the flight of the Dost; the pursuit of the chivalrous Outram; the progress to Caubul; the mummeries enacted there; the march to Bameean; the passage of the Hindoo Khoosh; the return of the Bombay Troops; the capture of Khelat; and the death of Mehrab Khan; the lull, the deceitful calm, and then the re-appearance of the Dost, the assemblage of the Oosbegs, and the rising of the

* This had not been long written, when the sad tidings of Eldred Pottinger's early death reached Calcutta. Strange that he should have been the first actor in the Affghan War and the last in the China War; that he should have been the prologue of the one and the epilogue of the other; that he should have defended Herat against the Persians, and that to him should have been entrusted, for conveyance to England the supplementary Chinese treaty. Sad, that he should have escaped all the perils of the war in Affghanistan, to die from the effects of the accursed climate of one of our new Chinese Golgot has.

Kohisthanees; the victory of Bameean; the defeat of Purwundurrah; the last gallant charge of the Ameer, and the surrender, of the single horseman in his dress of goat-skin, at a moment when the pale face of panic was watching despairingly the progress of events. Have we not here the first volume of an exciting romance? It awoke the slumbering interest of the people of England. Peace had girt us around for many a long day; there was "a pin-drop silence;" and the trumpet of war was heard from afar, heard for a time even above the din of sonorous faction. Country gentlemen were seen looking at their maps; and the works of Elphinstone and Burnes were diligently sought after by all the oracles of the Town. Diners-out crammed themselves with forced-meat balls of Affghan history and geography; and members of Parliament learnt just enough to enable them to expose their ignorance to the world.

At the same time, another great drama was being enacted in the far east—one, too, which excited even more interest than the great Central-Asian tragedy. The war with China broke out. This was eminently calculated to excite not only interest, but alarm. People, as they laid down their breakfast cup, and took up the morning paper, to read how Commissioner Linn had outmanœuvred Capt. Elliott, sighed as the thought stole over them, "and there shall be no more *tea*." Of Affghanistan they had known nothing, before England marched an army across the Indus to depose the reigning monarch; and even then they cared little about the matter, except as something to talk about. But China—every body knew that China yielded us our Hyson and Bohea; some that it was famous for roses, pigs and porcelain; and a few had dim notions of ivory toys, preserved ginger, and damask silks. Of the inhabitants, we deemed that the men wore pig-tails, and that the popular admiration for little feet, or the inherent propensities of the Chinese dames to elope from their legitimate guardians, rendered it necessary that the Ladies should be crippled. China and the Chinese had in fact been ever an interesting place and an interesting people; and when the war broke out, it engrossed more of the popular attention in England than the war on the other side of the Indus. The lead was taken, but not kept. The Caubul insurrection, in all its fury, burst over the heads of the British representatives. Suddenly they found themselves girt around with rebellion; fire and slaughter on every side. Then began the second volume of the great Caubul Romance. The rising of the Ghilzies—the march of Sale's force—the attack upon the city—the murder of Sir A. Burnes—the beleaguered cantonments—the blockaded citadel—the gathering of the enemy on the heights—our

spiritless efforts to dislodge them—the deadening effects of cold and starvation—the melancholy vacillation of the Military authorities—the negociations of the Envoy and the insolence of the enemy—the massacre at Charekar—the interview with Mahomed Akbar—the bloody scene which ensued—the march of the defeated army from Caubul; the terrible butchery in the passes; the fall of Ghuznee; and the captivity of our countrywomen in the hands of the "relentless" Affghans—here were events calculated indeed, but too well, to fill the hearts of Englishmen with pity and dismay; and to excite the most painful interest among all classes of the community. Never had the eyes of Great Britain been turned, with such eager and intense expectancy, towards the countries of the east. China, and the jeopardised tea were for a time almost forgotten.

Nor was the interest thus engendered much diminished, when the army of retribution set out on its perilous march to inflict upon the Affghans "the punishment of their crimes." And here begins the third volume of this remarkable romance, opening nobly with the defence of Jullalabad. The interest scarcely flagged for a moment—east and west, exciting scenes were enacted; the gathering of the advance of the new army at Peshawur; the first attempt to throw reinforcements into Jullalabad; the repulse of Brigadier Wild; the arrival of the main body of the new Caubul army; the forcing of the Khyber; the relief of the "Illustrious Garrison;" the no less memorable exploits of the army of Western Affghanistan; the negociations with the enemy; the halt at Jullalabad; the failure of carriage; the repulse, on the other side, of General England; the lost laurels regained; the junction of the two forces to the westward; the simultaneous advance of Pollock and of Nott; the re-capture of Ghuznee; the conflict at Jugdulluck; the triumphant entry into Caubul; the recovery of the prisoners; the destruction of Istaliff; the return of the combined army; the festive gathering at Ferozepore; and, as a last scene of all to end this strange eventful history, the restoration of Dost Mahomed, whom we had risked so much to depose.

Here was enough to excite even apathetic John Bull, at a distance of some thousands of miles. The English journals teemed with particulars of these momentous events; the arrival of the monthly mail was anticipated with painful anxiety; hundreds of families had been plunged into deepest sorrow by the tidings of the terrific massacre in the passes; hundreds presaged, with fear and trembling, similar calamities, when the second army entered Affghanistan. Even Parliament condescended to bestow a passing notice upon the far-enacted drama; and for a time the chief

actors furnished the print-sellers* with subjects, and the Leo-Hunters with red-hot lions. Thousands of copies of the "Narrative" of Lieut. Eyre, and the "Journal" of Lady Sale were sold in a few weeks; and against that "monster" Mahomed Akbar, young ladies lisped vengeance with their rosy lips, and old men mumbled it with their toothless gums. People, who a few years before did not know very distinctly whether Caubul was in South America, or in Central Africa, were to be heard talking familiarly about the Balla Hissar, the Seea Sung, Behmeru, and the Huft-Kotul; and to increase the recondite knowledge of the public, the enterprising proprietor of the Amphitheatre, on the Surrey side of the Thames, gratified the rising generation with a view of the war, which bore as close a resemblance to the actual drama, as the domestic tragedy of Punch and Judy. And when all this was over—when the Governor General had left the Affghans to suffer in peace (*ubi solitudinem faciunt,* PACEM *appellant*) "the punishment of their (quære, *our*) crimes"—when, for certain party-reasons, it had been deemed expedient to drop the subject, in Parliament,—then, just as the Affghan interest was on the descendant, the war in Scinde commenced, and that concluded by the unblushing appropriation of the territory of the Ameers, the revolution in the Punjab broke out; the royal family of Lahore were sent to people Hades; the Seikh sirdars took to slicing one another's throats, and lo! a new excitement was established. The annals of the East have lost nothing, in modern times, of their romantic character; and at such a season as this, even phlegmatic Englishmen can afford to turn their faces to the east. There have been other momentous dramas enacted in Hindostan. The war in the Carnatic was one of these, but it was cotemporaneous with the French Revolution. We had not then a "pin-drop" silence. The clamour of one mighty event drowned the clamour of another, and the most remote fared the worst. But we have now enjoyed nearly thirty years of peace in Europe; and a war even in India has become a *bonne bouche* to the excitement-hunters.

This is not without profit. It is unquestionable, that within the last few years the public knowledge of Indian affairs has greatly increased: but whether this is a temporary, or a permanent advantage, may, we frankly acknowledge, be questioned. For-

* We need scarcely add, that these portraits were, with few exceptions, remarkable failures. The Sketches of the Caubul Captives, said to be from the pencil of Lieut. Eyre, however commendable as works of art, bear no resemblance whatever to the parties indicated. The various prints of the murder of Sir W. McNaghten, of Lady McNaghten in the Passes, &c. &c. are still worse. The pictures represent men and women, but in no other respect do they represent the characters whose names they bear.

tunately, however, we do not rely merely upon the adventitious aid of an exciting period, in India, or the adjacent countries, to render our glorious dependency familiar to the home-staying circle. The opening of the Trade and the liberation of the press had accomplished much, before Central Asia became the vast theatre of war; and these influences will exist, in increasing force, when the Peace which Lord Ellenborough restored to Asia, in a proclamation, and inscribed on a medal, has really begun to spread its branches over the land. Since the annihilation of the Company's monopoly, the annual amount of shipping in the River Hooghly has encreased more than 100 per cent. The number of vessels which arrived at Calcutta, in 1832, was 246; in 1839, it was 516; and it has since gone on gradually increasing. Of the increase of passengers brought by these vessels we do not know the extent. We have no statistics to enable us to record an accurate opinion, and we have no leisure to prepare any. The amount of the British population in India has, however, greatly increased; and in the present day a propensity to visit England, much greater than that which existed in the old times, exists among all classes of the community. Occasionally, we meet an old Indian, who has never set his foot on British soil since he first arrived in India, as a writer or a cadet; but this class of men is becoming rapidly extinct.

Passages to Europe are cheaper than they were, and more rapidly performed. The passenger vessels, too, as regards comfort and accommodation, are of a greatly superior description.—They are, indeed, floating hotels, or boarding houses, where a man must be somewhat enjoyment-proof, if he cannot contrive to enjoy himself. It is true that fruit and fresh-laid eggs and green-peas are denied to him; but he has good meat, excellent poultry, wines of every description, from Champaigne to Sherry; and the best of sauces, a sharp appetite. He cannot play at billiards, it is true, but he can enjoy his rubber of whist —and an enjoyable thing it is, in a snug cuddy, with a glass of mulled wine within reach, on a cold evening, rounding the Cape. What if the floor does form an angle of 45° with the horizon? Such little inconveniences as these soon become a source of amusement. One can put up with a good many discomforts in a place, *where there are no bills.* The immunity from all the cares of business and house-keeping, which the passenger enjoys, is truly delightful. He pays his passage money, before he ascends the side of the vessel; and is kept like a prince for three or four months, without one disturbing thought of the morrow. No wonder that, aided by the fresh bracing air, he soon runs to flesh. Among the amusements of a voyage, *weighing* is not one of the least consider-

able. It is pleasant, especially in a homeward-bound, to watch the gradual advance of the passengers in obesity. Like Voltaire's trees, they grow, because they have nothing else to do. But people rarely know when they are happy, and, except when strong attachments are formed on board—and such attachments are rarely otherwise than deep-rooted and permanent—every body is glad to escape from the vessel. This is not unnatural, though the ship be the finest in the world, and the captain the best fellow possible. Indeed, now-a-days, both ships and captains are unexceptionable. The magnificent passenger-vessels, built by Messrs. Green and Messrs. Wigram, officered as they almost invariably are by gentlemen, leave one nothing to desire. These splendid locomotive boarding-houses are great inducements to the voyage to England. The comfort, the rapidity, and the cheapness of the passage tempt many to undertake it, who, when a ship was five or six months on its way, and an indifferent cabin cost five hundred pounds,* would have prolonged their residence in India, till wealth enabled, or death compelled, the worn-out old Indian to retire finally from the scene of his labors.

The establishment of a regular line of Government Steamers from Bombay, and of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's noble steam-ships, from Calcutta, has encreased still more the home-going tendency; and we not seldom find a hundred passengers embarking, in a single month, on board the *Hindostan* or *Bentinck*. There are other powerful influences to which this tendency may be traced. Not the least of these are the greater liberality of the retiring regulations, now in force in the Company's services; the establishment of sundry retiring and other funds; and the increase of marriages in India, strengthening as it naturally does, through the medium of family connexions, the hold of his country upon the heart of the exile. In former days, when wives were few and native mistresses many, the greater number of residents were tied to India, and had little inducement to quit it. Now, however, wives are many, mistresses few: and whilst the number of illegitimate children is diminishing every year, the lawful offspring of British residents in India is progressively on the increase. The books of that noble institution, the Military Orphan Asylum, show, that whereas in 1810, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children subsisting

* Mr. Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, says, "the Captains of the homeward-bound Indiamen demand eight thousand rupees (£1000) for the passage of a single person, and fifteen thousand for that of a gentleman and his wife." He adds; "One gentleman distinguished for his liberality gave *five thousand guineas* for the accommodation of his wife and family, besides an ample supply of Madeira wine, provisions and delicacies for the table."—This, however, was an extraordinary case even in those days.

on the charity of the Fund, was as *ten* to *eight*; in 1840 there were *forty* legitimate wards to every *eleven* of the other class. In the present day, there is no scarcity of brides; and Merchants' clerks and Ensigns are eligibles. A married man has many inducements to visit his home; his wife's health may require it; his children, perhaps, are sufficiently advanced in years to render it necessary that they should be removed to England for the sake both of physical health and mental culture. The voyage has now no terrors for delicate women or young children. The latter thrive luxuriantly on board-ship; they are the happiest of the happy. They scamper about the deck; pull the ropes; and are great favorites with the sailors. They never slip through the port-holes, and seldom tumble down the hatchways. The sweet little cherub, who sits up aloft, and keeps watch for poor Jack, seems to have one eye at least to watch over these infant passengers. Times have greatly changed, since that excellent man, Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) was twice under the necessity of tearing himself from a wife, to whom he was fondly attached, rather than that she should brave the horrors of the deep, and the dangers of so savage a country as India, by accompanying him to the scene of his labors.

Then an old Indian was a rarity; a young one a greater rarity, in England. Now they are plenty as blackberries. You can scarcely walk into a dining house (provided it be a *good* one) in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square, at seven o'clock, without finding yourself in company with a batch of them. Indian Officers on Furlough—private affairs or sick certificate—swarm about this locality; young men, too, the greater number of them. The race of genuine old Indians is nearly extinct. Few men now pass thirty or forty years in the country without a visit to Great Britain. There may be a few of the ancient flock still to be found looking into the Oriental Club; or sauntering along the streets of Cheltenham. But, ere long, a regular, liver-diseased, parchment-faced, shivering, querulous, rich old Indian, who feels himself when at home as in a foreign land, so strange and distasteful to him are its manners and customs, will have become as rare as a mummy. The complaint of the singularities of old Indians is now dying away. An Indian Officer or Civilian returning to England is very much like the rest of the world. He has brushed up all his old English habits and feelings, once at least before his ultimate retirement. Moreover, thanks to steam communication, and the progress of the public press, if he be an attentive reader of the Indian Journals, he will find himself only a few months behind the London world in his knowledge of public events—impor-

tant or unimportant—a new tariff or a new dancer. Men from India are no longer necessarily old; necessarily yellow; or necessarily rich. If they differ much from other members of society, it is in being a good deal less stiff and somewhat more liberal. A returned Indian once complained pathetically to us that the English were "magnificently selfish." He had been a quarter of a century in the East without once returning to his native land; had he taken a furlough in the interim nothing would have seemed strange to him. Few men neglect this now-a-days. The number of applications for furlough—unless any new war renders it necessary that no leave should be granted to Military Officers—is increasing every year.

We have thus briefly explained the principal circumstances, which whilst they have rendered people in England more familiar with Indian affairs, have extinguished the tribe of genuine old Nabobs; as Gun-powder, the Brandy-bottle, and the Small-pox, have extinguished another more interesting race of Indians. Old Indians are not in these days so much unlike the rest of the world. Neither do they turn up unexpectedly, with mines of wealth, to lavish upon unsuspecting relatives. There is an Indian Army List or Directory in almost every principal street of London; and the Indian Journals are filed in so many, that any one anxious to gain information relative to a brother, an uncle, or a cousin, may ascertain to a nicety all his movements—when he was promoted to this or that rank, when he received this or that appointment, when he obtained six month's leave of absence—or, if he happened not to be in "the Services," when he went through the Insolvent Court. Indeed, by the payment of a guinea a year, for one of the Overland Summaries of the Indian Newspapers, he may have all this interesting intelligence laid on his breakfast-table once a month. An expectant heir, by the aid of a Directory and a monthly Newspaper, may keep himself cognizant of the movements of an antiquated relative, with very little trouble to himself. But, in good truth, antiquated relatives in India are not very much worth looking after. Fortunes are not easily made; and if they are, they are easily spent. Men do not, now-a-days, hoard up wealth for unknown nephews and nieces. Whether they ever did, we think extremely doubtful, in spite of the comedies and the novels of the early part of the present century.

And yet, within the last fifty years, society in India has undergone so many other changes, that perhaps it may have changed in this respect too. It will not be altogether uninteresting to trace a few of the more important changes—to shew what Anglo-Indians were and what they are, when dwelling in their adopted

homes. We do not purpose to comment upon political changes. Our readers are well acquainted with the principal events attending the growth of the British power in the East; they know how a few insignificant factories were in time erected into a great Empire; how a few mercantile clerks, with a scanty guard, became in time the rulers of the land. We shall not meddle with this subject. Our article is devoted to social changes; and what we lose in profundity perhaps we may gain in novelty. We do not wish to be always on the stilts.

If an old Indian resident, of 1770 or 1780, were to arise from the grave, to revisit the scene of his labors, the first thing to strike him would be the magnificent improvement in the appearance of the European portion of the Towns, especially of the capital, Calcutta. It is recorded in the biography of Lord Teignmouth, that when his Lordship (then Mr. Shore) arrived in India, as a young writer on the Bengal establishment, "he found it (the 'city of Calcutta) consisting of houses not two or three of which 'were furnished with venetian blinds or glass windows; solid 'shutters being generally used; and rattans like those used for the 'bottoms of chairs, in lieu of panes, whilst little provision was 'made against the heat of the climate. The town was rendered 'unhealthy by the effluvia of open drains, &c. &c." Whatever may be the state of the drains now-a-days, and in some parts of the town it is bad enough, nothing can be said against the houses. The absence of glass windows, an evil of no trifling magnitude during a great part of the year, when it is of the utmost consequence to exclude the hot air, is almost unknown in the European residences of Calcutta. In Madras, however, a large proportion of the houses are deficient in this essential item of comfort. In Calcutta people shut up their houses; in Madras they throw them open. In the former the chief object is to exclude the wind, the dust, and the glare; in the latter to admit the Madrassee's boast, the delightful *sea-breeze*. We imagine that time has done more to increase the comfort of a residence in an Indian city, than to add to its splendor. Fifty years ago, though the Governor-General was no better housed than his neighbours, there were many fine buildings in Calcutta. A French traveller, who visited India, in 1789-90, says—"The Governor-General of the English 'settlements, east of the Cape of Good Hope, resides at Calcutta. 'As there is no palace yet built for him, he lives in a house on 'the Esplanade opposite the citadel. The house is handsome, 'but by no means equal to what it ought to be for a personage 'of so much importance. Many private individuals in the town 'have houses as good; and if the Governor were disposed to any 'extraordinary luxury, he must curb his inclination for want of

'the necessary accommodation of room. *The house of the Gover-*
'*nor of Pondicherry is much more magnificent.* As we enter the
'town, a very extensive square opens before us, with a large piece
'of water in the middle, for the public use. The pond has a
'grass plot round it, and the whole is enclosed by a wall breast
'high, with a railing on the top. The sides of this enclosure are
'each nearly five hundred yards in length. The square itself is
'composed of magnificent houses, which render Calcutta not
'only *the handsomest town in Asia, but one of the finest in the world.*"*
We must accept the testimony of M. Grandpré with all confidence, for it is the testimony of an enemy. The square of which he writes, known now-a-days as "Tank Square," remains in all its primitive magnificence. Half-a-century has altered it but little, save on one of the four sides, which runs parallel to the river, where erst stood the old fort, now no longer in existence. In its place we have a range of buildings, the Union Bank, the Bonded Ware-house and others. But the present magnificence of the city is not derived from the four sides of this fine square; but from scores of splendid edifices, which have sprung up all round it—edifices, which have earned for Calcutta the high-sounding name of the "City of Palaces." The Government House at Calcutta,† on a moderate calculation, would hold a dozen such palaces as that of the Pondicherry Governor; and leave plenty of room for his Excellency, and all his troops into the bargain. Then there are other public buildings of splendid aspect, a Town Hall, another hall yclept Metcalfe, fine churches, not known in M. Grandpré's time, though Calcutta was then not churchless, and a Theatre somewhat different in every respect, from that of which the French writer set down the record, "Close to the old 'Fort is the Theatre, which does not accord in appearance with 'the general beauty of the town, and in which there are seldom 'dramatic representations for want of performers." This reproach, which never would have been uttered had the French been the original settlers in Calcutta, for their first thought is ever the erection of a theatre and the *garrisoning* thereof (theatrical representations not even being held incompatible with a state of active warfare) cannot be levelled now-a-days against the denizens of the Metropolis. Since M. Grandpré's time another theatre has been built, another theatre destroyed; and the City of Palaces

* *Voyage in the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, undertaken in the years* 1789-90. Translated from the French of L. de Grandpré, an officer in the French army.

† We have a picture now before us in the *Pictorial History of England*—a work of no small merit—purporting to be a view of Calcutta in 1756. It contains both the Government House and the new Fort! The former was erected in 1804, and the earliest work of the latter (Lord Clive's ravelin) in 1770.

now boasts of a new one, with somewhat more actors than patrons.

But the public buildings of Calcutta have not earned for the city the proud title, by which it is so often distinguished. The "Palaces" are the private dwelling-houses. Few cities can boast of so many imposing edifices. "Palaces" they are not—and an English nobleman might think them pig-styes. They are, with few exceptions, according to English notions, indifferent houses—but a number of them congregated within a small space have a very imposing effect. They are white; the atmosphere through which they are seen is peculiarly clear; they are generally of an extensive frontage; often situated in an open space; and if not very fine specimens of architecture, they are helped out with a liberal supply of pillars and porticoes, which are always adjuncts to the picturesque. M. Grandpré said of the houses, which he saw in 1790:—"All the houses in India 'have argamasse roofs; that is to say, are flat with a balustrade 'round them. It is there that the inhabitants in the morning 'and evening take the air. Some are ornamented with a circu-'lar range of pillars on the first story, making a sort of gallery, 'to which they retire when the heat of the day is over." "The 'English houses at Bombay," wrote Mr. Forbes, in his Oriental Memoirs, referring to about the same period, "though neither so 'large nor elegant as those at Calcutta and Madras, were comfort-'able and well furnished; they were built in the European style 'of architecture, as much as the climate would admit of; but lost 'something of that appearance by the addition of verandahs or 'covered piazzas to shade the apartments most exposed to the 'sun; when illuminated and filled with social parties in the 'evening, these verandahs gave the town a very cheerful appear-'ance; but since I left India, the town houses have been almost 'deserted by the English, who reside entirely at their country 'villas; the gentlemen only go to the Fort in the morning to 'transact their business: devoting the evening to domestic plea-'sure, and convivial meetings at their garden house." The same practice was pursued then, as now, at Madras. "The houses," writes the Rev. James Cordener, in his voyage to India, referring to a somewhat later period (1798) "are good, and generally of 'two stories high: but few people live constantly in them; in 'the afternoon they are almost all empty, and the Town looks 'quite deserted. The better sort of inhabitants at Madras may 'be said to live altogether in the country. Every gentleman 'has a villa, at a little distance from the town. The ladies 'seldom approach the Fort; very few of them attend Divine 'Service there on Sunday; and the gentlemen use it only as

'the scene of business; they repair thither after breakfast, and 'return to their villas before dinner. Their conveyances are 'palanquins and carriages. Walking abroad is a thing unknown 'among Europeans."

We are very much in the same condition now in respect of the outward aspect of our houses; but not of the number of them, nor of their internal fittings-up. Good houses have multiplied and are multiplying at the Presidencies; especially at Calcutta, where we have magnificent rows of houses on spots which erst were noisome swamps. "The activity and enterprise of the English," wrote Mr. Tennant, the author of the *Indian Recreations*, from Calcutta in 1796, "is, perhaps, no-'where better displayed, than in the rapid enlargement of 'the town. In the memory of persons still living here, 'the European houses were mean, and comparatively few in 'number. Those of the natives are, in general, still paltry 'huts; but as prospects of gain, or, at least, of employment, 'are always opening in the vicinity of European Society; 'the number of their dwellings has increased in a still greater 'proportion than that of Europeans." "Calcutta," wrote Bishop Middleton, in 1818, "considering that it has risen from two or 'three miserable fishing villages, within 120 years, is probably 'the most surprising place in the world." And in another letter, "Nothing can exceed the beauty of Calcutta, I mean the Euro-'pean part. In every direction, as I look out of the window, I see 'an assemblage of white villas and trees and tanks. The church 'is I think, without exception, the handsomest modern edifice of 'the kind I ever saw."—We are every year improving, too, the indoors' comfort and elegance of our domiciles. We were not very long in discovering that large and lofty rooms, opening into one another with doors and windows in every possible direction, were better adapted to a tropical climate, than the low, close, passage-surrounded apartments, designed, with elaborate ingenuity, for the exclusion of air, which make up our ordinary residences in England. After a time, we came to a due understanding of the value of glass-windows and venetian doors; and having attained every possible contrivance for the mitigation of the severity of the climate, we have betaken ourselves to the work of adorning our dwelling houses, not always it must be admitted, without some sacrifice of bodily comfort. Year after year has witnessed the introduction of fresh European refinements; our dwellings have grown internally less and less Oriental; and though the change has not been unattended with inconvenience, we incline to think that on the whole we are gainers by it. Our rooms are no longer bare and unencumbered; they are chock-full of

European furniture; the walls are hung with paintings; the floors are covered with warm carpets; the doors, perhaps the windows, are curtained. Hence an increase perhaps of warmth, and an unquestionable accession of mosquitoes; but there is a more cheerful look about our rooms; the eye is pleased; the spirits are raised; there is a greater feeling of *home*. The mistake of over-cramming one's rooms with furniture, as though they were upholsterers' ware-houses, is too common not to be readily admitted: but for these errors of taste the system itself is not accountable.—Every good thing will find people only too ready to over-do it; and the extravagances of its more tasteless votaries are no proof of the viciousness of any fashion. It is undeniable, that within the last few years, the internal aspect of our houses has brightened up greatly; and in no part of the ménage is this more strikingly apparent—in no one social improvement is the operation of an extended Trade more discernible—than in the furniture of the dinner-table. The quantity of fine Plate, fine Glass, and fine Porcelain to be seen at the tables of men of moderate income, would astonish an old Qui-hye of the last century; and he would look with little less surprise at the display of ornamental ware in all our drawing-rooms; the bronze, the *papier maché*, the porcelain, the alabaster, and, more than all, the beautiful glass lamps and lustres of every conceivable device, superseding the tasteless wall-shades, which stood out, of old, in all their ugliness, from the unvaried surface of white-wash plastered over the sides of our rooms.

But still more remarkable than the change in the aspect of the principal European abiding places are the changes in the aspect of European Society. We shall not attempt to give anything, which can aspire to be regarded as a complete picture of these changes; but content ourselves with noticing a few of its most prominent features. Old Indians, as we have already had occasion to observe, have been generally conceived to be distinguished for excessive wealth, diseased livers, a repulsive querulousness of manner, and a luxurious way of life. Who has not heard of the enormous fortunes and the Sardanapalian luxuriousness of the "Nabobs" of the old time? How far the general opinion may have been correct, we pretend not oracularly to decide, but it may be permitted to us, in all modesty to suggest a doubt. That large fortunes were made sometimes, and that the extreme of Oriental luxury was indulged in by some European residents, and hence imported, in a modified form, into the West, is a fact sufficiently well-established for us most willingly to concede; but we question whether these examples ought not rather to be regarded as forming the excep-

tions than the rule. The truth, it appears to us, is that, in the old times, very few returned to England at all; and that as these returned with large fortunes—rarely or never honestly acquired—an impression soon got abroad that India was an Eldorado, and that pagodas and rupees were to be had, for the mere stooping to pick them up.* This was a sad mistake. As regards the general prospects of the European adventurer, we hesitate not to say, that they were far less cheering than they are at the present time. The gloomy side of the picture has not been exposed to view; but if the whole truth were to be told, how much of the wretchedness and desolation of friendless exile would be set down in the chronicle—how many sad tales of homeless want and disconsolate sorrow, and sickness, unrelieved by one gleam of kindness and comfort, would be told. There was, in those days, much more to wrestle against at the outset—much more to try, perhaps to break, the strongest spirit. They who triumphed, triumphed not in vain; but how many were beaten down. When Mr. Shore arrived in India as a writer in 1769, his salary was—*eight rupees a month;* and this, too, in the Secret and Political Department. When Sir Thomas Munro arrived in India, as a cadet, in 1780, his pay was five pagodas a month with free quarters, or ten pagodas without. "His annual salary," says the present Lord Teignmouth in his life of his father, "was 96 current rupees, whilst he paid 125 arcot 'rupees, or nearly double the above sum, for a miserable, close 'and unwholesome dwelling."—"Cadets here," wrote Mr. Munro, soon after his arrival, "are allowed either five pagodas 'per month and free quarters, or ten pagodas per month, and 'find their own lodgings; all the cadets follow the first way. 'Of the five pagodas, I pay two to a Dubash, one to the

* There was one period, antecedent to Clive's second administration, at which occasionally enormous fortunes were accumulated (dishonestly of course) in a few years, by adventurers, who without any preliminary training, or the possession of any necessary qualifications, were sent out ostensibly in the Company's Service, to grow rich in the least possible time, and to render no service to any one but themselves. The reign of these cormorants was but short. Clive soon introduced a new state of things; but as he knocked down the old rotten system, and did not build up a sound new one in its place, he scarcely mended the matter. At a later period, large fortunes were occasionally amassed after many years of struggling toil, and wearing deprivation; but even then not by honest means. The civilians were allowed to trade; but this source of profit was scanty. Shore complained soon after his arrival in India, that such strict limits had been assigned to the commercial speculations of the Government servants, that the privilege was of little value. It is not long, however, before the readers of his Life are let into the secret history of the accumulation of these large fortunes, which were once supposed to be an unfailing characteristic of a "Nabob." In one mission to Dacca, he tells us, he might have made £100,000; had he not been burthened with scruples. At a subsequent period, we are told that the Nabob of Lucknow offered him five lakhs of rupees and 8,000 gold mohurs. He took nothing but a picture. Few men were thus scrupulous

'servants of the mess, and one for hair-dressing and washing; 'so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me." Fortunate young man!—Mr. Shore, it would appear, spent nearly double his pay on house-rent. We do not know the extent to which he was enabled to enrich himself by trade; but the incomings from this source must have been extremely moderate. "The writers by their charter," he wrote, soon after his arrival, "are permitted to trade, but under very severe restric-'tions. Before the arrival of Lord Clive, *of infamous memory*, 'they were allowed *dustucks*, i. e. a free trade and no duties,—'and even since; but by a late order from our honourable 'masters, we are entirely deprived of any such advantages, 'which makes the risk very unequal." In Bombay, the case was not better—perhaps, indeed, somewhat worse. It is recorded, that when Mr. Forbes arrived in India three or four years before Mr. Shore, his *income* amounted to £65. a year.* We do not know any work that furnishes a better picture of the cheerless prospects of a young Indian adventurer, on first setting his foot upon the shores of his adopted land, than the 'Oriental Memoirs' of this gentleman. "I found myself," he writes, "a solitary, deserted being, without a letter to offer, 'or the knowledge of a single individual on the island;"—and it is set down in the chronicle, that he often went to bed sorely against his will, soon after sunset, because he could not afford himself the luxuries of a supper and a candle. This, we suspect, must have been the worst epoch of all—after Clive had cut down the trading, or more properly, the *corruption* system, but before the Company had thought fit to grant to their servants a fair scale of remuneration. During this interval, there was scarcely less corruption than before Lord Clive's second administration; the only difference was that instead of stalking abroad in all its nakedness, it sneaked about decently clothed. The filth was all there; but it was hidden.

But even before Clive's first administration, the condition of the younger servants of the Company was not one very greatly to be coveted. We smile at the ideas of exorbitant and reprehensible luxury entertained in the last century; yet such, according to prevailing notions, was the luxurious way of life to which the Company's servants gave themselves up, that it was deemed necessary to pass sumptuary regulations! We are informed by an intelligent traveller, (Dr. Ives,) who visited India in 1754, being Staff-surgeon with Admiral Watson's fleet, that even the use of a chattah, or rather the

* *Quarterly Review*.—Forbes says in a passage, quoted a little further on, that his *salary*, shortly after he arrived, was 30 Rs a month

services of a chattah-wallah, were prohibited by Government. "At the time we were at Fort St. David," he writes, "the 'Governor and a few other gentlemen of the settlement kept 'a chaise and a pair of horses; some drove a two-wheel chaise, 'with a single horse, and others were content to take the air 'on horse-back. Since that time, however, the number of 'carriages is greatly increased. Almost all the Europeans 'resident in India, keep their palanquins, which is a covered 'machine with cushions in it, arched in the middle to give 'more room and air, and is carried on the shoulders of four 'or six men; the expense attending it is not less than thirty 'pounds sterling a year. This piece of eastern luxury, 'therefore, has been forbidden by the Company to their 'youngest servants. Some years before our arrival in the 'country, they found such sumptuary laws so absolutely neces-'sary, that they gave the strictest orders, that none of these 'young gentlemen should be allowed even to hire a Roundel-'boy, whose business it is to walk by his master and defend 'him, with his *Roundel*, or umbrella, from the sun. A young 'fellow of humor, on this last order coming out, altered the 'form of his umbrella from a round to a square, called it a '*Squaredel* instead of a *Roundel*, and insisted, that no order 'yet in force forbade him the use of it." We can cap this story with another, which if it does not display more ingenuity, has, certainly, more wit. Hugh Boyd records in the *Indian Observer* (1793), that "in times of yore our honorable masters 'were very attentive to correct any appearance of extrava-'gance in their young servants. Hearing that laced clothes 'were very much in fashion in Fort Square, a sumptuary 'regulation was sent out against them. But a young gentle-'man, who could not entirely divest himself of his favorite 'habits, still sported a gold *edging* on his coat, and defended 'it against the graver powers by maintaining, *that though* LACE '*was prohibited*, the order was not BINDING."

What would a young civilian of the present day think if an order were to be issued against top-boots, cut-aways, and Taglionis? Or a young ensign, if the yearly number of his white kid gloves and patent leather boots was to be regulated in General Orders? We suspect, that take it for all in all, the present generation consists of a more luxurious set of fellows than the generation of the last century, though there has more recently been an interregnum of right royal blades, as we have no doubt Writers' Buildings could tell us, if those once classic abodes were to chronicle their autobiographies. "At the present," says Lord Valencia, writing at the commencement of the present century, "there are

'few of these young men who do not keep their horses; commonly their curricles, and in many instances their race-horses, 'which together with the extravagant parties and entertainments 'frequent among them, generally involve them in difficulties 'and embarrassments at an early period of their lives." There are some old civilians in India, who still are the victims of that lustrous epoch; but we have now attained a more healthy state of things, and though our young writers are not compelled, like Mr. Forbes, to go supperless to bed, because they cannot afford a meal or a candle, those costly Champaigne suppers with their after excesses, for which Writers' Buildings were once so famous, are now but rare events; and we seem to be equally distant from the extremes of voluptuous extravagance and penurious self-mortification. We have heard some old Indian residents, staid and respectable men of unimpeachable morality, sigh over the extinction, as a class, of the young college writers, who erst made the buildings resound with their joyous songs and their loud rehearsing tally-hoes. Where are they now? Scattered over the face of Calcutta—or studying in the Mofussil—a dispersed race, never again to be restored. It is possible, that on some future occasion, we may abandon ourselves more freely to the consideration of this subject. "Writers' Buildings" exist no longer, save as piles of brick and mortar, inhabited by artists, brokers, lottery contractors, and other miscellaneous doers of a not very extensive business. The writers themselves, as a small privileged class of ex-officio fast men, no longer enliven the presidency and ruin themselves. It would be scarcely necessary to pass sumptuary regulations suited to the times and the incomes of the young civil servants of the Company. Their salary admits of a pretty free indulgence in cut-aways and Taglionis; or spectacles and white neck-cloths; and there are rarely any alarming exhibitions to call for the intervention of Government to limit the young civilian's stud, or to set a bound to his expenditure of champaigne. Comfort and respectability seem now to be aimed at, and attained. There is little licentiousness to shock, and less poverty to distress. The picture, in a social point of view, is anything but a discouraging one.

The condition, too, of the young military adventurer has greatly improved during the last half century. We have shown that the pay of a cadet in 1780, was 17½ rupees a month, with free quarters. Sir Thomas Munro, who, had circumstances turned him out of the mould, an essayist or a novelist, instead of a soldier and a statesman, would have rivalled Addison or Smollet, describes with inimitable humor, dashed

here and there with a touch of sadness, the sufferings and privations to which he was exposed during the first few years of his residence in India. "You may not believe me," he writes, in a serio-comic epistle, which, though familiar to many of our readers, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting—"You may not believe we when I tell you, that I never experi-'enced hunger or thirst, fatigue, or poverty, until I came to India; 'that since then, I have frequently met with the first three, 'and that the last has been my constant companion. If you 'wish for proofs, here they are—I was three years in India, 'before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a 'cartridge pouch; my bed was a piece of canvass stretched 'on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was the great 'coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky inven-'tion, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by 'thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts 'over my head. In this situation, I lay, like Falstaff in the 'basket—hilt to point, and very comfortable, I assure you, 'all but my feet; for the tailor not having foreseen the 'various uses to which this piece of dress might be applied, 'had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my 'ingenuity, bring both ends under cover; whatever I gained 'by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck; and 'I generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head. '..... My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. 'I have never been able to keep it all of a piece. It grows 'tattered in one quarter whilst I am establishing funds to 'repair it in another, and my coat is in danger of losing 'the sleeves, while I am pulling it off to try on a new 'waistcoat." Now it would be difficult thoroughly to convince ourselves that there is not some exaggeration in this. It is probable that Munro's humor a little outstripped his accuracy. Blankets of an inferior description, but capable of imparting warmth, are so cheap in India, that few even of the poorest natives deny themselves such a luxury; and, in a country where the fibre of the cocoa-nut, which makes very tolerable bedding, is to be had in abundance, at so low a price, a man is not very likely to go three years without a better pillow than a book or a cartridge box. If Munro really suffered from these deprivations, he must have been sadly ignorant of the resources of the country. Warmth and sleep are blessings of too great magnitude to be beyond the reach of a Madras cadet on five pagodas a month; but we have it from Munro himself, that in less than a year after his arrival, he received his commission as ensign: and that in less than two years

he was appointed to the Staff, as a Quarter-Master of Brigade. Making allowance, however, for a little humorous exaggeration, the picture may be advantageously contemplated by the young officers of the present day, who deplore, when on service, in such pathetic terms, the melancholy fact of their cheroots having all vanished in smoke, and write to their friends, in the spirit of the young cornet in the Bolan,—"——— I'm 'out of blacking, and those rascally Beloochees have carried 'off my patent leather boots." We suspect, that if an Ensign of 1780 and an Ensign of 1840 were to compare notes on the hardships of active service, the former would feel very much inclined to laugh at the soft-cotton and band-box asperities of modern warfare. Young officers of the present day dress much better and live much better than those of the last century. Munro, when a Lieutenant, who had held for some time a staff appointment, talked, as we have shown, of his clothes falling to pieces; and we find him afterwards, when holding a good civil appointment, writing to his friends in England again, on the luxuries of the East, "I have dined to-day on porridge made 'of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most 'likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters;" and this simplicity of fare "being the effect of necessity, not of choice;" not because he could not pay for anything better, but because he could not get anything better to pay for. Unquestionably we are in these days much more comfortable. Comfort and competence are more generally diffused. Splendid fortunes are now seldom made, for bribe-taking is no longer permitted; but moderate wealth is more easily, as it is more honestly, acquired; and carnally speaking, the things which render life agreeable, are far more within the reach of all. We should doubt whether Munro's hands ever luxuriated in a pair of dress gloves during the first twenty years of his residence in India, or whether, during that time, his handkerchief was ever guilty of harboring a drop of perfume. But our young officers seldom deny themselves either the one or the other, as the records of the Exchange Hall and Tulloh's Commission-Rooms can amply demonstrate. The pay of an Ensign in the present day is twenty times as great as was that of a young Civilian when Shore first arrived in India; and luxuries are to be purchased at less than half the price.

But if the outset of the adventurer's career is, in the present day, brighter than of old, and the closing scene somewhat less brilliant, it is hardly to be questioned that the middle stage, the general aspect, indeed, of life in India, is now more cheerful than it ever has been. There is nothing like poverty—

unless there is both improvidence and misconduct—among the European residents in India. Men are often unfortunate; but they are very rarely poor. We mean by this, that they are seldom condemned to taste, in all their bitterness, the Marah-waters of poverty. The iron chain does not gall and fret; the manacles are well wadded. One man has a small salary; he is honest and he pays his debts. There is little of that severe struggling to keep up a decent appearance, which, unfortunately, prevails at home. Even this narrow-salaried man, if he be a gentleman, lives like one. He is not attended by a scrubby maid of all work, with red elbows and heel-less shoes, but by half a dozen turbaned fellows in black moustaches and white muslin. He keeps his horse, and, perhaps, his buggy; and changes his linen twice a day, with as much regularity as a Member of Council. False fronts, save-alls, and dinners with Duke Humphry are not the concomitants of narrow means. Again; a man becomes bankrupt, passes through the Insolvent Court, surrenders, or ought to surrender every farthing he has in the world, and what is the result? We do not see a pale-faced, dim-eyed wretch, with stooping gait, and slouched hat, and coat out at elbows, stealing along the streets towards his small furnished lodging in an obscure quarter of the town. No; on the very day that his name appears in the Gazette; whilst he is advertised to the whole world as "late of Calcutta and now residing in the Danish settlement of Serampore," he may, perchance, be seen on the course of Calcutta riding a fine English horse, or lounging in an elegant Barouche. Outwardly, there is little descent. The ci-devant man of wealth rides his friend's horse, instead of his own. He attends, and does not give, burra-khanas. His establishment is reduced: but it is still an ample one; and—strangest contrast of all—his friends do not desert him. Severe moralists may say that this last fact indicates laxity of principle. We will not argue the question. It is true, that a man does not ruin himself without ruining others—that there is often carelessness, recklessness, cupidity, an overstrained spirit of speculation; still we honestly confess, that we do love to see the friends of the ruined man, rallying around him in his adversity, even though they do but open their doors to him, invite him to dinner, give him a mount, and smile on him, as in the days of his affluence.

All this may have an injurious effect upon society. By diminishing the penalties, it may increase the frequency of bankruptcy. Still the failing "leans towards virtue's side," and the opposite is extremely forbidding.

"I assert," says Mr. Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*,

'that the character of the English in India is an honor 'to their country. In private life they are generous, kind 'and hospitable..... As husbands, fathers, masters, they 'cannot easily be excelled; whilst friendship, illustrated in 'its more general sense by unostentatious acts of humanity 'and benevolence, shines in India with conspicuous lustre.. 'How often have the sons and daughters of misfortune 'experienced the blessed effects of oriental benevolence. 'How often have the ruined merchant, the disconsolate widow, 'and the helpless orphan been relieved by the delicate and 'silent subscription, amounting in a few hours to several thou-'sand pounds, without the child of sorrow knowing its bene-'factors."—"I can truly affirm," wrote Lord Valentia, "that 'my eastern countrymen are hospitable in the highest degree, 'and that their generosity is unbounded. When an officer 'of respectability dies, in either the civil or the military 'service, leaving a widow or children, a subscription is imme-'diately set on foot, which in every instance has proved 'liberal, and not unfrequently has conferred on the parties a 'degree of affluence that the life of the husband or parent 'could not for years have assured them. The hearts of the 'British in this country seem expanded with affluence, they 'do every thing on a princely scale." Mr. Forbes tells us, in another part of his interesting memoirs, that very little of all this was the growth of Christianity; for though the European residents in India were very humane and very benevolent, they were, at the best, but indifferent Christians; and Lord Valentia seems to have entertained a similar opinion.

There is more Christianity in India, now-a-days, and we are inclined to think that there is as much benevolence. Not many years have elapsed since the large private subscriptions alluded to above were things of frequent occurrence. They are almost unknown now; but only because objects of such charity rarely present themselves, in our better regulated community. It seldom or never happens, that a man, occupying a respectable position in European society, dies and leaves his family destitute. The truly excellent Funds established for the maintenance of the widows and children of members of the services; and the inducements held out to others, by the different Insurance Offices, to provide for the weaklings who are dependent on them, have almost entirely superseded the necessity for private benevolence. We never, in these times, hear of a fashionable lady spending thousands of rupees on an entertainment one week, and, in the next, reduced to utter poverty, by the death of her lord and master, and dependent

upon the contributions of her guests. A young Civilian is said by the husband-hunters to be "worth £300 a-year, dead or alive." A young officer is worth only a third of this, but still there is no destitution. Private benevolence, therefore, finds not a vent in this channel. At the time when, according to Mr. Forbes, the charity of European residents in India was exhibited in the celerity with which large sums of money were raised for the support of the widows and orphans of deceased members of society, "There were no arts or sciences to patronise, 'no literary or charitable institutions to support, and neither 'hospitals nor infirmaries to call forth private benevolence." This is far from being the case in the present day. There are numerous institutions to support, and numerous institutions *are* supported, by private benevolence. A much larger sum is dispensed in charity; but the dispensation is regular, periodical. The money subscribed is given to the *poor* poor, not to the *rich* poor. The widows and children of wealthy men are not thrown destitute on the world; and though wealthy men themselves are often reduced to a state of nominal poverty, there is a wonderful elasticity in them; and, like an Indian-rubber ball, they are dropped upon the ground only to rise up again to a greater altitude than that from which they have descended. Their friends assist them for a little while; there is a fresh start in the world; and then, practically at least, they are soon as wealthy as before.

There is no more striking feature on the face of Anglo-Indian society, than the general diffusion of all the outward characteristics of wealth. The number of equipages which crowd the Calcutta course; the number of richly furnished houses; the number of handsomely dressed women, are out of all proportion to the number of good incomes in this "splendid city." The equipages are not well appointed; half dirt, half deity; well-built Phaetons or Britzskas, with uncouth and undressed native grooms hanging on lazily behind. The houses are not often elegantly furnished; there is seldom much taste and seldom any keeping, but still there is an enormous expenditure of costly furniture; and every week, in the cold season, sees some two or three announcements of "superb household 'property to be sold." The women, it is true, are rarely *well*-dressed; but the immense investments of rich satins and gorgeous velvets—the latter rarely sold at less than a guinea a yard—which pass into the hands of consumers every cold weather, is altogether incommensurate with the number of ladies, whose means and position would, in English society, entitle them to the use of such costly attire. The truth is that

in India very little money is spent upon what is not *seen*. There are no taxes and tithes to be paid, and no expenditure in the Servants' Hall. Thirty servants may be retained as cheaply in India, as three—the eternal Footman, House-maid and Cook—can be kept in dear-grained England; and where there are no taxes, and no *rates* of any kind to be paid, a man may afford to dress his wife in satin and velvet; to give her a Britzska to ride in; and to cover her drawing-room couches and ottomans with the finest tabaret ever manufactured. Money, to use a homely expression, goes much further in India than in England. Though many articles of consumption are dearer, the expenses of house-keeping are, on the whole, smaller, and money spent produces some certain and palpable advantage. We are not called upon to fritter away anything upon intangible benefits—a church establishment, a poor law, and the like. In mercy, we are spared the tax-gatherer. With an almost universal predisposition to febrile and bilious disorders, and a sort of general irritability of the system, the visitations of this periodical pestilence would be more than we could bear up against. Kind nature is equable in her dispensation of favors. We have the cholera; but we have no taxes.

We have shown, that shortly before the black-hole affair and the battle of Plassey, the Governor and some few other high functionaries drove out in their carriages or buggies—but that the junior servants of Government were forbidden even to employ a chattah-wallah. The battle of Plassey wrought a vast number of very important changes; and the British in India soon began to assume a local habitation and a name. Before this, they scarcely existed as a class. Soon, however, they waxed into some amount of importance; and though Pondicherry, in some respects, had advantages not possessed by Calcutta,* we soon began to put forth our spreading leaves and branches, and to overgrow our worthy neighbours, the French. It was not, however, till some years after the battle of Plassey, that carriages came generally into use. It was a charge brought against Mr. Kiernander, the missionary, who

* We must in all candour acknowledge, even at the present day, that Pondicherry is one of the very pleasantest places we have ever visited in India. The climate is extremely good; there is a delightful sea breeze; and the down itself is clean, regular, and more European in its aspect, than any locality in India. There is a nice open *Place*—the French *must* have a Place—and there are excellent roads in the outskirts of the Town—far better than in the suburbs of Calcutta. The gentry are eminently social and hospitable. The native soldiers have a sort of French air and a French twist of the moustache; and the poor seem happy and contented. There is an appearance of cleanliness and comfort, externally, about the native parts of Pondicherry, which cannot fail to strike the observer.

built the "Old Church," in 1770, that he drove a carriage and four; but his last biographer* informs us, that this was altogether untrue; for that at the time referred to, the only people in the settlement, who sported carriages, were "the Governor 'and Mr. Watts." They must have come into general use not very long after this. "Conveyance by the palanquin is in 'use at Bengal," wrote M. Grandpré in 1790, "but Calcutta, 'exclusively of this mode, abounds with all sorts of carriages, 'chariots, whiskies, and phaetons, which occasion in the even-'ing as great a bustle as in one of the principal towns of 'Europe. There are also a great number of saddle horses, 'some of the Persian breed, of exquisite beauty, but no Ara-'bians, except a small sort called *Poonî*, which are very much in 'vogue for phaetons"—"The usual mode of travelling is by 'palanquin," says Lord Valentia; "but most gentlemen have 'carriages adapted to the climate, and horses, of which the breed 'is much improved of late years. It is universally the custom 'to drive out between sunset and dinner. The Mussaulchees, 'when it grows dark, go out to meet their masters on their 'return, and run before them at the rate of full eight miles an 'hour; and the numerous lights moving along the Esplanade 'produce a singular and pleasing effect." This custom, which has been long since exploded in Calcutta, still, we believe, exists at Madras, where the beach, on which the inhabitants enjoy the evening air—sea-air, oh! how delicious—is at a considerable distance from the majority of the garden-houses. The Mussaulchee of Calcutta has ceased to be a torch-bearer, or even a Jack-o'-lanthorn; the race has degenerated into a race of scullions. It will astonish many of our friends in England, who think that the palanquin is one of the greatest luxuries of the East, and envy us the possession of such a delightful conveyance, to learn, that few Europeans, unless they are driven to it by hard necessity, ever put themselves inside so extremely uncomfortable a machine. Palanquins are used by the upper classes of society almost exclusively for dawk journeys. To use one as an ordinary conveyance—to be seen moving in one about the streets of Calcutta, would be, many think, to lose caste. This feeling is sufficiently absurd, and there is no sort of occasion to display it; but it is perfectly intelligible, that people who can afford to keep carriages should utterly discard the palanquin. As a carriage is both a faster and cooler vehicle than a palanquin, no

* *Anglo-India*—Vol 3. This biography, in respect of *dates*, is singularly deficient. At page 163, we are told that Kiernander was born in 1735. In 1795, therefore, he was sixty years old; and yet we are told that, at a period antecedent to this, he was in his 83d year.

one is likely to prefer the latter. Palanquins are principally employed in Calcutta, as hackney-coaches and cabs are in London; their best patrons being sailors and cadets. A few Mofussil residents may keep these portable ovens; but at the Presidency the use of them is almost entirely confined to strangers; for even the poorer classes—the clerks and others—travel to their offices in some sort of a wheeled carriage, which, if drawn by a single pony, as many of these vehicles are, is a cheaper thing to keep than a palanquin. As an article of luxury, it may have held a high place in those days, when only the governor and senior member of council sported wheel-carriages; for a ride in a palanquin is a degree or two better than a walk in the sun; but now it is regarded as a sort of refuge for the destitute, into which a man ventures, on extraordinary occasions, such as the breaking-down of his carriage in the streets, or any other untoward accident befalling him. Such things may happen once or twice to a Calcutta resident, in a period of half-a-dozen years. There are many who have not even within that space of time deposited themselves inside a palanquin—and we cannot but acknowledge, that the less frequently a man indulges in this species of Oriental luxury, the better for his bodily comfort.

There are few so poor, in these days, as not to be able to keep a carriage. The keeping a carriage in England is a very magnificent thing. There is an unctuous smack in the very mention of it, redolent of no small amount of well-to-doishness; even though the carriage be nothing higher than that cockney-sounding thing—an one-horse-shay. But here the difficulty is to find a man, who does not, in some form, "keep a carriage." It may be a very sorry affair, but still it is a carriage, with as good a right to the name, as the best appointed Britzska that ever went rolling and swinging and plunging out of a coach-maker's yard. If any one be curious in this matter of carriages—and books have been written on the subject—let him come to Calcutta. He will here find carriages of every degree, from the highest to the lowest; of every conceivable form and fashion; and many besides of which it has never entered into his imagination to conceive. An Englishman in India may aptly be described as a riding animal. Let the curious in such matters station himself at one of the corners of Tank-Square, between ten and eleven in the morning, and again about six o'clock in the evening: and count, not the number of carriages, but the number of varieties of carriages that pass—Britzskas, Barouches, Landaulets, Chariots, Phaetons, Buggies, Palanquins, Palki-gharries, Brownberries, Crahanchys (some of these unknown *genera* to the

English reader) and then let him post himself, towards sunset, on the saluting battery of Fort William, and view all these varieties *en masse*. If Clive, or Admiral Watson were to revisit, in this year of grace, 1844, the banks of that river, which, nearly a century before, they passed up with the few ships and small handful of fighting men which paved the way for the conquests of Hindostan, they would out-do Dominie Sampson in their hearty exclamations of "Prodigious!" Where erst were to be seen a few Bengallee fishermen or boat-men, mending their nets or cleaning their cooking-pots, on the jungly banks of the river, is now a broad and level road, covered, at evening tide, by hundreds of carriages and horse-men. No sooner does the setting sun tinge the western horizon, than all the English residents in Calcutta throw open their doors and windows, make a hasty toilet, and sally forth, in carriage or on horse-back, to enjoy the evening air. Before the sun has disappeared behind the western bank of the river, the strand is crowded with vehicles of every description—a concourse as dense as that which may be seen on the Epsom Road during the race-week, with even more entanglements and embarrasments; for there is a stream setting both ways. One marvels who all these people are that own these hundreds of carriages. The first impression made upon the mind of the stranger is, that there must be an enormous number of wealthy inhabitants in Calcutta. But the equipage is, in reality, no sort of index to the worldly possessions of the owner. It may let you, perhaps, into the secret of a man's vanity—certainly not of his income. Some of the most pretending equipages on the course are sported by people belonging to the second class of society—uncovenanted Government servants, petty East Indian or European traders—respectable personages enough in their way, and, peradventure, not much given to show; but the wife and the daughters must have their britzska or barouche, though they do pinch a little at home to maintain it; and on the course, at least, the wife of the uncovenanted subordinate may jostle the lady of the head of the office. When we consider how much is often sacrificed to support the dignity of the carriage and pair—how much substantial comfort is thrown aside to make room for this little bit of ostentation—that the equipage is with many, *the* thing, from which they derive much of their importance—we soon cease to wonder at the formidable array of assuming conveyances, which throng the course every evening, at sunset, and present a scene, which, as one of daily recurrence, has not, perhaps, its parallel in the world.

A few words now on the subject of Dress. When those sumptuary regulations were sent out against gold-laced coats,

there were very few English ladies in India. Of those few we have but little account. When they began to increase in numbers, whatever may have been the general taste before, they very soon fell into the too-prevailing folly of over-dressing.—Munro, in one of his familiar epistles, which we candidly confess, have more charm for us than all his political letters, observes with his usual sly satire—"I have myself so vulgar a taste, that 'I see more beauty in a plain dress, than in one tricked out 'with the most elegant pattern, that ever fashionable painter 'feigned. This unhappy depravity of taste has been occasioned, 'perhaps, by my having been so long accustomed to view the 'Brahmin women, who are in this country, both the first in 'rank and in personal charms, almost always arrayed in nothing 'but simple pieces of dark blue cotton cloth, which they throw 'on with a decent art, and a careless grace, which in Europe 'I am afraid is only to be found in the drapery of Antiques. 'The few solitary English ladies that I meet with only serve to 'strengthen my prejudices. I met with one, the other day, all 'bedizened and huddled into a new habit, different from any 'thing I had ever seen before. On asking her what name it 'went by, she was surprised that I did not know the *à la 'Grécque*. It looked, for all the world, like a large petticoat 'thrown over her shoulders, and drawn together close under her 'arms. I could not help smiling to think how Ganganelli and 'the Abbé Winkelman and the King of Naples would have stared 'had they dug such a Greek as this out of Herculaneum."* Nor do the gentlemen escape; there were fops, it seems, in those days, standing greatly in need of the sumptuary regulations. "The fashions of the gentlemen," he says, "are probably as 'fantastical as those of the ladies, though from having them 'continually before my eyes, the absurdity of them does not 'strike me so much. We have black and white hats; thunder 'and lightning coats, stockings of seven colours, and tambour-'ed waistcoats bedaubed with flowers, and more tawdry finery 'than was ever exhibited on old tapestry." A more recent

* We have before us a volume printed in London in 1809, which contains a long and not very witty series of letters (originally published in a Calcutta Newspaper,) upon this very diverting subject. The book is entitled—*The Ladies' Monitor; being a series of letters first published in Bengal on the subject of Female apparel, tending to favor a regulated adoption of Indian Costume; and a rejection of superfluous vesture by the ladies of this country, &c. &c. &c.*" The work, like the title, is, rather long. It is nothing more than an amplification of the idea contained in the extract from Sir Thomas Munro's letter, spun out to the length of 230 pages. Though some portions of it are amusing, we have not been able to find any detached passages, in illustration of our subject, which we could conveniently transfer to our pages.

writer, Colonel Campbell,* has given us a picture of the Bombay fashionables, not much more complimentary than that which Munro has recorded of Madras—"I was induced," he writes, 'to go to a ball given here by some gentlemen to Mrs.———, 'the wife of an officer of rank, about to proceed to assume a 'command in the interior. But in truth, I cannot pretend 'even to be an admirer of those, who, in Bombay, are looked 'upon as fashionables; yet I am by no means, nor had I any 'reason to be, prejudiced against them. * * * I saw 'nothing at that grand ball, to induce me to change the opinion 'I had previously formed; or to make me imagine that they 'could ever have moved in any other world of fashion than 'their own. With few exceptions, the ladies were either badly 'or over-dressed; or I should rather say, that their very expen-'sive dresses were ill-made and generally worse put on, and the 'profusion of ornaments, which many of them wore, had a 'very different effect from what was intended, and I could not 'but think what a Persian belle would have thought of most 'of them." It grieves us to add, that much of this is in a degree applicable even to Calcutta, in the present civilized times. We by no means assert, that a well-dressed woman is not occasionally to be found; but the number of *smart* dressers is out of all proportion to the number of ladies who dress well. The vice of over-dressing is but too common. The quiet and lady-like is rarely attained. More money is spent on dress by ladies, whose husbands enjoy a given income, in this country, than in England—but the result is singularly unfortunate. We know not how it might be, if our society were blessed with any leaders of *ton* endowed with a small modicum of taste; but, for some years past, those who have aspired to lead the fashionable world—whose position, derived from the official rank of their husbands, has placed them in the highest grades of our local aristocracy, have certainly done nothing to create a taste for the quiet and the subdued. Simple elegance has been, for years past, at a discount. The obtrusive and the overpowering have carried every thing before them. This, in manners, too, as much as in dress. We have sometimes had our attention directed, in a large (and by courtesy fashionable) assemblage, to "that nice 'English-looking person on the other side of the room;" and we have looked and beheld a young girl, or a young married woman, seemingly fresh from England, and looking, in the inornate good taste of her attire, and in her simply curled or braided hair, very much unlike the rest of the room; and we

* "Excursions, Adventures and Field-sports in Ceylon, &c &c. by Col. James Campbell." This is a recent work—but the period referred to is not recent.

need not add, very much better. It is difficult to persuade people who can afford to be extravagant, that extravagance is not elegance; and that the finest investment of satins and velvets that ever reached Calcutta will go no way to make a lady. We think it would be well if sumptuary regulations were to be sent out against our feminine aristocracy. Simplicity is a virtue of such high repute, that the legislature would do well to encourage it.

As to the men—we are not aware that the temperature of Calcutta has been reduced within the last few years. We believe it to be as hot now, as it was in the memorable year of the Black-Hole. In those and in later times, strenuous efforts were made by the European inhabitants to counteract, in some small measure, the severity of the climate by wearing the lightest possible apparel. One would imagine that there had recently been a very extraordinary atmospherical revolution; for within the last five or six years, we have noticed a progressive tendency towards heavy vestments, especially in crowded assemblies, at large dinner parties, and on all other occasions where the heat is more than usually intense. To see a man sit down to dinner in the month of May, dressed from head to foot in black broad-cloth, is a spectacle calculated to teach a lesson in Martyrology not easily to be forgotten. Formerly, white jackets were frequently—white trowsers universally—worn at dinner-parties, in the hot weather. Now one's eyes are seldom gladdened with a scrap of white, unless it be a wrist-band or a shirt collar. We have a lively recollection of the oppressive heat, at a large dinner party in August, where the only gentleman out of uniform, who had the good sense to appear in white trowsers, was the Governor-General. We do not know who may have been the originators of this broad-cloth infatuation; but we are not sure, that if we were to see them in a modern Black-Hole, we should exhibit more mercy towards them, than the Subadar's guards exhibited towards Mr. Holwell and his ill-fated companions. A few years ago, when a man left home to dine with a friend, he put himself into a white jacket; when he went to a formal party, he put himself into his coat and his white jacket into his carriage; or he sent the latter article of apparel by one of his servants to meet him at his host's. On arriving he was immediately invited to discard the coat and substitute the jacket. In Calcutta this good custom has fallen, of late years, into abeyance. It would seem as though the object were to render a Calcutta dinner-party—always bad enough—the most detestable thing ever invented for the punishment of civilized man. In the hottest weather now, the fashion is to appear at a *burra-khana* dressed in broad cloth from head to foot. These entertainments

scarcely needed such an aggravation to render them capable of affording the least attractive means of passing a sultry evening that human ingenuity could devise.

And this leads us naturally enough to consider the manner in which an Indian day is spent—We differ from our fathers in nothing more remarkably, than in the distribution of our time. We have been gradually getting into later and later hours; lengthening out the day for purposes of business, and assimilating our customs to those which obtain at home. "The writers," says Mr. Forbes in his *Memoirs*, "at the period of my arrival at 'Bombay, (1765) and during the whole time of my officiating 'in that capacity, were fully engaged from nine o'clock to twelve, 'when they retired from their respective offices to dinner, which 'was then at one o'clock in every class of English society. At 'two, the writers returned to their employment until five; 'when after a dish of tea, a social walk on a fine sandy beach, 'open to the salubrious western breeze, gave us a keener appe-'tite for supper than our scanty pittance of thirty rupees per 'month could furnish. Such was our constant practice six days 'in the week." Writing in 1780, Mrs. Fay, the wife of a barrister, in an amusing series of letters, published many years afterwards, says: "The dinner hour, as I mentioned before, is 'two, and it is customary to sit a long while at table; par-'ticularly during the cold weather. * * * During dinner 'a good deal of wine is drunk, but very little after the cloth is 'removed, except in Bachelors' parties, as they are called; for 'the custom of reposing, if not of sleeping, after dinner, is so ge-'neral, that the streets of Calcutta are from four to five in the 'afternoon almost as empty of Europeans as if it were midnight. '* * * * Next come the evening airings on the course, where 'every one goes, though sure of being half suffocated with dust. 'On returning from thence, tea is served, and universally drunk 'here even during the extreme heats. After tea either cards or 'music fill up the space 'till ten, when supper is usually announ-'ced. * * * Formal visits are paid in the evening; they 'are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen to 'make, and a party waiting for her at home besides. Gentle-'men also call to offer their respects, and if asked to put down 'their hat, it is considered as an invitation to supper." "You 'will naturally wish to know my mode of life in Bengal," writes Mr. Shore, in 1787. "I rise early, ride seven to ten miles, 'and breakfast by eight o'clock: after that, business occupies 'my time till the hour of dinner, which is three. Our meals 'here are short; and in the evening, when the weather permits, 'which at this season of the year (January) is daily, I walk

'out. The remaining time between that and ten o'clock, which 'is my hour to rest, I spend with my friends; as I make it a rule 'not to attend to business of an evening. Suppers are by no 'means agreeable to me. At present we have balls every week; 'but I am not fond of them; and, indeed, have been at one 'private ball only, which was given by Lord Cornwallis; nor 'have I yet attended one play."

Sir James Mackintosh, writing from Bombay in the year 1805, says; "The regular course of our idle and disengaged day is as 'follows: We often are, and always ought to be, on horse-back 'before six (soon it will be five.) We return from our ride to 'breakfast at eight; when, to shew the enervating effects of 'climate, I eat only two eggs and a large plate of fish and rice, 'called kedgeree; not to mention two cups of coffee and three 'of tea. During the forenoon there is no exertion, nor going out, 'except for necessity. We then write, read, &c. At four, when 'alone, we dine; and from half past five to seven, walk; which, 'for the last four months, we could do with great pleasure. At 'seven we drink tea, and from tea to bed time, I read to our 'whole family party." *Tiffins* seem to have come into Calcutta with the present century—and the dinner hour, which had been growing later and later in the day, to have been thrown back, about the same time, suddenly to the evening. Lord Valentia, who visited Calcutta about the date of the preceding extract, says; "It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to en- 'joy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant 'before sunrise. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call 'tiffing, and then generally go to bed for two or three hours. The 'dinner hour is commonly between seven and eight; which is cer- 'tainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride 'at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight or later." A later writer, Capt. T. Williamson, whose brief remarks on Anglo-Indian manners were published in 1813,* says; "Those 'who take exercise on horse-back are usually up as soon as the 'day begins to dawn, and return before the sun is well up. 'The hour for breakfast is as various with us as in England.— 'Tea, coffee, eggs, toast, and fish form the oriental *dejeuné*. '* * * * * The forenoon is dedicated to business, or to 'reading, writing, &c., and among the idle, the hookah, or even- 'tually cards, fill the vacuum. Those who have to attend their 'offices repair to them in their palankeens; and when their

* "*The European in India, from a collection of drawings by Charles D'Oyley, with a preface and copious descriptions, by Capt. Thomas Williamson, &c. &c.*" We refer the curious to this work, which contains numerous pictorial illustrations of Anglo Indian Life, thirty years ago.

'duties are performed, which generally occupy four or five 'hours, return to their homes, or visit some friend; and after 'partaking of a tiffing, undress and sleep 'till near sunset; 'when they again put on clean clothes of every description, 'and repair to dinner, which by that time is generally ready. 'Coffee and tea are served about 8 or 9 o'clock. Suppers are 'not usual, except among families in Calcutta, and some out-'stations of Civil Servants. Among the Military early hours 'are much attended to, and it is rare, in cantonments, to find any 'one out of bed at 10 o'clock at night, or in bed after 5 in the 'morning. Their profession, no doubt, is the principal cause of 'this regularity, which is, however, greatly increased by the 'want of female society; there being very few European 'ladies in India. I should probably far exceed their numbers 'were I to estimate all living under the Bengal Government at 'three hundred."

And here a few words may be bestowed—and not thrown away—upon our style of living, past and present. By living we mean to signify the process by which life is sustained—in other words, our style of feeding. M. Grandpré, in his time, looked with contempt upon the fare of the English in Calcutta. We doubt not that they managed these things better in the French settlement. "With respect to living," says the Frenchman, "the fare 'is but indifferent in Calcutta. Provisions for the table are 'confined to butcher's meat, a fowl now and then, but little or 'no game, and scarcely a greater quantity of fish. Mutton is 'almost universally the standing dish." Mrs. Fay, alluding to an earlier period, after her own amusing (but not very elegant) fashion, says that provisions of every kind were, in her times, abundant and cheap. In one of her letters she writes: "We 'were frequently told in England, you know, that the heat in 'Bengal destroyed the appetite. I must own, that I never yet 'saw any proof of that; on the contrary, I cannot help think-'ing, that I never saw an equal quantity of victuals consumed. 'We dine, too, at two o'clock, in the very heat of the day. At 'this moment Mr. F—— is looking out with a hawk's eye for 'his dinner; and though still much of an invalid, I have no 'doubt of being able to pick a bit myself. I will give you our 'bill of fare, and the general prices of things:—A soup, a roast 'fowl, curry and rice, a mutton pie, a fore-quarter of lamb, 'a rice pudding, tarts, very good cheese, fresh churned butter, 'fine bread, excellent Madeira; that is expensive, but eatables 'are very cheap:—a whole sheep costs but two rupees; a lamb 'one rupee; six good fowls or ducks, ditto; twelve pigeons, ditto; 'twelve pounds of bread, ditto; two pounds of butter, ditto;

and a joint of veal, ditto."* In a later letter, she gives us a picture of a two o'clock *burra khana*, at Bombay, which, she says, was in the old style: "We dined, one 'day, at Mr. Nesbit's, chief of the Marine, who gave us 'a repast in the true *old* Indian style. 'The tables, they 'groaned with the weight of the feast.' We had every joint of 'a calf on the table at once; nearly half a Bengal sheep; several 'large dishes of fishes; boiled and roast turkeys, a ham, a kid, 'tongue, fowls, and a long train of et-ceteras. The heat was 'excessive, the hour two, and we were thirty in company, in a 'lower-roomed house; so you may conceive what sensations 'such a prodigious dinner would produce." Mr. Tennant, the author of those interesting volumes entitled *Indian Recreations*, to which we have already referred, writing in 1798 from the Mofussil, says; "The mode of living in this part of India '(Cawnpore) has, within the last ten or fifteen years, undergone 'a very great alteration. Before that period, the civil and 'military servants of the Company of the first rank were 'lodged in bungalows worse than those of a subaltern of the 'present day; as the practice of feeding beef, mutton, pork, 'and poultry was not then introduced, their tables were very 'poorly supplied; even vegetables were not to be had, though 'an article indispensibly necessary to the climate." Mr. Cordiner, who arrived at Madras in this same year, and who apparently alludes to the state of affairs in 1799, though, perhaps, to a later period, observes that "all classes of European 'society here live sumptuously, and many individuals expend 'from two to ten thousand pounds each annually in maintain-'ing their households. The economy of their tables is entrusted 'entirely to native servants, who load them with dishes of solid

* In this extract from Mrs. Fay's letters, it will be seen what were the prices of the common articles of food in 1780. The Indian reader will at once perceive that they are much below the present standard. As time has advanced, and the influx of Europeans into India has increased, the ordinary provisions of the country have gradually become dearer and dearer, whilst the prices of all imported articles have fallen in an equal rate. Mr. Forbes referring to the earliest years of the present century, says; "The prices of most kinds of provisions were nearly 'doubled since I first knew Bombay (1765) but there appeared no deficiency of either 'European or Indian commodities. The shops in the bazaar were well stored with 'articles for luxury and comfort from all parts of the world; and every breeze 'wafted a fresh supply."—Mrs. Fay mentions, that in her time, Claret was sold at *sixty rupees* a dozen. Lord Valentia tells us, that it was poor stuff, being highly "medicated" for the voyage. This was the *English* Claret, which, of late years has been almost driven out of the market. Fifty years ago, it was not unusual for wine to run short at the different settlements; and then the price kept pace with the scarcity. Mr. Cordener naively tells us, that when the ship, in which he sailed, reached Bombay, there was an immediate enquiry after Claret. "Among the first 'enquiries which were made of the Captain of the ship, was, how many chests of 'Claret he had on board? that favorite beverage being then scarce at the settle-'ment." A quantity of Claret, Burgundy and Hermitage, to the value of nearly three *lakhs* of rupees, now passes annually through the Calcutta Custom House.

'meat, estimating the goodness of the dinner by the quantity 'which they crowd upon the board; and in most houses there is 'but a scanty supply of vegetables. Even rice and curry, the 'staple food of the country, are often omitted, probably because 'they are common; but they are the best and most wholesome 'nourishment which India affords." Here we see, in all these accounts, the same reference to the mis-placed solidity of an Indian meal. In respect of our fare generally, there seems to have been a progressive improvement. In 1790, as we have already seen, M. Grandpré, an officer in the French army, thought it "indifferent." In 1805, Lord Valentia, an English nobleman, thought it "excellent:"—"The viands are excellent, 'and served in great profusion, to the no small satisfaction of 'the birds and beasts of prey, to whose share a considerable 'proportion of the remains fall; for the lower orders of Portu- 'guese, to whom alone they would be serviceable, cannot 'consume the whole." An intelligent writer who visited Calcutta about the same time—a gentleman of the Madras Bar, bears similar high testimony to the excellence of the dinner, and speaks with rapture of the delights of the *loll shrab*. "I had 'ample specimens of Bengal hospitality," he writes, "and of 'the luxury of Bengal dinners in particular. But although the 'dinner-hour is late, and the most skilful variety of viands 'solicits your appetite, Calcutta dinners are but a languid sort 'of thing. You have stomach, perhaps, to pick the bone of a 'floriken, or may get through a fine delicious snipe; but you 'cannot grapple with a slice of beef or of Bengal mutton. 'The *tiffin*, a meal at two o'clock,* defrauds the dinner of its 'homage due. But the luxury of the first glass of cool claret '(loll shraub) that salutes your lips! Skilfully refrigerated, it is 'a celestial draught. The icy nectar courses down the whole 'system, with the rapidity of lightning; the spirits are set free 'as from the torpor of enchantment, and the whole being 'undergoes a refreshing transformation."†

And now that we have shown how our countymen were wont, in times of old, to get through the Indian day, let us devote a few words to the present. Strange as it may appear, it is unquestionably true, that though we found it an easy task to exhibit the manners of our fore-fathers, we are almost inclined to turn aside from the difficulty of depicting our own. The work of sketching an Indian day, in these times, is by no means one of easy accomplishment. The general custom is, to follow

* In a passage quoted above it will have been seen, that according to Lord Valentia, the tiffin hour was twelve—and yet the two writers refer to the same period.

† New Monthly Magazine.

the example of Sterne, and to "take a single captive." Thus every periwig-pated fellow gives a picture of his own, and crams into a single portrait all the most monstrous features he can collect from a community of many hundreds, producing, at last, a composite order of being, the like of which the world has never seen. Mr. George W. Johnson, "Advocate of the 'Supreme Court of Calcutta, Fellow of the Agri-Horticultural 'Society of India, &c." who has lately written a book, the title of which we have printed at the head of this article, presents the world with a picture of a day in Calcutta, which is remarkable as representing neither the habits of a class, nor of any individual member of one. It is a collection of a great number of features, which may have existed somewhere, and some which have existed no-where out of Mr. Johnson's imagination, all jumbled incongruously together, and kneaded into a monstrous whole. The truth is, that since the European population of India has so greatly increased, there is necessarily a greater variety in the style and manner of living. Our habits vary according to the tastes and the duties of individual members of society. Thus, a picture, sketched to the life, of which *Thompson* is the model, might be recognized in no feature by *Jones*. If we say, that the English in India rise before the sun—take a long ride—sleep for an hour or so—and then make a hearty breakfast, we might hit off the said *Thompson's* morning avocations to a nicety; but *Jones*, at every single point, will incontinently put in his denials. One man rises before the sun, mounts his horse, and takes his gallop; another rises with the sun, saunters in his garden, paces his verandah, or betakes himself at once to his dressing room to luxuriate in *pejammahs*, tea, toast, and the morning papers; a third rises some time after the sun, bathes and dresses without any loss of time, and reads, or writes his letters, or devotes himself to business, an hour before breakfast. As a general rule, it may be said, that we are earlier risers in this country, than in England—but we should be sorry to pledge ourselves to the existence of any other general rules. Breakfast comes—some eat it, and some look at it. It may consist of fish, rice, eggs, cold meat, fruits and preserves;* it may be nothing but a cup of tea and a single slice of dry toast; or, perchance, it lies midway somewhere between these two extremes. There is a thing called breakfast in most houses; it may be taken at *nine* o'clock or earlier; or at any time up to *eleven*; and after it, comes either the

* Mr. G. W. Johnson adds *curry* and *ale* as two of the components of an ordinary Calcutta breakfast. Our experience does not extend to any class of Calcutta society, at whose breakfast tables these delicacies are to be seen.

serious occupation, or the strenuous idleness of the day. Men of business then begin to work; idlers begin to amuse themselves. The Merchant, or the Civilian, or the Staff-officer at the Presidency, puts himself into his carriage, or hurries away to his office. In the military cantonment, the regimental officer, who has got through the principal business of the day, before many of his countrymen are out of their beds, betakes himself to the billiard table; or prepares for a round of visits; or lounges away his morning at home. Our ladies, too, spend their mornings after as many different fashions as the busier lords of the creation. One sits at home to receive morning visits; another goes out to pay them; a third gives orders, that her doors shall be closed *(durwaseh bund* is the Indian "Not at home") and seats herself down quietly in her drawing-room or boudoir to write letters, or to read a new book, or to practice a new piece of music. One has many household duties to perform and thinks it is her duty to perform: another leaves all these things to her underlings, and wonders that the day is so long. Mrs. A. is busy with her children; Mrs. B. with her worsted-work; and Mrs. C. with a pattern of a dress for the Fancy-ball. There are as many different ways of spending the morning, as there are varieties, social and moral, of womankind. Habits vary according to taste, principle, physical health, social position, and the length of the purse, in India as much as in England. There is this difference, however; that here morning visits are paid in the morning; at home they are paid in the afternoon. We devote the time between breakfast and luncheon to these little social duties. The afternoon we consider entirely our own. As to the *tiffin* itself, our friends in England regard us *en masse* as tiffin-eating animals; but the epithet does not describe us.—Very few men of business eat tiffin at all; unless a biscuit and a glass of wine, or a few sandwiches are entitled to bear the name. Idlers may indulge themselves as they like; but the man of business, who leaves home at ten o'clock and returns not before five—the intermediate hours being thoroughly occupied—must content himself with what is called a *snack*. In most cases, it will be found, that he eats a satisfying breakfast, and gets through the day very well with the aid of a biscuit, or a few sandwiches, and a glass of Sherry. In these times, the day's work is really a day's work; men do not go home to tiffins or early dinners; nor can they afford to indulge in the afternoon *siestas*, which in former days, were so general. A true bill, we believe, may be found on this latter charge, against some ladies and some regimental officers; but the majority of European residents in India have too much to do, to think of sleeping

before dinner. From *ten* or *eleven* o'clock to *five* or *six*, officemen are hard at work. Let no one suppose, that they lounge through their business, after an indolent, undress fashion—that they loll upon easy couches, hookah in hand, and lazily give instructions to their underlings, whilst they sip their delicious sherbet and puff out the fumes of the odoriferous chillum. The life of a man of business in India is anything but a luxurious one. In spite of heat, of languor, of oppression, of all the overpowering influences of the climate, he toils throughout the long day, in a comfortless counting house, perhaps in a room, the heated atmosphere of which is rendered more intolerable by the presence of a score of oily native clerks, and returns home, at sunset, jaded and exhausted, to take his evening drive, and afterwards, perhaps, to be dragged to a sultry dinner party. The drive refreshes him a little. He "eats" as much air as he can get, and with it more dust than he desires. He has not very much to say to his wife, who sits beside him in the britzska; for his head is crammed full of business, and he cannot empty it on the spur of the moment. Perhaps, he does not accompany his wife at all. He mounts his horse; or he remains at home lounging about the verandah. Judging by the number of ladies to be seen on the course without their husbands, neither of these contingencies would appear to be very uncommon. Well; the ride or the no-ride over, the time for dressing has arrived. Ten to one, that the gentleman, if he be engaged to dine abroad, says that it is "a confounded bore"—and it is possible that his wife may agree with him. Still they go—and go, again and again—grumbling all the time, but taking, however obvious the remedy, no steps to mitigate the evil of which they complain.

There is nothing more easily regulated. You may dine out every night—or you may stay at home, with equal uniformity, if you will only come to the determination of shaping your measures accordingly. In India, as in all other societies, men and women are divided into two classes—the domestic and the undomestic. Your next door neighbour may be—like ours—the veriest gad-about in existence, and whilst you sit quietly at home every evening, the picture of domesticity, reading, like Sir James Mackintosh, to your wife and daughters, whilst they busily ply their needles, you may hear your neighbour's carriage plunge out of his compound a little before eight and return a little after eleven, with the utmost regularity, six nights in the seven, whilst on the seventh, if curiously inclined, you might learn pretty nearly the number of his guests, by counting the strokes on the gong, which announces the arrival of the *Sahib-logue*. And these

dinners,—what are they, for which so much is too frequently sacrificed? Not quite so intolerable, perhaps, as those two o'clock "daylight dinners," round a table steaming with solid flesh, which Mrs. Fay has described; and yet, as we have already shown, regarding them not gastronomically but socially, evils of a magnitude not to be despised.* The dinner is itself a passable dinner—good to look at, and not bad to eat; the wine is fair wine, and iced to a point preclusive of much criticism on the matter, if it be not fair—but neither glittering plate, nor dainty looking *entremets*, nor good wine iced to a deception, will go far to make a pleasant evening. There is for the most part a something wanting. One half of the party are worne out with the fatigues of the day; and the other half, if they have not that excuse, ought to have it—or a better one. And yet to these languor-ridden dinner-parties many betake themselves, night after night; grumbling each time at the dire necessity; yet well content to endure the same infliction on the morrow. He goes—Bachelor or Benedict; if the former, because he is assiduous as a visitor; if the latter, because he gives what he receives; and thereby brings down upon himself a deluge of invitations. He goes—and thus the day is concluded. It is his choice to go. Perhaps, it is his pleasure to grumble.

Still the diners-out form but a segment, though a large one, of our society. There are many who delight in the quiet evening at home, and rarely or never cross their threshold, to dinner, ball, play, or concert, after returning from their evening drive. The domestic virtues are cultivated as sedulously in India, as in England; and not, perhaps, by a smaller proportion of the gross amount of gentility. There are here, as at home, some who lead quiet domestic lives from necessity, and some from choice—and it will not appear upon enquiry now, whatever the case may have been in former days, that our standard of domestic morality is one degree below that of our brethren in the West.

But this is a topic upon which we cannot afford to enter. Our article has already extended beyond its legitimate length; and here we must break off for the present. Our subject is not nearly exhausted; and we shall, doubtless, have an early opportunity of returning to it. We have yet to touch upon many of the most interesting features of the social character of the English in India.

* Small parties, badly managed, are worse than large ones. At the latter you may, perhaps, stumble on some one, whom you wish to meet; and, by a little *finesse*, contrive to get through the evening with profit or with pleasure. At all events, your dulness and *desespoir* are less perceptible. At the former there is no hope for you if the company be ill assorted. In this country, however, where many gentlemen are engaged in business throughout the day, and many ladies, during several months of the year, are afraid to leave the house before sunset, a well regulated system of dinner-visiting is useful and may be agreeable; for without such visiting, social intercourse would often be brought to a dead lock. It is principally because so little regard is paid to the important point of the assortment of guests, that dinner-parties in Calcutta are so dull and unsocial. In the more limited society of a Mofussil station this evil does not exist; but it is replaced by another of equal magnitude. If one runs no risk of meeting a party of entire strangers at dinner, one soon begins to weary of seeing the same faces every night of one's life.

ART. II.—*Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth; by his Son, Lord Teignmouth, 2 vols. London,* 1843.

THIS is not a very amusing book—neither has it any claim to be regarded as a literary performance of distinguished merit. But it is the biography of a truly good man, and is thickly interspersed with letters from the pen of a gentleman, a scholar, and a christian. The author, indeed, in the volumes before us, does not play a conspicuous part. The duty which has devolved upon him, he has performed with much modesty and good taste; neither seeking to shine in his own person, nor to exaggerate the virtues of his father. In this very forbearance lie the principal imperfections of the work. The biographer has left his father's letters to tell the history of his father's life, and relying too much on the sufficiency of these self-expository documents, he has suffered the narrative, at certain points, to be more indistinct than is convenient to the general reader. The student of Indian History may be satisfied with what he finds; for from his own stores of knowledge he can supply all deficiencies; but we cannot flatter ourselves that the important events which occurred in this country during the last thirty years of the by-gone century, are sufficiently familiar to the ordinary reader, to render nugatory the work of filling up the picture, when the portrait of an Indian worthy has been sketched. It is not safe to rely upon the general knowledge of Indian affairs. Even on the spot, but too many are ignorant of events, which came to pass antecedent to their own times; and in England, whilst it is held inexcusable in an educated man not to be familiar with the histories of Greece, of Rome, of Modern Europe, of British and Spanish America, and of remote Islands with which England has had little concern, there are few, who do not consider themselves privileged to possess their minds in gross and entire ignorance of the history of the British conquests in the East.* The proceedings of the French in Saint Domingo are more familiar to the majority, than the proceedings of the English in the Dooab or the Carnatic. Had the present Lord Teignmouth entertained no higher opinion than ourselves of the wealth of his countrymen, in this item of Indian history, his work would have been a more complete history of the political life of his justly revered father. As a personal memoir, it is all that the reader can desire.

John Shore was born in London, on the 8th of October, 1751. His father, who belonged to a family of some consideration in

* There is a remark somewhat similar to this, though of a less general character, in one of Mr. Macaulay's Essays; and, most probably, in other works. It is neither new nor striking, but it cannot be too often repeated.

Derbyshire, which had distinguished itself by its steady loyalty in the times of the Charleses, was a Super-cargo in the Company's service, who killed himself by eating turtle cooked in a copper vessel, off the Island of Ascension. Mr. Shore appears to have been a worthy and amiable man; much beloved by his wife, who never wholly recovered the serenity of her mind after this melancholy loss. He left two sons; John, the subject of the present article, who was seven years old at the time of his father's death; and Thomas, afterwards a worthy minister of the Gospel, who was some years younger than his brother.

Mrs. Shore having been left in easy circumstances, her sons received the benefit of as good an education, conventionally speaking, as was to be obtained. John, who before the death of his father had been placed at a preparatory seminary at Tottenham, was removed to another school at Hertford, under the management of a Mr. Harland, a Clergyman, who, the present Lord Teignmouth informs us, was "of a literary turn; author 'of a Tragedy and other published pieces."* Whilst under the charge of this reverend preceptor, the youthful student having had free access to his master's library, soon became a *helluo librorum;* and without neglecting his Latin and Greek, learned much that was of more value than either. When in his fifteenth year he was removed to Harrow, of which Dr. Sumner, an elegant scholar and an accomplished man, was then the Head-master. It is remarkable that Shore's standing in the school was between Nathaniel Halhed,† whose name in this country is familiar even to other than English ears, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose more brilliant reputation is less to be envied than that of either of his class-fellows. In the school-boy classification, which is evidently not of Harrovian origin, "Harrow fools" occupy the lowest place; but as Harrow, within the last three quarters of a century, has, in proportion to the numbers educated there, been the nursery of more distinguished men, than any of the public schools of England, it can well afford to smile at this egregious specimen of lion-painting.

In his seventeenth year, just as he was on the point of attaining the Captaincy of the school, Shore was removed from Harrow. By one of those convenient arrangements, which the

* We have searched the *Biographica Dramatica* in vain for some account of this gentleman's performances. The last edition of this carefully compiled work does not contain the name of Harland.

† Mr Halhed was a learned and excellent man; but in the autumn of his life he laboured under a delusion, of a painful and unaccountable nature. He became a disciple of the fanatic, self-constituted prophet Richard Brothers, and exposed himself in Parliament (he was one of the members for Lymington) by confessing his faith in the inspired character of the madman; and moving that Brothers' prophecies be printed for the use of the members of the House!

Directors of the present day contrive as skilfully as their predecessors, a writership had been set aside for young Shore, shortly after the death of his father. He was now old enough to avail himself of the appointment; but as it was necessary, before entering on his duties, that he should acquire a smattering of book-keeping and accounts, he was placed at a commercial school at Hoxton—"an obscure seminary," which, however, contained, at that time, among its students, another embryo Governor-General of India—the Marquis of Hastings, then Lord Rawdon. We think that the name of the master of the obscure seminary, which had the luck, if not the merit, of sending forth two such men as Lord Teignmouth and Lord Hastings, might have been recorded in the biography of the former.

After passing nine months at the Hoxton academy, and acquiring, in addition to a practical knowledge of Arithmetic, some acquaintance with the French and Portuguese languages, young Shore embarked for India. The Captain of his ship was a strange, uncouth, superstitious animal (not wanting altogether in a certain rough goodness) who was in the habit of rapping out oaths and prayers by turns, observing "Let us rub off as we go." His companions, a wild crew of writers and cadets, were more disorderly and quarrelsome than was agreeable to a studious, contemplative youth, who was forced to make one of their number. The young writer of the present day, with his light and airy awning cabin, fitted up in the best style of Maynard or Silver, turns sick at the very thought of the "great cabin," which the "cadets and writers used promiscuously," in the old times, swinging their hammocks together as gregariously as a regiment of soldiers. Shore was fain to seek every now and then a little quiet in the cabin of the second mate—a privilege which he greatly enjoyed; and, at other times, to avail himself of a similar license, allowed to him by a Mr. Hancock, a fellow passenger, who, with a penetration as creditable to his judgment, as his kindness to his heart, espied the sterling worth of the young writer, took him by the hand, and proved to him a real and serviceable friend.

The vessel on which Shore embarked, reached Madras in May 1769. From this place he wrote to his mother, that he had been "very healthy and very happy" throughout the passage; and that the weather, though very hot, did not disagree with him; but it would seem that, in this latter respect, he was greatly mistaken, for he arrived at Bengal, in such a critical state, that his immediate dissolution was confidently anticipated. He recovered; but from that time to the period, nearly thirty years afterwards, when he finally quitted India, he appears to have

suffered almost uninterruptedly under the depressing effects of a severe bilious disorder, which, affecting both body and mind, induced a languor and a lowness of spirits, often perceptible in his letters and journals. He appears to have been, in respect of bodily health, one of that very numerous class of men whom we scarcely know whether to envy or pity—with a constitution, which would seem to compound for the absence of all dangerous ailments by the constant sufferance of those lesser ills, which embitter life but do not destroy it. It is a fact, often alleged by medical writers, and one which the experience of most men will confirm, that none are more notoriously long-lived, than those bilio-dyspeptic invalids, who are constantly ailing in a small way, and eternally patching up the little holes in their constitution, which they fancy their disorders must have left. Lord Teignmouth was all his life in the enjoyment of a bad state of health; and died at the age of *eighty-two.*

The condition of a young writer, on first arriving in the country, was very different from what it is in the present day; and there was nothing to inspire Shore with a very encouraging idea of the prospects which opened out before him. He found himself in a very disagreeable place, with indifferent health and a paltry salary. "I began life," he said, "without connections and 'friends; and had scarcely a letter of recommendation or intro-'duction. There was no church in Calcutta, although divine ser-'vice was performed in a room in the old Fort on Sunday morn-'ings only; and there was only one Clergyman in Bengal." Lord Clive had cut down the trading system, but had failed to induce the Court of Directors to afford reasonable remuneration to their servants. The Civilians were, at that time, in a sort of transition state. They had not altogether ceased to be traders; nor altogether ceased to be corrupt. But, unquestionably, a great improvement had been wrought; the practices of the Company's servants were less openly and flagrantly nefarious, though, poverty and opportunity uniting to hold out the strongest temptations, it was not wonderful that much corruption still remained. In spite, however, of the contaminating influences by which he was surrounded, Shore preserved his integrity inviolate. He gave way to the ordinary allurements which beset the paths of youth; but dishonesty was not one of his failings. Opportunities were never wanting; but he resisted them all; and, however strange it may seem in the present day, to bestow extraordinary praise on the negative virtue of not being corrupt, the reader has only to consider the state of society in India, during the earlier years of the administration of Warren Hastings, to appreciate this freedom from the besetting vice of the age.

The first appointment of any importance conferred on Mr. Shore, was that of assistant to the Revenue Board of Moorshedabad. The senior member being too idle to do much work, and the second member being absent on a deputation, no small share of the onerous and responsible duties of the Board, devolved upon the young writer. He did his best, by unceasing application, to make up for want of experience; and whilst yet in his teens, decided as many cases, with as few appeals, as would have done credit to a veteran judge. His life at Moorshedabad was cheerless and solitary; and, in spite of the claims of business, he did not "lack time to mourn." The letters written to his mother at this time are more sombre than the common epistles of youth. From one of these, we extract a passage regarding the state and prospects of the Civil Service, premising only that Shore had then been scarcely four years in India:—

"Are you not rather disappointed in receiving no accounts of the progress I have made in the acquisition of a fortune? I wish, for your sake more than for my own, I could with truth boast of having done so; but the road to opulence grows daily narrower, and is more crowded with competitors, all eagerly pressing towards the goal, though few arrive there. I am not at present anyways avaricious, and should be contented with a moderate sum: perhaps when that modicum is acquired, I shall be thirsting after a little more. The Court of Directors are actuated with such a spirit of reformation and retrenchment, and so well seconded by Mr. Hastings, that it seems the rescission of all our remaining emoluments will alone suffice it. The Company's Service is in fact rendered an employ not very desirable. Patience, perseverance, and hope, are all I have left. I am now embarked for life; and must endeavour to steer my vessel through all the hardships and perils of the voyage, carefully catching every favourable gale which will wing me to the desired port. Rest assured, my dear Mother, nothing shall allure me to part with my honesty, or disgrace the precepts I have received from you, and which your own example has so well exemplified. Poor I am, and may remain so; but conscious rectitude shall never suffer me to blush at being so.

"It is inconceivable to what invidiousness an exalted rank in the Company's employ in Bengal is exposed. The very best characters do not escape calumny. I mention this, to caution you against paying too implicit a belief to the censures published in England by the interested and disappointed. Many recent instances might be pointed out, of worthy men having been traduced and rendered infamous by reports propagated by ill nature, or to serve some private ends. Unluckily, these illiberal accusations gain too much credit in Leadenhall Street, from the difficulty attending a disproval of them; and to this cause may in great measure be assigned the severe orders issued by the Court of Directors."

In 1773 Shore was appointed first assistant to the Resident at Rajeshahe, in which capacity his duties seem to have been limited to the adjudicature of civil suits; but soon afterwards, the Provincial Boards having been abolished, we find him acting as fifth member in the Revenue Board at Calcutta. He now began to take a part not only in the business, but in the

party-politics* of the Metropolis. The "Regulating Act" had passed; the new members of Council (Francis, Clavering and Monson) had arrived; and the memorable struggles between Hastings and the majority of his Council had arisen in all their fierceness. Shore had received his appointment from the Governor-General's opponents; and he supported, honestly we are convinced, the party which acknowledged Francis as its chief. On one occasion, he even co-operated with that bitter, bad man, to prepare a savage Revenue Minute, to be flung in the face of the Governor-General; and though he was for tempering, in some measure, the ferocity of his fellow laborer, there is no doubt that he lent himself and all his practical knowledge to the work of abusing the head of the Government. It may be remarked here, that Mr. Shore, with singular intellectual obliquity, always entertained a belief, that Francis was not the author of the letters of *Junius*.

Early in 1775, Shore having again fallen sick, visited Madras and Pondicherry, for the benefit of change of air and relaxation; and returned to his duties in the cold weather. In 1777, he made another excursion in the same direction; and returned to find, that all his colleagues in the Revenue Board had been dismissed for neglect of duty. Averse, as he may have been by nature, from mingling in political strife, it does not appear that he very scrupulously abstained from taking a part in the engrossing controversies of the time. The alarming exercise of the power vested in the Supreme Court, which threw the whole of Bengal into a state of convulsion, was viewed by Shore with the utmost concern; and it is said, that the petition, which was forwarded to Parliament by the British inhabitants of Calcutta, emanated from his pen.

We have said, that Mr. Shore, in spite of the protestations of his son, was a partisan, though a moderate one, of Francis. We find him writing to his friend Mr. Hutchinson, "Mr. 'Francis is my friend; and will, I believe, give me proofs of 'it, whenever time shall put it into his power." And again, "My situation, though creditable, is not profitable; and as 'Mr. Francis is determined to proceed to Europe, in this 'month, it is not probable it will be mended." He was, however, greatly mistaken. Francis sailed. It was left to Hastings unopposed to form a new Suddur Board of Revenue. Mr. Anderson, a civilian of long standing and high character, was appointed senior member of the Board; and consulted

* Lord Teignmouth says, that his father scrupulously abstained from mixing himself up with these party squabbles. This does not seem to be quite correct. Shore was a moderate partisan; but he was a partisan—and on the wrong side.

on the naming of his colleagues. Anderson named Shore. Hastings expressed some surprise at the nomination, alleging that he had always regarded Shore as one of his most uncompromising opponents. "Appoint him," replied Anderson, "and in six weeks you and he will have formed a friendship." Hastings, greatly to his honor, consented; and Mr. Shore received the appointment. The Governor-General was subsequently charged with having formed a Board of his own *creatures*; with what injustice the above anecdote has shown.

The office to which Shore was now appointed he held throughout several years. As Mr. Anderson was constantly occupied on special missions; the second member was, in fact, president of the Board. He acquitted himself with ability, temper, and integrity; but with a corrupt executive little could be done in the great cause of justice and humanity. He worked, with conscientious and indefatigable zeal; and was not without his reward. "My labours daily increase," he writes in one of those letters to his mother, which shed so amiable a lustre upon his character; "but as they are honest and as they 'are rewarded, I do not grudge them. I consider them the 'means once more of bringing us together: whenever that 'happens, I shall think myself amply repaid for all I under-'go." We must not omit to state, that his first care, on attaining this increase of salary, was to offer assistance, to the utmost extent of his means, to that beloved parent; but her circumstances placed her out of the reach of the generosity of her son, and soon afterwards death removed her altogether beyond the influence of his unfailing kindness. This was a heavy blow to Shore, who had been looking forward, with all the eagerness of devoted affection, to a reunion with his earliest and best of friends. His letter to his brother, on this melancholy occasion, is too honorable to him to be omitted:—

"Time has now moderated the edge of affliction for the loss of the best of parents, though years must elapse before regret will be worn away. As long as memory continues, sorrow will be felt; and how is it possible to erase from the mind the recollection of a parent, whose tenderness and affection had no bounds, and whose indulgence was hardly restrained by her good sense and prudence! I went, in March last, to Chittagong; and upon my return, in July, I was preparing a letter for her, whom I shall never see more. What was it that suggested to my mind, that my employment was useless, and made me lay down my pen in the midst of an unfinished sheet? What was it that made me forebode I was writing to one who was gone for ever from me? Yet such was the case; and the gloomy wax confirmed what my mind too anxiously presaged. I opened your letters with an agitation never felt before; and the perusal of them told me no more than what I had foreboded.

"The situation of my health, from January to June, was such as made me anxious to return to England; and I, too, fondly pleased myself with the

hopes of comforting a mother, whose affection to me had ever been invariable. I had figured to myself ten thousand little occurrences, where delight was to predominate over past anxiety, and which would excite the smile of joy in the face of a beloved parent. How are all these ideas vanished, and no traces of them left! My illness before was more owing to the loss of my friend Cleveland, than to any other cause. I had scarce recovered from that shock, when a severer came upon me. Human happiness depends upon too many contingencies; and time, in a moment, saps the weak foundation on which delight is built.

* * * * * *

"All the sorrow I felt for Cleveland, who was the friend of my heart, was revived with double violence; and this misfortune has now left me without hope or expectation. But who is it I weep for? Not for my mother; for she is blest: her pure spirit, borne beyond the wants and cares of humanity, looks down, I trust, from the midst of bliss, upon her son, struggling with toils, that she is released from. It is for myself that my tears stream. I lament a friend, an adviser, a parent. I lament the loss of those joys I shall never have more: I weep over my own misfortunes. Alas, my dear Tom! we have lost what we shall never more recover; and I shall be unhappy, until I can pour forth, at the tomb of the best of parents, the tears of sorrow and affection—the tribute of filial gratitude and love.

"But let us ever suppose she is still living: let our conduct be regulated by that idea; and let the mutual affection subsisting between us, which would have rejoiced her heart when living, still subsist, as if she could now participate in the joys of it. If I had been in England when this event happened, I should have sunk under it; nor would the mournful pleasure of soothing the last hour of a beloved parent have alleviated the severity of the shock. But I have done;—and when I again take up my pen, I shall, if possible, avoid what is too powerful for my feelings.

"I thank you for the melancholy, but dear, pledge of affection you sent me —I mean the ring. I have constantly worn it, and ever shall. The hair was a little soiled, and the ring too large; but I have had both altered. A tear forces its way, whilst I look upon the characters. Memory retraces the path of anguish."

Early in the following year, Mr. Shore embarked for England. His health had suffered greatly from the recurrence of his severe bilious disorders, accompanied by a sleeplessness so extreme, that it is said his eyes were never closed for two consecutive hours. He had amassed little money; but his wants were moderate, and moderate wants are the best wealth. It appears to have been his intention to have retired altogether from the service; and with this view he embarked for England early in 1783. Warren Hastings was his fellow-passenger.

After an unusually short passage, Mr. Shore arrived in England. It was with little joy, little exultation, that he trod once more his native land. His only relative was a brother—a clergyman of the Church of England, and an excellent man; and his friends were limited to so small a number, that his social prospects were little cheering. But he soon found a friend, of

* Quotation from the Jág Bashist.

more value to him than "troops;" the one friend, who takes the place of scores of intimates, and renders the love of kindred almost a worthless thing.—He took unto himself a wife.

This lady was a member of an old Devonshire family, named Cornish. Shore was on a visit to his brother, at Dury-yard, near Exeter; and here he first met the amiable woman, who was destined to be his wife. "In a single interview," says his son "his affections became so much engaged, that he sought 'fresh opportunities of cultivating her acquaintance, and in 'the February following she became his wife." The sequel is somewhat extraordinary. The honey-moon was scarcely over, before Mr. Shore, who had intended to quit India for ever, received from the Court of Directors the offer of a seat in Council. The offer was accepted; and it was determined, that the husband should proceed to India, and the "wife of a 'month" remain at home. The filial explanation of this unintelligible arrangement is anything but satisfactory. "His own 'apprehensions of a voyage, then seldom attempted by ladies, 'and of the pernicious influence of an Indian climate, second-'ed by the too successful entreaties of a fond and over-'anxious mother, induced Mrs. Shore to forego reluctantly 'the thought of accompanying him." There is nothing admissible in this. There were ladies enough at Calcutta to render Mrs. Shore's position, had she accompanied her husband, anything but an isolated one.* Of the climate he himself wrote not long afterwards; "Bengal is really not an unhealthy 'climate, although it disagrees with my constitution;" and as to the entreaties of a fond and over-anxious mother, what ought they to avail with a wife? But, as the biographer says, "the 'die was cast." Mr. Shore accompanied Lord Cornwallis to India, and was in so wretched a state of mind, that he, literally speaking, would "rather have been hanged." He saw the body of a malefactor hanging in chains, on the banks of the Thames, and envied the corpse of the miserable culprit. The voyage was sufficiently dreary; but the cordial reception which he met with, on his arrival, from natives and Europeans, did something to rouse him temporarily from his depression.

He took his seat in Council, in January 1787. He was on the best possible terms with the Governor-General, whom he greatly admired and esteemed. But he does not seem to have viewed the prospect before him with much complacency; and never ceased to deplore his resolution to return to India. To

* We have referred to some of the newspapers of that period, and ascertained that almost every fleet brought a considerable number of ladies to India. In some vessels, we find the names of five or six—not all of them married ladies either.

Mrs. Shore he wrote in a desponding tone; all his letters indeed, were tinged with equal melancholy, when he touched on personal affairs. Of politics he wrote cheerfully. There was nothing to alarm or embarrass; no storm over-head, no clouds on the horizon; until towards the close of the year, when there appeared a probability of Tippoo breaking through his engagements, by attacking our ally, the Rajah of Travancore. When the intelligence of this anticipated rupture reached Calcutta, Cornwallis was on a tour of military inspection. Shore recorded his opinions in a letter, of which the following paragraphs form the commencement:

"I give up this morning, to afford you my reflections on the intelligence communicated by Sir A. Campbell. I am clearly of opinion, if Tippoo is serious in his intention of attacking the Rajah of Travancore, that he means to carry his hostilities beyond the territories of that Prince; and on these grounds, it will be necessary to prepare for a war throughout the Carnatic.

"But I think we ought to go a step further than merely acting upon the defensive; and if Tippoo should enter into the war with us, that we ought not to make peace, until we have put it out of his power to hurt us more, at least for a long series of years.

"On the present system, whilst we are under the necessity of employing all our resources merely to guard against a prince who is daily aggrandizing his power, our means must decrease, and his gain strength. It is true, that I would not on this account think of attacking him, merely to prevent his attacking us in future; but, if he should begin, I conceive it will be the wisest policy to adopt this consideration as the principle of conduct. The question is, if we have the means to do it?—and, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of the Company's finances, I do not hesitate to declare my opinion that it is practicable."

This was sound advice; but at this time, foreign politics were not destined to engross the attention of the Government. The crisis was not immediately at hand. "The ambition and 'animosity of Tippoo," wrote Shore, somewhat too sanguinely in 1789, "have been checked and concealed; the Mahrattas find in our moderation the prospect of an useful alliance. 'the Nizam has surrendered what he claimed—Sindiah con-'tinues our friend—and the Beear Rajah is well disposed to-'wards us: nothing has been sacrificed to accomplish these 'objects; and the British Government holds the balance of 'power in India." With our foreign relations in this favorable state, Government had abundance of time to devote to domestic improvements. The "permanent settlement" was the result.

Of the part taken by Shore in the carrying out of this great measure, somewhat inconsistent accounts have been given by different writers. It has been variously asserted, on the one hand, that he was the real author of the scheme; and on the other, that he opposed it. The truth is, that Lord Cornwallis

had the good sense to avail himself largely of Shore's extensive acquaintance with Revenue matters, and that much of the new plan was the growth of the civilian's enlarged experience. His local knowledge was far greater than that possessed by the Governor-General. He was unquestionably the best Revenue Officer in the country; and there were few Europeans, at that time, with a deeper insight into the native character. With a wise modesty, however, he acknowledged the insufficiency of his information; and whilst Cornwallis, with greater boldness and less sagacity, maintained that their acquaintance with the character and institutions of the people was both ample and accurate enough to warrant the substitution of the new Revenue system, as a *permanent* arrangement, for that which had so long obtained in the country, Shore, whilst he approved of the new settlement, protested against the Governor-General's proposal to render it, at once, a permanent one. He contended, that it would be advisable, in the first instance, to ascertain how the new scheme would work; that if during the ten years of probation, which he desired, *in limine*, to assign to it, the experiment realised the expectations that had been formed of it, it might then, without any misgivings, be merged into a permanent settlement. Cornwallis did not deny, that what Shore advanced was reasonable, and worthy of consideration. But he could not be brought to give his consent to a measure, which might, and probably would, lead to the entire subversion of a scheme, which it had cost him so much to mature. He urged, that though he sufficiently relied on the favorable result of the experiment,* and was willing, therefore to put it to the test, he had no security against the opposition which party or prejudice might throw in his way, before the expiry of the decennial period of probation; that new men during that period might succeed, with new principles and new prejudices, to the helm of Government, and that the scheme, therefore, stood but little chance of a fair ten years' trial, on its own merits. There was nothing unreasonable in these expectations: but a question may be raised as to whether Cornwallis were justified in presuming upon these expectations to the extent of imposing upon millions of his fellow-creatures a new and untried fiscal law, based upon information, which many men of judgment and experience pronounced to be insufficient. Instead of avoiding the greater danger, it appears to us, that he avoided the lesser.

* Cornwallis's favorite argument in defence of the *perennial* settlement was, that it would render the Zemindars more anxious to improve the soil. It was on this ground, that he always opposed a regular *decennial* settlement. Events, however, proved, that the argument was wholly fallacious.

The risk incurred, by establishing a permanent system, for the evils of which there was no remedy, in the event of its working badly, was immeasurably greater than that incurred by the possibility, if, on the other hand, it should work advantageously, of the plan being set aside by the prejudice or caprice of a new ruler. But it is no part of our business in the present article to discuss either the merits of the Permanent Settlement, or the conduct of Lord Cornwallis. Upon the part taken by Mr. Shore in these important transactions we must bestow the praise which is so justly due. The Governor-General, though differing from his able colleague on the one point which has been considered above, neglected no opportunity of recording his high sense of the judgment and ability of Mr. Shore: "The great ability," wrote his Lordship, at the close of the discussion, "displayed in Mr. Shore's minute, which introduced the 'propositions for the Settlement—the uncommon knowledge 'which he has manifested of every part of the Revenue system 'of this country—the liberality and fairness of his arguments 'and clearness of his style, give me an opportunity (which my 'personal esteem and regard for him, and the obligation I owe 'him as a public man for his powerful assistance in every 'branch of the business of this Government, must ever render 'peculiarly gratifying to me) of recording my highest respect 'for his talents, my warmest sense of his public-spirited prin-'ciples, which in an impaired state of health, could alone have 'supported him in executing a work of such extraordinary 'labor; and lastly, my general approbation of the greatest part 'of his plan." It is refreshing, in these times, to contemplate the cordiality of feeling and the reciprocal admiration with which these two able and virtuous men regarded each other. The utter absence of all the littleness of envy observable in their conduct—the unfailing generosity, which led them to neglect no opportunity public or private of giving their testimony each in favor of the merits of the other, are not so common, in public life, that we can afford to pass them by without a word of hearty commendation. Neither of these two good men ever appears to greater advantage than in the panegyrics of the other. The praises of both are of equal value. The lustre which one derives from the laudations of his associate he is equally competent to shed in return.

The Permanent Settlement having been completed, Mr. Shore embarked again for England at the close of 1789. On his arrival he was received, by all parties, with honor; and a Baronetcy was offered to him and declined. His income was small, and he alleged "the incompatibility of poverty and titles." The

salary of a Member of Council was then, as now, equal to £10,000 *per annum;* but Shore during his three years' tenure of office, contrived to save no more than enough to add a hundred pounds to his yearly income, which now amounted to £900. On this he purposed to live quietly and contentedly, for the remainder of his days, in England. He took up his residence at Egham, and soon began to feel the delights of a progressive restoration to health and cheerfulness. With public affairs he had little to do. The trial of Warren Hastings was then dragging its slow length along, and Shore was summoned to give evidence against his old master. Fifteen years had wrought an extraordinary revolution in his opinions of men and things. He, who formerly sided with Francis, in his fierce antagonism of the Governor-General, and spoke of the honor and integrity of the Councillor, on whose name "calumny had not been able to fix a blot," is now to be seen sympathising with Hastings, and denouncing his persecutors. "Messrs. Burke and Francis," he writes, "will go on without a 'probable chance of proving the charges. The former is mad; 'the latter malicious and revengeful. Madness and malice 'are beyond the operations of reason." He had learnt, it would seem, to take the measure of Francis with a little more accuracy than of old.

Little more than a year had elapsed since the date of Shore's arrival in England, when he was startled from his pleasant dreams of ease and domesticity by the unexpected offer of the Governor-Generalship of India. He declined it; but his scruples were soon overcome; he was created a Baronet; and a second time he consented to abandon the pleasures of home and the delights of domestic life, to proceed to the fruition of the solitary splendor of high office beneath an Eastern sun. The appointment was worm-wood to Burke. He wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to Mr. Baring, urging that the newly-nominated Governor-General was a party to several of the misdemeanours charged upon Mr. Hastings, and on evidence before the House of Lords. The answer sent was dignified and decisive. Burke assailed Mr. Dundas in still stronger terms of remonstrance; but with no greater success. Sir John Shore sailed for India, and after a tedious voyage reached Calcutta, in March, 1793.

Lord Cornwallis still held the reins of Government, and did not lay them down till the following October. His successor entered upon the duties of his office, with devout prayers for divine assistance; and bore himself, in his exalted position, with characteristic humility and moderation.* We are told in the

* He assumed the Government of the country under the pressure of severe domestic affliction, which had bowed him down to the ground. But a few weeks before

volumes before us, that he abjured all pomp and display; that his style of living was very unostentatious; that he contented himself with one-fourth of the number of aides-de-camp, who had surrounded Mr. Hastings; that he never called out the Body Guard (it was then only 50 strong, and he never thought of augmenting it) to attend him; and that his equipage, when he went abroad, was of the plainest and most unassuming fashion. He was a simple-minded man; and he bore his honors with all meekness.

We might dismiss Sir John Shore's administration in a few paragraphs—but it is by no means our intention to do so. His administration was not what is vulgarly deemed a *brilliant* administration. He has been blamed, not so much for what he did, as for what he did not; and because he was unwarlike, it has been inferred that he was weak. His Government, it is said, was not a *vigorous* Government. We seldom hear these words uttered without bringing to mind a certain passage, in the letters of *Peter Plymley*, which, for more than one reason, is worthy of quotation in such times as these:—"How easy it is to shed human 'blood; how easy it is to persuade ourselves that it is our duty 'to do so—and that the decision has cost us a severe struggle—'how much, in all ages, have wounds, and shrieks, and tears been 'the *cheap and vulgar resources of the rulers of mankind*—how 'difficult and how noble it is to govern in kindness, and to 'found an empire upon the everlasting basis of justice and 'affection! But what do men call *vigour?* To let loose 'hussars and to bring up artillery; to govern with lighted 'matches, and to cut, and push, and prime. *I call this, not vigour, 'but the sloth of cruelty and ignorance.*" Bowing reverentially to this truth, how cheerfully do we admit that the administration of Sir John Shore was not a *vigorous* administration.

the chief authority devolved upon him, he had received from England the painful intelligence of the death of his two younger children. This incident has been rendered familiar to the public by an extraordiary circumstance connected with it. The melancholy event, which occurred at home, was in part, at least, shadowed forth to Shore in a dream. In a letter to Mr Charles Grant, the afflicted father writes: "The coin-'cidence of dreams with facts is sometimes striking, and my loss unfortunately fur-'nishes me with an instance. In a letter to Lady Shore of the 11th of May last, 'I mentioned a dream respecting my daughter Caroline, which had shocked me to 'agony, but I did not communicate to her the particulars. It happened on or about 'the first of that month—my letter particularly mentions the 1st. I thought I was 'walking out with the dear girl, when stopping to speak to somebody, I missed her. 'A ladder was erected against a house which was repairing, and I concluded she had 'ascended by it. I entered the house, and on enquiring for the child, was told a co-'roner's inquest was sitting on the body of a dead infant; I hastened to the room 'and was struck with the appearance of the dissevered limbs of a child, which I knew 'to be my own. I took up an arm; and the hand grasped my finger. I need not 'add, that I awoke with a scream and in an agony of tears. It was perhaps at 'that time my beloved girl ceased to exist..... I have now done, and shall be 'silent about her."..... A reference to the correspondence subsequently proved, that the dream occurred on the very night of the child's death.

But some writers assert, that it was weak—that the non-interference system was carried out to the very verge of imbecility; and that the measures thus characterised had not honesty and justice to recommend them. Let us look into the actual circumstances of the case.—The British Government had, in 1790, entered into a tripartite treaty with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, the object of which was, mutual protection against the hostilities of Tippoo. It was stipulated, that in the event of this powerful and ambitious Prince unjustly attacking any one of the allies, the other two should be bound to assist the party assailed to repel the aggressor. By the provisions of such a treaty it is obvious, that had Tippoo made an attack upon the territories of the Nizam, the Governor-General and the Mahrattas would have been bound to send a force to assist him; but it so happened that, early in 1794, a few months after Sir John Shore had taken the reins of Government into his hand, our two allies, who had long regarded each other with jealousy and mistrust, began to quarrel openly with one another; and the weaker, who was in reality the aggressor, besought the intervention of the British. The Nizam, whose empire was in a state of gradual, but certain, decay, was sufficiently infatuated to provoke the hostilities of his more powerful neighbours; and as it was subsequently alleged, that the Mahrattas had called in the aid of Tippoo, our interference was claimed in accordance with the provisions of the tripartite treaty. Now, the question is, whether, under these circumstances, Sir John Shore was bound to make a conditional promise of British co-operation. With the disputes between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, it was obviously no part of his duty to interfere, save as a friendly mediator; but the cause of the formation of the tripartite treaty having been a sort of general Tippoo-phobia, and the object thereof to arrest the ambition of the Sultan, which threatened destruction to every other power in Hindostan, it is urged, and not without considerable shew of truth, that the Nizam, having reason to apprehend danger from the designs of Tippoo, was justly entitled to our protection. At a first glance, this would appear to be a plain and undeniable truism; but a little consideration will, we think, in every unprejudiced mind, lead to an opposite conviction. The convention, by which it is alleged the British Government were bound, was a triple convention. So long as the three parties co-operated in good faith, it was calculated to answer the ends for which it was designed; but upon the secession of any one party, or, at all events, upon the secession of either of the two more powerful parties, it became, for all practical purposes, a mere nullity. The treaty itself was loose and insufficient:

there was no provision against the contingency that had arisen; and in the absence of such a provision, it appears to us to have been the duty of the contracting parties, to consider well the spirit and intent of the covenant, into which they had entered. Now, it is undeniable, that by the secession of one of the contracting parties, the intent of the treaty was altogether vitiated; that a new and unexpected conjuncture had arisen, and entirely altered the position and the relations of the remaining two. The treaty was entered into as a tripartite treaty—formed on the supposition, that a junction of the three powers would have furnished mutual protection, under any combination of circumstances; but now only two parties remained, and the third had not only seceded from his allies, but had leagued himself with the very enemy, to resist whose encroachments the alliance had been formed. The Nizam might urge, that the defection of one could not dissolve the obligations of the remaining two; but the answer to this is sufficiently plain. The British Government reply, that they would never have dreamt of entering into such an alliance with the Nizam alone; that the Nizam was entitled to the fulfilment of the treaty as one of three, not as one of two; because it was only on the understanding, that there were to be three parties to it, that the treaty was entered into at all. If three men undertake to carry between them a certain burthen from one point to another, under the impression, that the united strength of the three is equal to the task undertaken; and one unexpectedly secedes from the engagement, it does not appear to us, that the remaining two are under any obligation to each other to go on with the work; still less do they continue under this obligation, if the third and recusant party, seats himself on the top of the burthen, and doubling its weight, insists upon being carried too. If the British, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, supposing them to be equal powers, were jointly a match for Tippoo Sultan, it is obvious that Tippoo, when joined by the Mahrattas, was twice as strong as the British and the Nizam. But the three powers were not equal: for the Nizam was incomparably the weakest; and no treaty, based upon principles of reciprocity, could have existed between this decaying state and the British Government in its growing vigor. To have compelled the latter, after the secession of the Mahrattas, to assist the Nizam in the field, would have been to compel it to enter into and act up to a new and never-contemplated agreement; to co-operate not with the ally, nor against the enemy, contemplated in the existing treaty, but with an ally doubly weak, against an enemy doubly strong. Would this have been just? We think not. Even Sir John Malcolm, the most

strenuous opponent of the non-interference policy, which the Governor-General thought it right, under these circumstances, to favor, could scarcely have had the hardihood to maintain, that if the secession of the Mahrattas had been contemplated, the treaty would have been formed; that if the Mahrattas had previously shown themselves friendly to Tippoo and hostile to the Nizam, the British Government would have leagued themselves with the latter, under the certainty of being immediately called upon to send a force to co-operate with our ally against the combined armies of the Mahrattas and Sultan. In all doubtful cases, where a treaty contains no specific provision against a subsequent contingency, it is reasonable and just to interpret it in the spirit in which it was formed, and with due regard to the obvious intents and purposes of the alliance. This was the course adopted by Sir John Shore; and we are satisfied of its propriety.

Being convinced of the justice of the Governor-General's policy, we need not much concern ourselves regarding any subordinate considerations. We so firmly believe that what is just will never ultimately prove inexpedient; that having established the justice of any political measure, we feel it in our hearts to be a mere work of supererogation to combat the objections of the expediency-mongers. But as many are unwilling to acknowledge this truth, it may be advisable to meet the objections on common grounds, especially as some of them assume a higher tone than is characteristic of the class.

Our position in India was not then what it is now: the superiority of the British power in the field was not, as in these days, an admitted and unquestionable fact. When we declare war, or, as is more fashionable in these days, when we make war without declaring it, against any native state, the result is no longer doubtful. We have systematised victory—reduced the issue of the contest to a certainty, as far as certainty can attend upon human affairs; and are never deterred by considerations of the strength of our enemies, from undertaking any military operations, which, in themselves, appear to be advisable. The state of affairs was widely different during the administration of Sir John Shore. Tippoo was still powerful—still dreaded. We had curbed, and by curbing we had exasperated him. His hatred was more intense—his desire to expel us from the country more insatiable, than at the commencement of the last war; and his power was but little diminished. Alone, he was still a formidable foe; leagued with the Mahrattas he was greatly to be dreaded by men not prone to magnify danger. Sir John Shore was no alarmist; but he deemed that a war with the combined powers of the Sultan and the Mahrattas

was, at such a time, of too dangerous a character to be lightly undertaken. The secret history of the Governor-General's misgivings may be found in one of his letters to Lord Cornwallis. There was no one to whom he could have safely entrusted the conduct of such a war. Sir Robert Abercrombie was then Commander-in-chief. He was a man of the strictest honor; the most unimpeachable integrity; the most assiduous zeal; his personal character was worthy of all possible regard, and by no one were the high qualities of his nature more appreciated than by the Governor-General. But a very excellent man may be a very indifferent General. Abercrombie, whatever may have been his abilities, was not equal to such a crisis; and the Governor-General, though his forbearance was the growth of higher motives, could not but see the danger of entrusting to any but an officer of approved character in the field, the conduct of a war against two such armies as those of the Sultan and the Mahrattas.

But Sir John Malcolm asserts, with no little confidence, that if the British Government had arrayed itself by the side of the Nizam, it would have protected its ally, without incurring the hazard of a war. This is the merest conjecture. The assumption that our very name is sufficient to strike terror into the hearts of our enemies is, at all times, a vain and a dangerous one. Fifty years of conquest—of ever-extending empire in the East, has not rendered it less vain or less dangerous. As we write, the wounds inflicted by an enemy, whom it was thought our very name would over-awe, are scarcely yet cicatrized. To presume upon the forbearance of our enemies, or on the effect to be produced upon them by our very name, may be excusable in a controversial historian, whose begging of the question can but, at the worst, betray a handful of his more shallow readers into erroneous conclusions; but not in a statesman, with vast power and vast responsibility, bound to proceed upon no vain assumptions—upon no wild speculations and conjectures. The man who would play at such a game of chances, is a gamester, and not a statesman. But this *argument* is really too preposterous to require a more extended notice.

There is another of a more general character, which, from its particular application to the present case, seems to demand a brief consideration. It has been alleged, that the policy of Sir John Shore was distinguished by short-sightedness; that the non-interference system, pursued for a brief season, was calculated to render necessary future interferences of a more serious and extensive nature; that interposition, sooner or later, was inevitable, and that by adopting vigorous measures, at an earlier stage, he might have prevented the subsequent occurrence of

a far more sanguinary conflict, than could have resulted from these measures. This is a common argument, often employed to justify acts of enormous wrong-doing. It is impossible to conceive any political doctrine more susceptible of flagitious abuse. It is in itself a moral enormity; and viewing it with the eyes of the merest worldly wisdom, utterly unsound. We are not to do evil that good may come of it; we are not to make war in order to maintain peace. The expedient we know to be wrong; we believe it to be equally futile. We believe that a little war is much more likely to induce, than to prevent, a great one—that one war more frequently leads to another, than is productive of a general peace. A vast flood of casuistry has been poured out in defence of this expedient; but the page of history contains a complete refutation of this most sophistical doctrine—a doctrine, which is ever ready to the hands of selfishness and ambition; cruelty and oppression; to be paraded in defence of measures, whose wickedness cannot bear the light.

Sir John Shore was not selfish; was not ambitious.—He regarded war, though decorated with red ribbands and silver stars, as a prodigious evil. He thought that an earldom would be dearly purchased by the sacrifice of a hundred lives; and could not even be tempted by the fascinations of an Extraordinary Gazette in perspective, to make war, except upon compulsion. He believed, too, that he was bound, in some small degree, to act up to his own avowed principles; and to regard, not only the spirit of the Charter act,* but the instructions

* The wording of it, too, was sufficiently precise—The 42d clause ran as follows:—"And forasmuch as to pursue Schemes of Conquest and Extension of Dominion in *India* are Measures repugnant to the Wish, the Honor, and Policy of this Nation. Be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for the Governor-General in Council of *Fort William* aforesaid, without the express Command and Authority of the said Court of Directors, or of the said Secret Committee by the Authority of the said Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of *India*, in any Case (except where Hostilities have actually been commenced, or Preparations actually made for the commencement of Hostilities, against the *British* Nation in *India*, or against some of the Princes or States dependant thereon, or whose Territories the said United Company shall be at such Time engaged by any subsisting Treaty to defend or guarantee) either to declare War or commence Hostilities, or enter into any Treaty for making War against any of the Country Princes or States in *India*, or any Treaty for guaranteeing the Possessions of any Country Princes or States; and that in any such Case it shall not be lawful for the said Governor-General and Council to declare War or to commence Hostilities, or to enter into any Treaty for making War against any other Prince or State, than such as shall be actually committing Hostilities, or making Preparations as aforesaid, or to make such Treaty for guaranteeing the Possessions of any Prince or State, but upon the Consideration of such Prince or State actually engaging to assist the Company against such Hostilities commenced, or Preparations made as aforesaid; and in all Cases where Hostilities shall be commenced, or Treaty made, the said Governor-General and Council shall, by the most expeditious Means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said Court of Directors, or to the said Secret Committee, together with a full State of the Information and Intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such Hostilities, or made such Treaties, and their Motives and Reasons for the same at large."

of the superior authorities at home. He was of opinion, moreover, that the Government of the country was more beneficially employed in devising means for its internal improvement, than in seeking occasions for foreign wars; and that it was more expedient to replenish the Treasury of India than to exhaust it. The general feeling of the people of England was in favor of pacific measures. The further extension of our Indian Empire, supposed to be already overgrown, was looked upon as a peril to be studiously avoided; the clamor raised against our conquests in the East had been, for some time, loud and unceasing; one of the strongest and most popular points of the new India Bill was that which proposed a remedy for this growing lust of dominion, by rendering the Governor-General personally responsible, for all such acts of hostility towards, and interference with, the Native Princes of India. Sir John Shore had been selected to fill the highest station in the country, solely on account of his pacific character and his knowledge of the details of internal administration. Many abler men might have been found, as war-ministers; more dashing, more "vigorous" characteristics might have been discerned in scores of ministerial protégés, eager to leap into a salary of £25,000 per annum, and, if necessary, to fold up their consciences with their great-coats; scores of men of political all-work, ready to turn their hands to the annexation of Provinces, the over-turning of dynasties, the making and the unmaking of nabobs. But the choice fell upon Shore, a civil servant of the Company, with no powerful interest, no family connexions, and no other reputation to commend him, than great ability and experience as a Revenue officer, and sterling integrity of character as a man. Had the person, thus selected to fill the office of Governor-General, shown himself prone to war, he would have betrayed the confidence reposed in him; he would have violated the implied contract with his employers, which men of honor deem as sacred as any registered on parchment and ratified by an oath; he would have shown himself utterly unworthy of holding the high and responsible office, which his merits as a just and peaceful statesman had attained.

Such being the opinions and such the nature of the Governor-General, it is not strange, in spite of the censures which have been passed upon his forbearance, that he limited his Mysore policy to the observance of the treaty of Seringapatam. His arrangement of the Oude succession has been also censured; but it was not of more questionable character. Justice and policy were both on his side.

When Sir John Shore assumed the reins of Government,

the condition of this unhappy country was such as to excite the pity and alarm of every friend of humanity. It was suffering under the effects of a double Government. The Political and Military government was in the hands of the Company; the internal administration of the Oude territories still rested with the Nabob Vizier. Disorder of every kind ran riot over the whole length and breadth of the land. Never were the evils of misrule more horribly apparent; never were the vices of an indolent and rapacious Government productive of a greater sum of misery. The extravagance and profligacy of the court were writen in hideous characters on the desolated face of the country. It was left to the Nabob's Government to dispense justice: justice was not dispensed. It was left to the Nabob's Government to collect the revenue; the people were groupd down to the dust. It was left to the Nabob's Government to coerce the subjects of the state; coercion was but another name for cruelty and extortion. The court was sumptuous and profligate; the people poor and wretched. The expenses of the household were enormous;—hundreds of richly-caparisoned useless elephants; a multitudinous throng of unserviceable attendants; bands of dancing girls; flocks of parasites; costly feasts and ceremonies; folly and pomp and profligacy of every conceivable description, drained the coffers of the state. A vicious and extravagant Government soon beget a poor and a suffering people; a poor and a suffering people, in turn, beget a bankrupt Government. The process of retaliation is sure. To support the lavish expenditure of the court, the mass of the people were *persecuted and outraged. The revenue was collected by force. The rapacity of the Aumils was monstrous;* and the better to aid this rapacity, bands of armed mercenaries were let loose upon the miserable ryots. Under such a system of cruelty and extortion, the country soon became a desert. It had been drained for the sustenance of the vicious luxury of the court; there were no more golden eggs to be gathered; for the vital principle, which generated them, had been forcibly annihilated; and the Government learnt by hard experience, that the prosperity of the people is the only true source of wealth. But the decrease of the Revenue was not accompanied by a corresponding diminution of the profligate expenditure of the court. The evil was met by another evil. Recourse was had to a destructive loan-system. An enormous and accumulating debt was incurred; and the country was on the verge of ruin. Lord Cornwallis had, with manly energy and an honesty and humanity characteristic of all his actions, remonstrated in forcible

language with the Nabob, against his enormous extravagance and the oppressions which were practised to support it. He remonstrated in vain; and his successor found affairs in the worst possible state. The subsidy, it is true, had been punctually paid; but the finance affairs of the Nabob were hopelessly involved. He had paid off one debt by incurring another; and at every shift, found the burthen heavier than before. He soon began to sink under it; but pertinaciously refused, in the hour of his need, to avail himself of the only remedy that offered any permanent relief.

Surrounded by the territories of Oude was a small tract of country, which still remained in the hands of the Rohillas. The condition of this petty principality afforded a favorable contrast to that of the circumjacent country. The effects of a steady and beneficent system of Government were everywhere visible. The people were prosperous and happy. The name of the chief, who ruled this single district of Rampore, the only spot that still remained to the Rohillas, was Fyzoolah Khan. In 1794, the old man was gathered to his fathers. His eldest son, Mahomed Ali, succeeded in due course to the little sovereignty; but his days were already numbered. The chief had a younger brother, whose name was Gholaum Mahomed, a fierce and ambitious man, to whom fratricide was but an airy trifle, and usurpation a laudable end. This man murdered Mahomed Ali; and rudely setting aside the claims of the son of the murdered man, seized the Government of the district. Rampore was tributary to Oude; and the confirmation of the Nabob Vizier was required. Gholaum Mahomed offered a large bribe. *The Vizier, too poor to be very scrupulous, was well inclined to favor the claims of the Usurper; but the British* Government interfered. Sir Robert Abercrombie, the Commander-in-Chief, was then in the Upper Provinces; and before he could receive instructions from Calcutta, he marched against Gholaum Mahomed, and declared him and his followers to be rebels. The two armies came into action at Bettarah. At the first attack the fortune of war seemed to favor the Rohillas; but the tide of victory was rolled back upon the usurper's army, and the British left master of the field. Gholaum Mahomed was admitted to terms. Sir Robert Abercrombie guaranteed the personal security of the chief, and even consented to grant him a provision.* The succession was promised to the son of Mahomet Ali; but of these measures the Government disapproved.

Sir John Shore reprehended the undue moderation of the Commander-in-chief, who had condescended to treat with a murderer and a rebel; but this he acknowledged to be an error

on the right side. The grant of the succession to the family of Mahomed Ali, was a more serious mistake. Unfortunately, the Governor-General had determined to wrest the Government from the Rohillas and to transfer it to the hands of the Nabob Vizier. The justification of this very doubtful measure rests on the fact, that the Rohilla chiefs had generally sided with the usurper; and had thus forfeited every claim to our protection. This is not altogether satisfactory. We do not see in it sufficient to justify the abandonment of an avowedly well-governed and prosperous district to the tender mercies of a notoriously corrupt Government, which turned whatever it touched into a scene of frightful misery and disorder. To have given up Rampore to the Nabob Vizier would have been to have entailed upon it all the evils of the worst possible misrule. This fate was not in store for the Rohillas. The treasures of Fyzoolah Khan were poured into the empty coffers of the Oude Court; but the arrangements of Abercrombie were confirmed. That officer was severely censured; but impartial History has done him justice.

But to return to the state of affairs at the Court of Lucknow—Every year saw them relapsing into worse disorder, with less disposition, as time advanced, on the part of the local Government, to remedy the evils beneath which the unhappy country had so long been groaning. Advice, protestation, remonstrance were in vain. Lord Cornwallis had advised, protested, remonstrated; Sir John Shore had advised, protested, remonstrated. At last, the Governor-General, in 1797, determined upon a journey to Lucknow.

It cannot be said that this journey was undertaken, with no other object than the improvement of the internal administration of the Oude country. There was a little business connected with the subsidy to be settled; and there was a great panic, arising out of the movements of Zemaun Shah—known in our times, as the old "blind king," a pensioner at Loodheanah, and afterwards a reverend appendage to the Court of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk—but then, in the full vigor of his years, a powerful and ambitious prince. This subsidy, which the Court of Directors had honestly avowed to be one of the causes* of the corruption of the Oude Court and the extortions

* "Under a system," they said, "defective in almost every part of it, and the abuses, which arose out of that system, the present unfortunate state of the country may, in our opinion, be attributed to a combination of causes. Among these is a claim, which is now very wisely relinquished, of right of pre-emptions, and of exemptions from duties, in the province of Oude; made and exercised by contractors employed in providing the Investment, and which, in the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, has effectually contributed to its ruin. The immense drain of specie from that country of late years, amounting from February 1794 to September 1783, to the enormous sum of two crores and thirty-nine lacs of rupees, exclusive of

practised on the people—for the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees by a Government, determined to sacrifice the people to any extent, rather than to limit its own expenditure, must necessarily have been attended by a corresponding amount of human suffering—was said not to be sufficient for the maintenance of the requisite number of troops. It was urged, that the Nabob must have more troops, and that the Company must have more money. The latter having recently augmented their Cavalry, the Court of Directors were very anxious that the Vizier should pay part of the expense; and that, the better to enable him to do this, he should disband his own useless sowars. This matter was now to be settled by the Governor-General in person at the Court of Lucknow. The times were somewhat stirring. Zemaun Shah had entered the Punjaub, and penetrated as far as Lahore.* He was expected soon to reach Delhi. The hopes and aspirations of the Mahomedans on the Northen frontier of Hindoostan rose up to fever-heat. They saw before them, in their eager imaginings, the restoration of the lost dignity of the house of Timour. An adequate resistance to the invader was not to be looked for from any of the native states. The British Government, therefore, lost no time in adopting precautionary measures; a force of 15,000 men was equipped, ready to take the field at an hour's notice. At the same time, the necessity of adjusting affairs in Oude was rendered still more apparent by the anticipated invasion from Affghanistan. The Nabob had complained of his ministers, who, he said, had thwarted and opposed him, and fostered every kind of corruption. Truly or falsely he attributed to their incompetency many of the

what may have been sent down to Calcutta, to answer the bills drawn for the payment of the troops, and on private account, stands foremost in our opinion, among the causes that have operated so much to its prejudice."—*Mill.* There is an error in this passage, which we have correctly quoted from the edition of 1820. The dates appear to have been misplaced.

* The author of the volumes under review seems to entertain very vague notions of the history of Zemaun Shah, and the country over which he had dominion. We quote the annexed passage, as a remarkable proof of the prevailing ignorance of Indian History If the son of a Governor-General has no better information than this, what wonder that others are equally ignorant?

"On the Northern portion of India, Zemaun Shah, the ambitious and enterprising Sultan of Lahore, sought with increasing cupidity, an opportunity of wresting the fertile plains of Oude, from the feeble grasp of its unwarlike Nabobs. He had derived from his predecessor, Ahmed Shah Durannee, not only the state, which that renowned conqueror had founded in 1740, but a numerous and well-disciplined army, and the fame which it had acquired under his command, in his several invasions of Hindostan, and particularly in his celebrated victory over the Mahrattas at Paniput. During twenty years Zemaun Shah indulged without realising his dreams of extended empire and bequeathed his inherited possessions to a successor, whose name is associated with recent historical recollections—the well-known Runjeet Singh!"

worst evils which had arisen under his Government; and proposed to apppoint in their stead a creature of less character than either of them. To this the British Government objected. They had a better substitute to offer.

Early in February, the Governor-General set out for Lucknow, taking with him one Tuffozool Hossein Khan, who had been, for some time, living in Calcutta as the Vakeel of the court of Lucknow. He was an intelligent, respectable, trustworthy man; and had recommended himself to the Governor-General by his studious habits, his steady straight-forward conduct, and his sincere professions of attachment. A scholar and a mathematician of extensive acquirements, he had translated the Principia of Newton into the Persian language, and had composed a Treatise on Fluxions. For some time past, he had entertained an ardent desire to visit England; and had recently formed the resolution of accompanying Sir John Shore, on his return home to the West. In these hopes, however, he was disappointed. Sir John Shore prevailed upon the Vakeel to accompany him to Oude, and there, with the consent of the Nabob, to take the administration into his undefiled hands. His habits were not merely contemplative; he was an able statesman, as well as a ripe scholar, and had approved himself, in every way, fit for the office, which he now reluctantly consented to hold.

Before the end of the month, the Governor-General was at Lucknow, and Tuffozool Khan duly installed in office. The conduct of this able and excellent native statesman fully realised Shore's expectations. The influence of a superior mind was soon discernible at this corrupt court. The new minister spoke plainly, and the Nabob Vizier listened patiently. The latter, a weak, rather than vicious prince, sated by over indulgence,* surrounded by dissolute minions, and immoderately addicted to opium, was found to be sufficiently tractable; and Sir John Shore returned to the Presidency tolerably satisfied with the result of his journey. More, perhaps, might have been done; but that Zemaun Shah, finding that matters had not gone on very well during his absence, had thought it prudent to turn his back upon Hindoostan and to reseek his own dominions. Shore had calculated upon a discreet use of the proceedings of the Dourance monarch, as a sure card in the game of politics which he was then playing—"I think," he writes in a letter to Lady

* Shore mentions in one of his letters from Lucknow, that the Nabob informed him his highness had discovered "a new pleasure," originally suggested to him by an European, which afforded him most exquisite enjoyment. He had, he said, spent lakhs of rupees on amusement, and found nothing half so satisfactory as this new delight. It was nothing more than the sight of—*old women racing in sacks.*

Shore, who had at last made the voyage to India, "the prospec-
'tive danger alarming; the immediate danger a very good instru-
'ment in promoting my views with the Vizier." This instrument failed him at the critical moment; still he accomplished something.—"I left the seat of my govern-
'ment," he says, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, written shortly before his departure from Lucknow, "to pay him (the Vizier)
'a visit—not entirely of ceremony, as you may suppose;
'and since my arrival here, I have been talking to him on
'subjects, which never entered his imagination—the prosperity
'of his country, the happiness of his subjects, the improve-
'ment of his administration, and the dignity of his character.
'*Mendici, mimæ, balatrones, hoc genus omne,* with fools,
'knaves, and sycophants, compose the court of the illustrious
'ruler of millions! Never did I undertake so unpleasant a task.
'If I have not, however, impressed him with ideas more
'suitable to his situation, I have, at least, established the
'influence of the Company with him on stronger grounds
'than before." That is to say; he had settled the little matter of the subsidy, by screwing out of the unhappy Nabob five lakhs and a half of rupees annually, in addition to the large and enhanced amount of tribute, which was already paid; and he had established on a secure basis the administration of Tuffo-zool Khan. "All this," wrote the Governor-General in a letter to Jonathan Duncan, "I could have accomplished on
'the dragooning plan in five days: upon my principles it
'required as many weeks." In the course of April he returned to Calcutta.

A few months afterwards, the Vizier, Asoph-ud-dowlah, died, and his reputed son, Vizier Ali, ascended the throne of Oude. The deceased monarch had acknowledged him as his successor; the people—or rather the court, for to these matters the people are seldom otherwise than most indifferent, demurred not to the succession; and the British Government confirmed him in his title. In a little time, however, intelligence reached the Governor-General, which caused him to regret his recognition of the new Vizier, and determined him again to proceed to Lucknow. It was apparent, that Vizier Ali was not the son of Asoph-ud-dowlah; equally apparent, that he was a bad and violent man, burning with hostility against the British Government. Another claimant of the throne had presented himself in the person of Saadut Ali, brother and next of kin to the deceased Nabob; and the Governor-General deemed it both just and expedient to consider the claims of this man, who, for some time, had been living a pensioner at Benares.

On his arrival at Lucknow the Governor-General found it a strange scene of disorder and intrigue. He had been met, when some miles from the capital, by his old friend Tuffozool Khan, who poured out a flood of evidence in proof of the fact, that Vizier Ali was not the son of Asoph-ud-dowlah, legitimate or illegitimate; but a spurious bantling, the child of a menial servant, without one single drop of royal blood to ennoble him. The minister added, that the young Nabob was fierce and profligate, a compound of many of the worst vices; that a connexion between such a man and the British Government would surely be disastrous to the latter; and that it was incumbent on the Governor-General, as an act of justice to the Company as well as to Oude, to set aside the unlawful claims of the spurious Vizier Ali. These representations were made known to Shore again and again. They were consonant with his own opinions; and he acted in accordance with them. Vizier Ali ceased to reign at Lucknow.

The work which Sir John Shore had undertaken was one of difficulty and of danger. That Vizier Ali was not the son of Asoph-ud-dowlah was a fact sufficiently notorious from one end of Oude to the other. It was equally notorious, that the deceased Nabob had recognized this youth as his son; and by the Mahomedan law such a recognition afforded a sufficient title to the inheritance. But it was alleged, on the other hand, that not only was Vizier Ali generally known to be the son of a *frash*; but that Asoph-ud-dowlah, who had no sons, was thoroughly aware of the fact; that the Nabob had indeed purchased the child, when an infant, and brought it up as his own; perfectly conscious all the time of the real parentage of the infant. In this view of the case, the Mahomedan law did not legitimatize the succession; and the question, therefore, became a question of evidence. The principal—indeed, the only competent witness—was an eunuch, named Tehzeen Ali Khan, who asserted with much confidence and an apparent show of truth, that the deceased Nabob had no children; but that he was in the habit of purchasing infants, who were brought up in the Zenana, and called his own; or, in some cases, of buying women in a state of pregnancy, that their offspring might be born in the Palace. Sir John Shore considered the evidence against the legitimacy of Vizier Ali decisive; and we think, that there is no reasonable doubt of the justice of his conclusions. It has been said, that he placed too much reliance on the testimony of a single man, and "decided against the unfortunate Nabob, 'the great question of a kingdom, upon evidence upon which 'a Court of English law would not have decided against him

a question of a few pounds."* There would be nothing very uncommon in this, if the allegation were unquestionably true; for statesmen are not quite so particular as juries, nor is it the custom to require as strong evidence before deposing a monarch, as is needed to send a beggar to the tread-mill. In our times, the question of the succession would have been decided against Vizier Ali upon the grounds, not of his illegitimacy, but of his hostility to British rule. Of the hostility there was the strongest proof. Monarchs have been deposed in later days, upon evidence of not a twentieth part the strength of that which might have been brought in proof of the hostility of Vizier Ali—monarchs, not dependent upon the British Government and supported by our bayonets, on the confines of our own country, but independent rulers in regions far beyond our frontier. In these days, it is sufficient to suspect, or to pretend to suspect, hostility. It is enough for a Governor-General to entertain an idea—no matter how vague and chimerical—that British interests would be more surely subserved by the supremacy of one party than of another in a distant state; straightway the *fiat* is sent forth; the suspected ruler is deposed; and some puppet or protégé is set up to play the part of a "friendly ruler," hedged by a divinity of British bayonets. It is a common-place remark, that the English in India have grown purer, under the influence of time; that we have lived down the moral diseases which were erst endemic amongst us. But we fear, that one important exception must be made; we must except the foreign administration of British Governments in India. We thank God most devoutly, for having purged the sty of domestic polity, which erst was reeking and rank with the filthiest corruption. But whilst our judges have grown pure and our revenue-collectors honest; whilst the subordinate servants of the Company have settled down into the conviction, that eternal infamy is the fair guerdon of the man who turns his office into a thumb-screw for the extortion of pelf; whilst the civil administration of the country is conducted throughout upon principles believed to be sound and righteous in themselves, and calculated to confer advantages upon the people such as they have never before enjoyed, our political dealings with other

* *Mill*, Vol. VI.—The passage runs thus—"It is impossible to read the account of this transaction, drawn up by the Governor-General, and not to be impressed with a conviction of his sincerity and his desire to do justice. But it is easy also to perceive how much his understanding was bewildered; and impossible not to confess that he decided against the unfortunate Nabob the great question of a kingdom upon evidence upon which a court of law would not have decided against him a question of a few pounds."

Asiatic states are characterised by even more injustice and cruelty than at the very outset of the British conquests in the East. We have not stood still; we have gone back. We have less than the little conscience, which influenced our doings in the last century. Is there one among our readers, who, considering the chief events which have occurred under the present Charter, can bring himself to believe, that in these days, the Oude succession would not have been decided against Vizier Ali without actual reference to the question of legitimacy or illegitimacy, however much, had the inquiry turned out as we wished, this plausible pretext might have been put forth as a make-belief?—Is there one who doubts, that the conscience of a modern Governor-General would have stood in his way, had he thought that the Government of Saadut Ali would have been more convenient than the Government of Vizier Ali? In the modern school of politics, it is quite enough, that a weaker Prince should render himself obnoxious to us by some appearance of hostility; or should excite in us an apprehension, that he *may* become hostile. These suspicions once excited, the security of the British possessions in the East is said to demand, that we should put down, by force, the dominion of the suspected Prince. Now, Vizier Ali was more than suspected; he was known to be hostile. We confess, that we do not think that either our last Whig, or our last Tory Governor-General would have hesitated five minutes, before toppling him off the throne.

Sir John Shore decided the question of the Oude succession, not as a man seeking a colorable pretext for the adoption of measures previously determined upon from motives of political expediency; but as a man conscientiously believing that the course he was following was one of undeniable justice. There was no predetermination to carry out this policy—no casting about for something to justify it in the eyes of the world. In modern politics the justification is an after-thought; the measure is resolved upon first, and then an excuse is invented. Sir John Shore started for Lucknow, with no determination to depose Vizier Ali. It was not until evidence was laid before him, of a clear and convincing character, that this determination was formed. It is not true, that all the evidence adduced consisted in the depositions of one man. There was a mass of collateral evidence, which, added to the direct testimony of this man, cleared away any doubt which might otherwise have existed in the mind of the Governor-General. The eunuch Tehzeen Khan was alone competent to speak to the impossibility of royal blood flowing in the veins of Vizier Ali; he deposed that the mother of the youth was delivered in his own house; that the

woman had not, for three or four years previously, entered the Zenana at all; that he acquainted the Nabob with the fact of the child's birth; and that the Nabob offered to purchase the infant for 500 rupees.* The witness was subjected to a strict examination; but his accounts were straight-forward and consistent. His character was held in high estimation; and there was apparent in all his statements a degree of candour, which invested them with an irresistible credibility. The evidence was obviously not the evidence of a man endeavouring to make up a case; for the eunuch admitted much, the suppression of which would greatly have strengthened its probability.† There was internally everything in favor of the veracity of the witness; and the story which he told, had the advantage of equally strong external support. It is questionable whether there was a man in the Oude dominions who believed, that Vizier Ali was the son of Asoph-ud-dowlah. Every tongue proclaimed the spurious origin of the youth. The belief, now generally expressed, had existed during the life of the late Nabob. It was not now hatched up, at a critical juncture, for a specific purpose. Every man, whom Shore consulted, not only deposed to the common report, but to his own decided convictions. Every man spoke of the fact, as one never questioned, and therefore firmly believed. The common voice of the people proclaimed, that Vizier Ali had no single drop of royal blood in his veins. This alone furnished the strongest possible presumption of the spurious origin of the youth;—coupled with the direct and positive evidence of Tehzeen Ali, it was irresistibly convincing. The inevitable conclusion was that Vizier Ali was not the son of Asoph-ud-dowlah; that the late Nabob had ever been fully conscious of the fact; that none of his reputed sons could lay claim to more genuine royalty than Vizier Ali; and that therefore, Saadut Ali, eldest surviving son of Sujah-ud-dowlah, and brother of the late Nabob, was the legitimate heir to the vacant musnud. Shore acted in accordance with these convictions; and the justice of the decision was never questioned in Oude—never questioned in any part of India. There is not a native of the country, at this day, who will not, if the name of Vizier Ali be familiar to him, tell you at once that he was the son of a *frash*.

When the Governor-General entered Lucknow, he found,

* The Nabob had previously purchased the woman's eldest child, who had died shortly after the transfer. This is quite sufficient to account for the communicativeness of Tehzeen Khan.

† He acknowledged that two children—sons—who died in their infancy had been born to Asoph-ud-dowlah. He did not even attempt to substantiate the alleged impotence of the deceased Nabob.

that Vizier Ali, suspecting his designs, was making preparations for resistance. The dogged, ferocious character of the youth shewed itself in all its native deformity. No sooner did intelligence of the resolution of the British ruler again to visit the capital of Oude reach the young Nabob, than he assumed a hostile position, concentrated a large body of troops in Lucknow, served out a profusion of ammunition, and rallied his friends around him. Immediately on his accession, (perchance, before) he had bethought himself of the possibility of subverting the influence of the British Government in Oude; and as this darling hope day by day gathered strength, in the young man's bosom, he employed himself in maturing his designs for the accomplishment of the great end of his ambition; but suffered not these worthy aims to interfere with the gratification of his viler lusts. His confidence in his own power was unbounded. He had poured out treasure with profusion into the laps of the dissolute soldiery; and bound their chiefs, by the most solemn oaths, to stand by him in the hour of need. The minister, Tuffozool Khan, the friend of the British, he had virtually degraded; and there was strong suspicion, that he had designed the assassination of this good man.* Affairs were in this condition, when the approach of the Governor-General, with a strong force, induced a pause of reflexion. The first resolve of Vizier Ali had been to despatch a letter of stern defiance to greet the British ruler as he neared the confines of the Oude dominions. This letter was written, but not sent. At the solicitation of his father-in-law, who had been warned of the consequences of such an offence, another of a more temperate character was substituted and despatched. He had also resolved to meet the Governor-General with a strong force and a train of artillery; but this also was abandoned at the solicitation of the Begum. He went forth to meet the representative of the Company, with a small escort; and with an appearance of friendship—but the deadliest enmity was rankling in his heart. Preparations for war were still afoot. Still he continued to levy troops, to exact oaths of fidelity from the chiefs; and still the language of the Durbar was loud, vehement, and warlike.

The Governor-General took up his residence in the city of Lucknow; but he had not been there many days, before it was communicated to him, that Vizier Ali had laid a plot for his assassination; that large numbers of troops had been secretly

* Of the latter fact there was no doubt. The assassination story was the growth of suspicion only—though subsequent events proved that Vizier Ali would not have hesitated at such a step, had it served his turn.

introduced into the town; and that several new battalions were marching upon Lucknow. On receiving this intelligence, Shore quitted the city, and took up his residence at a garden house some miles distant from the capital. The movement alarmed the young Nabob; and, on the following day, he quitted Lucknow. Soon afterwards he was attacked with a virulent disorder; and the Governor-General was left, in comparative safety, to prosecute his inquiries, and mature his designs.

The result of the inquries now instituted strengthened Shore in the conviction, that Vizier Ali was a spurious child; a determined enemy of the British Government; a sanguinary and profligate wretch, with scarcely a redeeming virtue. Moreover, it assured the Governor-General, that the young Nabob was almost destitute of real friends in the state; that the general feeling of the people was strong against him; and that even the two Begums (the mother and wife of Asoph-ud-dowlah) and Almas, the great renter, who was proprietor of nearly half the country—influential parties, who had once seemed to manifest a disposition to support the young Nabob, were ready to turn their backs upon him. A more revolting scene of intrigue than that which now unfolded itself, has rarely been presented to the wondering eye of the diplomatist. Almas came forward to negociate, on his own part and that of the elder Begum, for the substitution of one of the brothers of the late Nabob for the profligate youth who now occupied the musnud. He confirmed all that had been advanced relative to the birth of Vizier Ali, the ferocity of his character, and his deep enmity to the British; and added the authority of the elder Begum, on these points, to his own. The prince, whom it was proposed to substitute, was Mirza Jungly, a younger brother of Saadut Ali. The Governor-General listened patiently to all that was said; and offered no objections to the proposal. When Almas had done speaking, Shore observed, that the subject was one of the highest importance; that the proposition now made was worthy of all possible consideration; and that it would be expedient to resume the conference, on a future day, inviting the Commander-in-Chief to take part in the deliberation. Accordingly, three days afterwards, the conference was resumed in the presence of Sir Alured Clark, who had succeeded to the chief command. Almas made the same statements as on the former occasion; and stood, as the Governor-General intended, irretrievably committed to the deposition of Vizier Ali. The justice of this measure once fully admitted, there was no sort of pretext for the exclusion of Saadut Ali from the succession. The mind of the Governor-General was now resolved; he wrote to the

Resident at Benares to make preparations for the journey of Saadut Khan to Cawnpore, and a few days afterwards despatched the draft of an engagement between the Prince and the British Government, to be presented to, and approved of by, the former.

In the mean time, Vizier Ali had risen from the sick-bed; but only to find that all hope of resisting the power of the British Government was utterly gone from him. He was still wrathful—still violent as before; but his paroxysms were the paroxysms of impotence. Surrounded by his creatures, the most depraved of the depraved courtiers of Lucknow, he plotted new schemes for the murder of the Governor-General, and the extermination of the British. He had still a few purchased adherents, who, armed to the teeth, were poured into the streets of Lucknow; and, desperate characters as many of them were, a general pillage and massacre seemed far from an improbable contingency. But God in his mercy averted this most terrible consummation. Vizier Ali bowed himself to the stern behests of fate; and this great revolution was a bloodless one. The Governor-General, who, contrary to the advice of all around him, had scrupulously abstained from any act of violence against the person of Vizier Ali, set out to meet the new Nabob-Vizier on his way from Cawnpore; and conducted him in state to Lucknow. To the elder Begum had been entrusted the duty of preserving the tranquillity of the city, which, on the evening before the anticipated entrance of the new Nabob-Vizier, bristled with the arms of fierce and lawless soldiers, eager for the delights of pillage, and regardless of the effusion of blood. It was a critical time—a moment of intense anxiety; but the benignant Providence, to whom the christian ruler had, in his difficulties, so often prayed for assistance, was "a very present help in trouble." Saadut Ali was placed on the musnud without an appeal to arms. Fearful and trembling he entered Lucknow, almost repenting of his high fortune; but the Governor-General was calm and confident. Encouraging his royal protégé with kindly assurances of protection, Shore took the prince into his own howdah, and thus succeeded in allaying his apprehensions of coming evil. On they went through the crowded streets of Lucknow, the Nabob and the Nabob-maker —the latter scattering, everywhere as he advanced, rupees among the assembled multitude. As they approached the palace, the pressing crowd grew denser and denser—but the swarming populace gave no token of anger or discontent. Curiosity was the one dominant feeling. The spectacle, as on these occasions it ever does, filled the minds as the eyes of the eager crowd; the

Begum, who had been invited, and who had promised to indue the prince with the royal *khelat*, was constant to her engagement; ready, on the arrival of the cortège, to perform the ceremony of investiture—and Saadut Ali became Nabob-Vizier of Oude.

The British Government were, of course, remunerated. It would not have been an English transaction, if nothing had been made of it but a Nabob. A small consideration for value received was granted by Saadut Ali. The treaty, which had been presented to him, when first it was determined to raise him from the dust of Benares, was a considerable improvement upon any which we had before contrived to force on the luckless Government of Oude. The matter of the subsidy was encreased to seventy-six lakhs of rupees per annum; Allahabad was ceded to the Company; and twelve lakhs of rupees were paid down to defray the expenses of the Nabob-making. Lord Teignmouth tells us, that his father might have enriched himself by half-a million of money, if he had consented to let the Company's noose run a little more easily.

The sequel of the tale—a tragic one—must be told here, though it belongs to the administration of Sir John Shore's successor. Vizier Ali, who, finding all hopes of organising a successful opposition utterly vain, had surrendered himself to the British Government, was immediately removed to Benares. By the treaty which we had imposed upon Saadut Ali, the Nabob had pledged himself to pay, through the hands of the British Resident, a yearly stipend for the support of the dethroned prince, amounting to a lakh and a half of rupees. This was sufficient to enable the profligate youth to continue, without restraint, his course of vicious and degrading self-indulgence. For some time after his dethronement, it appeared that his licentiousness afforded him sufficient occupation; and that he was contented with the amount of wickedness which he was able to achieve in his confined sphere. But the pleasures of domestic vice, in process of time, began to pall upon his appetite. He sighed for a more enlarged sphere of action; and weary of the blandishments of sensual vice, and the small cruelties of a zenana tyrant, panted for the more exciting joys of wholesale murder and rapine. He had not been a year at Benares, during which time the peace of the city had been more than once disturbed by his lawless retainers, before he was discovered in the act of sending a friendly invitation to Zewaun Shah, encouraging the Affghan monarch in his contemplated invasion of Hindoostan: and setting at work other active agencies for the organisation of a widespread conspiracy, which was to set the whole country in a blaze, and to end in the extermination of the British. These

amiable designs having been something more than suspected, it was deemed advisable to remove Vizier Ali to Calcutta. Intimation of the intentions of Government were communicated to the Prince, through Mr. Cherry, the Resident at Benares. This gentleman, who had held his appointment under the administration of Sir John Shore, was cautioned by that statesman against the too probable effects of the violence and ferocity of Vizier Ali; but the advice seems to have fallen upon a rock. "At present," he wrote, when at Benares, on his return from Lucknow, "in the indulgence of youthful dissipation, he 'finds every gratification which he can desire; but we are not 'to forget that he has exhibited marks not only of a depraved 'and vicious character, but of an ambitious and fearless dis-'position, capable of any desperation." Mr. Cherry thought the Governor-General an alarmist, or acted as though he thought so; and shortly before the day arrived which was to witness the departure of Vizier Ali for Calcutta, the Resident invited the Prince to breakfast with him at Secrole. By Mr. Cherry had Vizier Ali been treated with uniform kindness and consideration; and the Mahomedan, it was generally supposed, regarded the Resident, with such feelings of friendship as it was possible for his depraved heart to entertain. But the order for his removal to Calcutta was a death-below to his aspiring hopes; and he hated, with an intense hatred, every one who, directly or indirectly, whether as the suggester, the maturer, or the mere instrument for the execution of the offensive measure, had been concerned in his anticipated removal. With these bitter feelings rankling in his heart, Vizier Ali presented himself, with a large retinue, at Mr. Cherry's residence. After the usual compliments, the Prince descanted, in an eager, impetuous tone, upon the cruelty and injustice of his removal from Benares, and taxed in no measured terms, the Resident with having brought this evil upon him. Calmly and gently, Mr. Cherry replied to the invectives of the fierce Mahomedan, urging that he was merely the executive—that the orders, issued by Government, whether approved or disapproved by him, he was bound, as a servant of Government, to carry out. But these mild remonstrances were thrown away upon Vizier Ali. Starting suddenly from his seat, he drew his sword and struck at the Resident. The signal was caught up, and in an instant the swords of all his retainers were unsheathed. Mr. Cherry sprung towards a window, and endeavoured to effect his escape; but he was struck down in the attempt, and a dagger buried in his bosom. He fell dead on the floor; and beside him, Captain Conway, and Mr. Evans, an East Indian assistant, who

had been surrounded by the other retainers of Vizier Ali and instantly despatched. Having accomplished this, the sanguinary ruffians quitted the scene of death, rushed to the gateway, mounted their horses, which were standing ready for them, and galloped, at full speed, towards the house of Mr. Davis, the magistrate. Meeting, on their way, two other servants of the Company, Mr. Graham and Mr. Hill, the ruffians murdered them in the streets; and on arriving at Mr. Davis's house, shot the native sentinel at the door. Warned by the uproar which this incident occasioned, Mr. Davis betook himself with his wife and family to the roof of his house, which, after the fashion of all Indian houses, was flat, and approached by a narrow stair-case. In his flight, he had providentially seized a hog-spear, and with this in his hand, he posted himself at the narrow aperture, and with a firmness and courage worthy of Leonidas, defended the gorge against the fierce assailants, who were pressing upwards to destroy him. The stair-case was so narrow, that only one man at a time could approach the top-most stair. The first man who gained it was speared to death—a second followed, and a third; but only to receive in his breast the deadly weapon of the courageous Englishman. Others made the venture, but fell desperately wounded beside the carcasses of their countrymen. For nearly an hour-and-a half did the stout heart and the strong arm of the British gentleman bid defiance to the ruthless gang of murderers, who were pressing on to his destruction—for nearly an hour-and-a half did he successfully defend his life, and dearer than life, his wife and children, who were looking on with terror and dismay. His courage and constancy prevailed at last. Whilst Vizier Ali and his companions were storming the roof of Mr. Davis's house, another civilian, Mr. Treves, was riding at full speed to Beatabur to bring in a detachment of cavalry, and succeeding in less time than he expected, returned with a couple of troops to Secrole, and scared the assassins from their prey. Vizier Ali fled towards Azimghur, with three or four hundred attendants, and subsequently found refuge in the territory of the Rajah of Bhotwal, who was at that time a prisoner in Nepaul. The Rajah of Nepaul, on the representation of the British Government, determined to seize or expel the fugitive, and Vizier Ali, apprehending treachery, quitted the sanctuary, mustered his followers, who had considerably increased in numbers, and advanced towards Gorruckpore. Here a party of his adherents fell in with a detachment of British troops, who entirely routed them. Vizier Ali, now finding his cause hopeless, and being deserted by several of his chief adherents, again sought safety in flight.

The Rajah of Jeyneghur, upon whose protection he threw himself, received him, but more as a prisoner, than a guest; and when the British Government sent to offer a large reward for the surrender of Vizier Ali, the cupidity of the Rajah prevailed over every other consideration—the British gold glittered with irresistible brightness, and he consented to give up the murderer. But it was not without some qualms of conscience that he agreed to betray a man, who had thrown himself up on his protection. Compounding, therefore, for what he regarded as a breach of hospitality, without loosening his hold of the gold mohurs in his grasp, he delivered up the fugitive prince, under an engagement, that the life of the ruffian should be spared; and accordingly one of the most atrocious monsters, that ever disgraced the name of humanity, was suffered to die a natural death. He was conveyed to Calcutta; and died, a wretched prisoner, in Fort William.

But to return to Sir John Shore. The Governor-General, before he quitted Lucknow, had received advices from England, announcing the appointment of Lord Mornington as his successor, and his own elevation to an Irish Peerage.* Had the offer been made to him, he would have declined it; but his ministerial friends apprehending the obstacle which was likely to be raised by the modesty and humility of the Governor-General, promoted him without instituting an inquiry into his wishes; he became a Lord *malgré lui;* and returned to Calcutta as Lord Teignmouth. The prospect of almost immediately revisiting England, although, some time before, his wife had made the voyage "then rarely attempted by ladies," afforded him more satisfaction than his elevation to the peerage; and he prepared immediately for his departure. He reached Calcutta on the 2d, and embarked on the 7th of March. The inhabitants of Calcutta presented him with an address, which contains the highest possible tribute both to his public and private character. It is too honorable to him to be omitted. "Justice, moderation, and an inflexible integrity" are not always the characteristics of the public conduct of a Governor-General:—

HONOURED SIR,

"We, the British Inhabitants of Calcutta, notwithstanding that you are shortly about to relinquish the important station which you have long held, so much to your own honour and to the advantage of the Nation, cannot suffer you to depart without expressing our high respect for your character, and our sincere concern for the loss of a Governor, who, aided by

* The title appears to have been selected by Sir John Shore's friends, Sir Francis Baring, Mr. Bensley and Mr. Hugh Inglis. His connexion with Teignmouth was principally through the family of his wife.

the lights of a superior understanding, and a long experience of the affairs of this country, has made justice, moderation, and an inflexible integrity the invariable guides of his conduct. We request, Hon. Sir, that you will accept our earnest wishes for your complete restoration to health, and for the long enjoyment of domestic happiness; which you are no less calculated to promote by your private virtues, than you are the interests of your country by your talents and qualifications for public life.

"We have the honour to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most obedient and faithful Servants."

The last public act of Lord Teignmough was the preparation, on the morning of his departure, of a long letter to his successor, explanatory of the position of affairs in the East. A portion of this letter is published in the volumes before us. It sufficiently proves, that the writer had formed a correct estimate of the state and prospects of the British power in the East. Lord Mornington reached the seat of his Government in May, and his "more vigorous" and "brilliant" administration soon obscured that of his moderate predecessor. But the name of Sir John Shore will long be revered in India by all who love justice and peace.

The remainder of his career it is impossible not to contemplate with feelings of unmixed satisfaction. He arrived in England after a long and boisterous voyage, during which the poetry of his nature more than once found suitable aliment in the contemplation of the sublime terrors of the deep; and was every where welcomed with the utmost cordiality and respect. From Pitt and Dundas he received marked attention; and with Wilberforce—a kindred spirit—he cemented a friendship which endured to the last moments of the life of that great and good man. By the Court of Directors, who had previously recorded the high sense they entertained of his "long, able, and faithful services in India," he was entertained, with distinguished honor, and invited, in the name of the Prince of Wales, to become a member of the Club at Grafton House, an honor which he did not seem to appreciate. After residing for a short period in London, he proceeded with his family to Exmouth, and in that quiet, picturesque town, commenced his Memoir of the life of Sir W. Jones. Early in the following year he was tempted to renew his connection with public affairs; but he wisely withstood the temptation. Pitt offered him, through Wilberforce, the presidency of the Board of Controul; but with characteristic modesty, he declined the offer, alleging that his abilities were but moderate; that he might be "compe-
'tent to fill, without discredit, the second situation in the office"

referred to, but was "quite unequal to discharge the duties of 'its head;" that his habits were contemplative; that he was no speaker; and that nothing could ever induce him to become "a member of parliament." To this resolution he adhered on his return shortly afterwards to London. Providence had designed that he should move henceforward in another sphere.

He took up his residence in Clapham—a place, which for more than half-a-century has been distinguished as the abode of more truly pious Christians than are ordinarily to be found in places of equal extent, and which, in the present day, has lost nothing of its old character; and there, in the society of Grant, Wilberforce, the Thorntons, and other men of distinguished piety and benevolence, commenced a career of well-doing, that has endeared his memory to thousands, and earned for him a reputation more to be coveted than the highest fame that the most brilliant statesmanship can confer. During the long years of his residence in India, he had slowly but certainly been receiving the impress of those religious feelings, the cultivation of which in after times became with him a rooted habit. The seed which in sickness and in solitude, amidst toil and privation, on the shores of a strange land, had been sown in his heart, was now, in the season of abundant happiness and prosperity, surrounded by all the cheering influences of life, to become a goodly tree, to put forth its spreading branches, and to fructify for all the world. The arena of political strife he had quitted for ever; the quiet of domestic life afforded purer enjoyment, in the society of his wife, his children, and his friends.

> To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
> But all his serious thoughts had rest in Heaven.

He dwelt at Clapham, for six years, performing with conscientious zeal the duties of a justice of the peace, to which, according to his son, he had "looked from the summit of his Indian elevation as the highest object of his ambition;" pursuing his literary studies; receiving his friends with cordial hospitality; interesting himself deeply in the expansion of his children's minds; blundering over his cockney farm-yard and hot-houses; supplying articles to the *Christian Observer*, then conducted by Zachary Macaulay; and profiting largely by the ministry of that excellent Christian, Mr. John Venn. His life was tranquil and happy. For a brief period, the alarm created throughout the country by the well credited report of Napoleon's intended invasion of Great Britian, compelled him, as a duty to his country, to take a slight part in public affairs. He acted as Lord Lieutenant of the county, in the place of the Earl of Onslow, who had

been incapacitated by a paralytic seizure, and, in this capacity, received the thanks of the Deputy Lieutenants for his meritorious exertions—but this office was but temporary. He was soon called upon to fill a more important and more permanent one. He became the President of the Bible Society.

Into the business of this important office—one which he was eminently qualified by station, piety, and ability to fill, he entered with becoming zeal. But early in the year 1807, he was again invited to take a part in secular affairs, and under circumstances which precluded him from sending in a refusal. The Portland Administration solicited his acceptance of office as one of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, with a seat in the Privy Council. He accepted it, stipulating that he should on no account be expected to deviate from those principles, which had directed his administration in India. There was little need, however, of this stipulation; the office which he held for some twenty years was little more than a name. In 1829 we find him writing to one of his sons: "I am no 'longer a member of the Board of Controul, in which I might 'have continued, if I had desired it. In point of fact it was a 'mere nominal appointment, and all the emoluments I derived 'from it were, two copies, annually, of the *Indian Register*, 'handsomely bound in red morocco. For the last three or four 'years, I have not known the names of my colleagues in the 'Board, and, of course know nothing of the business"—a striking proof of his utter abandonment of secular affairs. But into the business of the Bible Society, he entered with his whole heart. There was much to occupy his time and his most serious thoughts. He had brooded long and deeply over the spiritual darkness of the millions of his fellow creatures in Hindostan, and cherished schemes for their enlightenment. He looked upon the evangelization of the people of India as the best security for our tenure of the country. Others, however, entertained widely different opinions; and the operations of the Bible Society were viewed with alarm and mistrust. Five and thirty years of continued and continuing political success in India have not altogether laid this enormous bugbear in the dust. It is well known, that at the time to which we now refer, the Baptist Missionaries, whose zealous exertions in the great cause have not been exceeded, if they have been equalled, by those of any other denomination of Christians, were compelled by the measures of the British Government to betake themselves to the Danish settlement of Serampore—a place still associated in the minds of Christians with the honored names of Carey and Marshman. The connexion of Lord Teignmouth, a member of the Board of Con-

troul, with the Bible Society, was seized upon by the opponents of proselytism in India, whose keen visions saw many things undreamt of in the philosophy of the natives themselves,—men to whom thay were fain to give credit for more discernment than was really possessed—and cited as an event of a most alarming character. Lord Teignmouth's letters, written at this time, show how deeply he took the matter to heart. They evince a remarkable degree of sound sense, deprecating all imprudence in the propagation of the Scriptures, but expressing a firm belief in the innocuous tendency of such attempts when prudently conducted. The controversy was carried on with much zeal by both parties; Mr. Twining, and Major Scott Waring being the principal writers on one side; Mr. Owen, Bishop Porteous, and Lord Teignmouth on the other. With a work entitled "Con-'siderations on communicating the knowledge of Christianity to the Natives of India," the President of the Bible Society took the field, last in order of time, but first in respect of importance. He was, indeed, more frequently driven into religious controversy, than was congenial to his quiet spirit. Soon after leaving Clapham and taking up his residence in Portman Square, we find him plunged deep in controversy with Dr. Wordsworth, who had brought forward certain charges against the Bible Society. He was examined, too, before the House of Commons on subjects not only connected with Indian Missions, and the Church Establishment in India; but the admission, without limit, of Europeans into India. In a spirit of prejudice and exclusiveness but too common in those days, "he expressed his persuasion 'that the removal of obstacles to the admission of Europeans was 'calculated to lower the native estimate of European character, 'and, consequently, dangerous in a country, where the stability 'of the Government depended on opinion. He anticipated little 'advantage from the opening of the trade, as the natives would 'make little use of British manufactured goods."—We may add incidentally, that another authority, Sir John Malcolm, expressed at the same time, a precisely similar opinion. In one of Sir James Mackintosh's letters, the substance of Malcolm's evidence is thus briefly given: "Malcolm is the next witness to be examined, and 'his examination will probably take place on Monday. He is to 'give a strong testimony in favor of the Company's favorite 'argument, that free trade will lead to an influx of Europeans, 'which will produce insult and oppression to the natives, and 'at last drive them into rebellion, which will end in our ex-'pulsion." We are not much nearer our expulsion now than before the grant of the Charter of 1813; and we may say, without many misgivings, that if such an event be now in the

womb of time, the influx of Europeans into India can claim no paternity in the bantling.

From this date to the hour of his death, more than twenty years afterwards, Lord Teignmouth devoted himself to public affairs, in no other character than that of President of the Bible Society. When the allied sovereigns were in England, he headed a Society deputation, and read an address to the Emperor of Russia—a similar address having been presented to the King of Prussia, "the first monarch, who patronised the Bible So-'ciety." In the autumn of this year we find him writing the following letter to Bishop Burgess:—

"TO BISHOP BURGESS.

"DEAR LORD BISHOP— "Portman Square, Oct. 15, 1814.

"If I were prudent, I should, from regard to my eyes, which are inflamed, avoid the use of them; but I cannot delay thanking you for the few pages accompanying your Letter of the 10th, and resolving your questions respecting Sir William Jones. I have no hesitation to pronounce him a Believer in the Trinity—not from any declaration, *totidem verbis*, to that effect, but from the general tenor of his writings, and the absence of any passage implying disbelief or doubt;—and he was not a man to conceal his sentiments. In a prayer, he says, 'Admit me, not weighing my 'unworthiness, but through Thy mercy declared in Christ, into Thy 'heavenly mansions!' He calls Christ, in another passage, 'the Divine 'Author of the Christian Religion': and still more expressly, he says, 'I, 'who cannot help believing the Divinity of the Messiah,' &c. And on the Trinity I found the two following passages, to the same purport:—'Very 'respectable Natives have assured me that one or two Missionaries have 'been absurd enough, in their zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to 'urge that the Hindoos were even now almost Christians, because their 'Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa were no other than the Christian Trinity; '—a sentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, ignorance, or im-'piety predominates.' Nothing can be more evident 'That the Indian Triad, 'and that of Plato—which he calls the Supreme Good, the Reason and the 'Soul—are infinitely removed from the holiness and sublimity of the Christ-'ian doctrine of the Trinity; and that the tenet of our Church cannot, 'without profaneness, be compared with that of the Hindoos, which has an 'apparent resemblance to it, but with a different meaning.'

"If this be not the confession of a sound Believer in the Trinity, it would be difficult to find more expressive terms short of '*I believe*,' to denote assent. I hope your Lordship will favour me with the continuation of your Pamphlet. Not long ago I read Bishop Horseley *versus* Priestley, for the first time in my life; and found the work what I expected it to be—the masterly production of a vigorous mind, deeply imbued with learning, and strengthened by logic and mathematics. The Bishop is a giant to a dwarf, with respect to his antagonist. The impudence of Socinians—excuse a harsh term—is most astonishing, and only to be equalled by their want of candour and honesty. Your Lordship, in exposing these men of *liberality*, will do essential good. If Bishop Horsely were now alive, Mr. Belsham would have been silent.

"I am, My dear Lord Bishop,

Your obliged and sincere humble Servant."

The passage relative to the Christian and Hindoo Trinities quoted from Sir William Jones, apparently with commendation, is worthy of a few words of remark. The "folly, 'ignorance, and impiety" of the observations attributed to certain missionaries in the last century, are not quite so apparent to us, as they were to that eminent orientalist. When the "very respectable natives" told him, that "one or two missiona-'ries" had urged, that the Hindoos were "almost Christians, 'because their Brahma, Vishna and Mahesa were no other than 'the Christian Trinity," they, in all probability, unintentionally mis-represented the arguments of the reverend gentlemen. We believe, that without the smallest exhibition of folly, ignorance, or impiety, a Minister of the Gospel might endeavor to impress a Hindoo with the conviction, that his Trinity and the Trinity of the Christian were of one common origin, even as the water of a pure, pebbly stream, and of a filthy, fetid ditch, may proceed from one common source. It would be folly to fill a cup with the water of the clear, limpid stream, and another with the thick, dark, ditch water; and to maintain, that they are precisely the same; but if the inhabitants of the valley through which the two water-courses ran, were in the habit of filling their pitchers from the rank, loamy gutter, to the neglect of the crystal current, upon the ground, that the former was a sacred, whilst the latter was a polluted stream, it would be something betokening neither folly, ignorance, nor impiety to attempt to withdraw these deluded people from the impure to the pure stream, by demonstrating, that both currents flowed from the same fountain above. Now, we believe that the missionaries, upon whose conduct Sir William Jones reflected with so much severity, were guilty of no greater folly—no greater impiety than this. Knowing the amount of prejudice and superstition against which they had to contend, they endeavored to weed out error, and prepare the soil for the reception of truth, not by shocking, but by humoring these superstitious prejudices; by doing as little violence as possible, at the outset, to the pseudo-religious feelings of the contemplated proselyte; by leading him gently across the severing gulf—by encouraging and helping him to pass, instead of calling upon him at once to make the terrific leap from the one border to the other. And this, too, without a compromise—without the least reservation of the truth. We are persuaded, that the cause of Christianity is injured by the violence of the attacks which are often made upon the religion of the Hindoo, who is startled, shocked, and repulsed, when called upon to step, at one stride, out of the religion of his fore-fathers, into one, which is sedulously represented to be as different from the old faith as light from

darkness. Far be it from us to assert, or even to imply, that such representations are not wholly correct; but the question is, whether the Missionary is bound to lay before the heathen more than his mind can, or will, take in; whether it is, in any way, his duty to the Master who sent him, to make war in this open and undisguised manner upon the deeply-rooted, cherished prejudices of the dark-souled gentile; and by so doing, to scare him away altogether from the bright region into which it is our desire to lead him. Is it not against such indiscretion as this that Jesus Christ levelled the parable of the new wine and the old bottles? Was it not in allusion to such cases as these, that he said, "No man having drunk old wine straightway de-'sireth new; for he saith, the old is better?" The Hindoo who, for so many years, has taken the truth of his hereditary religion for granted, clings to it with a tenacity, all the stronger for the absence of conviction which distinguishes it; and any direct assault upon his long-cherished prejudices and superstitions is sure to be unsuccessful. It is not by sudden and violent attacks upon the religious errors of the gentiles—it is not by the drawing of abrupt and startling contrasts, that our efforts at proselytism are likely to be brought to a successful issue. More good is to be done, by showing, in the first instance, the points at which Christianity and Hindooism, however remotely, assimilate—by indicating those doctrines, which appear to have a common origin; and then demonstrating how, in the one case, they have been received in all their purity, whilst, in the other, they have come down, disfigured and defiled. Why should we not avail ourselves of these features of Hindooism to render our approaches less alarming?—why should we not shew, that in their doctrine of the Trinity—in their Avatars—there is something analogous to two of the fundamental doctrines of the Christain faith? If there be no deception—no concealment of the entire truth—no unbecoming compromise—what folly, what impiety is there in the adoption of such a course? If we look for success through human agency—if the conversion of the heathen is to be accomplished without direct miraculous aid—we must shape our measures with due regard to the idiosyncracies of those upon whom we operate. We look with no complacency upon the half-conversions, which our Roman Catholic brethren in this country have achieved to an extent, which, if numbers alone are to be regarded as the test of successful progress, puts our Protestant efforts to the blush. We look upon these, as nothing better than changes from one description of idolatry to another. It is an improvement no doubt in idol-worship; but idol-worship it remains. Let it not be thought that we are intolerant.

Admitting all that the members of the Romish Church affirm of their image system;—admitting that the image itself is, in no wise, worshipped by them; that the distinction which they draw between the worship of an image and the worship of the Deity through the suggestive agency of an image, is worthy of all acceptation—conceding, we say, all this, *argumenti causâ*, still the Romanist will scarcely himself maintain that the Hindoo proselyte when bowing or crossing himself before the image of Jesus Christ or of the Virgin Mary, draws, or is capable of drawing, such nice distinctions as these. No; whatever may be the bowing down to the graven image of the proselytising member of the Romish Church, the bowing down of the Hindoo convert is, in reality, nothing but idolatry in all its grossness. And it is to this very image-worship, even more than to the untiring zeal and assiduity of the Romish missionaries, whose energy, it must be acknowledged, is remarkable, that we must, without prejudice, arribute their extensive numerical success.* We adduce this important fact in illustration of what we have above asserted relative to the selection of means. The Romish Church is successful, far beyond the success of Protestantism; because there is that in its form and ceremonies, which is more closely allied to the external part of Hindooism, than any thing in the more simple ceremonials of the Reformed Church. It is

* During the passage of this article through the press, we have alighted on some extraordinary examples of the proselytising efficacy of the ceremonials of Romanism, in Mr. Prescott's History of the *Conquest of Mexico* a very able and most interesting work. The Historian, who pauses to comment on this phenomenon, delivers himself very much in the same strain as that of our text—"The Roman Catholic communion has, it must be admitted, some decided advantages over the Protestant, for the purposes of proselytism. The dazzling pomp of its service, and its touching appeal to the sensibilities, affect the imagination of the rude child of nature much more powerfully than the cold abstractions of Protestantism, which, addressed to the reason, demand a degree of refinement and mental culture in the audience to comprehend them. The respect, moreover, shewn by the Catholic for the material representations of divinity, greatly facilitates the same object. It is true such representations are used by him only as incentives, not as the objects, of worship. But this distinction is lost upon the savage, who finds such forms of adoration too analogous to his own to impose any great violence on his feelings. It is only required of him to transfer his homage from the image of Quetzalcoalt, the benevolent deity who walked among men, to that of the Virgin or the Redeemer; from the cross which he has worshipp'd as the emblem of the God of rain, to the same cross, the symbol of salvation."

We have seen, with our own eyes, something of this. We were once residing, now some years ago, in the South of India, and our residence was in the near neighbourhood of a Roman Catholic Chapel. The number of Native Romanists who attended the ceremonies in the Church was great; the number who attended the processions out of the Church was still greater. We could observe but very little difference between these processions; and the idolatrous processions of Hindooism. There was the same noise; the same exaltation of the idols, on similar platforms or cars; the same display of fire-works in the night season; and, on some occasions, a similar adaptation to periods, as held sacred by the natives. We once asked a native *Christian*, a highly intelligent man, in the wake of one of these Romanist processions, what was the meaning of it; and he told us, that it was got up at a certain phase of the moon to propitiate the deity for a good harvest!

because the transition is so much easier, that it is so much more frequent. We may learn an useful lesson from this. If we can lawfully avail ourselves of any remote similarity between our religion and that of the people whom we desire to convert, why should we turn away from so legitimate a means of success? We do not touch the unclean thing by simply showing that, uncleanly and deformed though it be, it was in its origin of the same shape and fashion, and of equal purity with the parallel doctrines of the blessed religion, which we are endeavouring to bestow upon the Heathen. We do not compromise Christianity; we merely bear in mind the saying, which we have above quoted; "No man having drunk old wine "straightway desireth new; for he saith, the old is better." Is this folly?—is this impiety?

But to return to Lord Teignmouth.—Life flowed tranquilly on; but not without the common trials, which all men are ordained to bear. As he declined into the vale of years he saw his friends—the common penalty of old age—dropping around him; and his children were removed from his hearth. One year deprived him of two cherished companions, whose loss he long and severely felt—Henry Thornton and John Bowdler. His second son, Frederick Shore, was destined for India, there to follow the profession which he himself had adorned; and his youngest son soon afterwards followed his brother to the same country, as an officer of dragoons. The elaborate letters of advice, which Lord Teignmouth addressed to the former, cannot be too diligently perused by young civilians on entering life. The affectionate and judicious counsel they contained was treasured up by the estimable recipient; and the writer of these admirable epistles lived to see the good fruit come forth in due season, and all his labors more than repaid. Year after year brought him the glad tidings of the professional advance of his son; the honorable path he was treading in public and private life; and the high estimation, in which he was held by all who had the happiness to know him. Mr. Frederick Shore first distinguished himself by his gallantry, in an affair with a gang of free-booters in the neighbourhood of Saharunpore, against whom he proceeded with a few mounted sowars and a small military force. The enemy had taken up their position in a small fort; and in forcing the gate of this stronghold, Mr. Shore was severely wounded; but not before he had slain, with his own hand, no less then seven of the enemy. The details of this gallant and successful achievement were communicated to Lord Teignmouth in a letter from the Governor-General, Lord Amherst; but the affair does not appear to have

been fit subject for congratulation. The wounds which Frederick Shore received in the engagement not having been carefully or skilfully treated, induced a severe fever; and, according to his brother, broke down a naturally robust constitution, which never again recovered its strength. He lived, however, twelve years after the occurrence of this incident; and during the time distinguished himself greatly, in a more peaceful, but not less honorable, path. He was one of the most zealous and conscientious servants of the Government, and the truest friend of the people of India. He died in 1837; having overtasked his energies, and disregarded the warnings of a constitution enfeebled by the climate of the country.

With the details of the Apocryphal controversy, which necessarily occupied much of the time of the President of the Bible Society in the years 1825 and 1826, we need not occupy our space. The history of the discussion, we believe, is sufficiently well known to all who desire to be fully informed on the subject. The Apocryphal party were worsted in the engagement; and it was hoped, that peace would be restored to the Society. But the animosity which these heated controversies had created among some parties did not easily subside, and Lord Teignmouth, harrassed by the frequent attacks upon himself and the Committee, would have resigned his office but for the intervention of Lord Bexley, the amiable nobleman who now fills the President's chair. But other sorrows, of a more personal and afflicting character, were in store for him. His youngest son, Capt. Henry Shore, who, having contracted a severe pulmonary disorder, had left England in the vain hope of deriving benefit from the milder climate of Southern Europe, expired at a small village between Aix and Avignon. The account, given in the volumes before us, of the funeral of this young man, developes so many traits honorable to humanity, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting it:—

"The circumstances of Captain Shore's funeral afford striking evidence of the respect which, in a land of strangers, Lord Teignmouth's connection with the Bible Society secured to his name and to his family; and of the happy influence of that Institution, in binding together, by the ties of kindly and sympathetic feeling, people long opposed to each other by national differences.

"The little inn of Pont Royal, where he died, was kept by a Protestant family; and in its neighbourhood, on the left bank of the river Durance, was a colony of the same faith, descendents of the Albigenses. Application having been made to the Pastor of Lourmarin, one of their towns, for permission to inter the remains of the deceased in its cemetery, the Municipal Authorities, and the Members of the Bible Society of the place, expressed their wish to avail themselves of the opportunity of testifying publicly their respect to the memory of one nearly related (as they understood from the Pastor, who had resided for some time in England) to the President of the British and Foreign Bible Society;—whilst the military, hearing that he had

borne a commission in the British Service, were anxious to bestow appropriate honours on their brother in arms.

"As the funeral approached Lourmarin, it was met by a considerable body of townsmen, including the Mayor, the Pastor, and the Members of the Bible Society. At eleven o'clock on the first Wednesday of May, the day allotted to the Anniversary Meeting of the Society—at the very instant, as it proved, at which Lord Teignmouth appeared in his accustomed place, amidst the acclamations of the Members, and the important Resolutions, already noticed, were propounded—by a coincidence wholly unforeseen, the coffin containing his son's remains was received by the appointed bearers at the gate of Lourmarin. Military honours, though declined, were not withheld. The pall was borne by Officers of the French army: and, as the procession passed through the streets, which were densely crowded—as a holiday had been granted to the people of the neighbourhood, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics—its progress was indicated by volleys from the carbines of the gens d'armerie, and the same martial tribute was bestowed at the grave. The Pastor, who had performed the Funeral Service, preached an impressive sermon; in which he not only dwelt on the mournful events which had assembled the concourse he beheld, but took a rapid survey of the operations of the Society, with which the name and family of the deceased were, in the minds of many whom he was addressing, inseparably associated.

"It may be inferred, from the Letters preceding this narrative, that Lord Teignmouth and his family, in their present affliction, "sorrowed not without hope." During some weeks previous to his death, and indeed from the period of his receiving the Sacrament in compliance with his father's recommendation, preceded as it had been by earnest and anxious meditation and prayer, Captain Shore's mind had been wholly freed from the sceptical suggestions which had harrassed it during the earlier part of his illness; and exhibited, in entire dependence on his Saviour's merits, uninterrupted serenity, and joyful anticipation of his approaching change."

Another loss, which fell upon Lord Teignmouth in his old age, afflicted him with almost equal severity. This was the death of his son-in-law, Sir Noel Hill, who at that time was commanding the cavalry at Maidstone. This was a heavy blow; but it was the last. The life of this venerable man was now drawing to a close. His years had out-numbered four-score; and he was ready to put on immortality. His infirmities assumed no distressing form; and his intellectual activity was little impaired; but death was stealing upon him with silent, though sure, foot-steps. The summer of 1833 saw him a tenant of the sick chamber; and from the malady which had then seized him he never altogether recovered. A temporary renovation of health and strength was succeeded by a relapse. In the month of September, he returned to London, after a brief sojourn at Hampstead, in better health and spirits; but on Christmas day his malady returned upon him with renewed force. During the interval between his last attacks, the activity of his mind was remarkable. His reading was varied and extensive. His conversation was full of vivacity; and his recollections more than usually clear. He discoursed, as he read, upon all

subjects—but the goodness of God was his favorite theme. He was ready and equipped for his last journey. His much-loved friend Wilberforce had "gone before;" and he was prepared to follow. The new year found him on the bed of death—thankful, hopeful, resigned; and on the 14th of February, the anniversary of his marriage, this good man fell asleep in Jesus.

It is impossible too highly to estimate the character of such a man as Lord Teignmouth. Characters of this stamp are so rare in their growth, that they should be appreciated for their very rarity. But the world is scantily endowed with this faculty of rightful appreciation. The outer show of meretricious, delusive ornament attracts and dazzles the vulgar eye. Tinsel is not difficult to comprehend; it is intelligible to the scrubbiest boy in the shilling gallery. The stunning noise of drums and of cymbals demands no greater effort of the understanding—no greater nicety of perception. The more common qualities of our nature, the vain, the showy, the superficial, are those which are necessarily best appreciated by a vain, a showy, a superficial world. A battle, a proclamation, a noisy speech—these are things, which, in the vulgar mind, make men great and admirable. Conventional greatness, like stage kings, must wear a glittering crown and be arrayed in sumptuous apparel. Simple, inornate beauty the multitude has not an eye to see, nor faculties to comprehend. The Æthiopians of old chose their kings from the men of the grandest stature; he who loomed the largest, Herodotus tells us, was made *Basileus* without more trouble. The hero-worship of the multitude is regulated by an equally intelligible standard. Let there be only noise enough and parade enough; let something be done to startle and surprise—be it right or be it wrong, no matter—let some great change be effected for better or for worse, with a loud explosion—and the world have a hero to applaud. For the man, who exerts himself quietly and unostentatiously, to preserve peace and to promote a people's prosperity by acts of noiseless benevolence, whilst in his own person he sets an example of well-doing, more glorious than the planting of the ensign in the deadly breach, there is no hope—not the skeleton of a hope; he must content himself with being thought a man; he will never be promoted to a hero. Lord Teignmouth, in the eyes of the world, was no hero. Even grave historians, making a sort of dim show of philosophy, have set him down in the chronicle as a very poor creature—a mere thing of mediocrity, common-place to very mawkishness. But how stands the case in the plain, simple, garb of truth? The qualities which Sir John Shore exhibited as a Statesman, were the very antipodes of

common-place. As Governor-General he possessed vast power, which he never once abused. He never, on one solitary occasion, turned his thoughts towards self-aggrandisement; nor suffered any vain or selfish motive to influence his public acts. He was as little ambitious as he was corrupt; but his moderation is no more to be attributed to any want of ability to pursue more "vigorous measures," than his integrity to any freedom from the influence of besetting temptations. Few men lack the ability to do mischief. Sir John Shore certainly did not. It would have been easy to have followed the course—an essentially common-place course as it was—the course that had been followed to such an exorbitant extent, that it was necessary to limit it by an Act of Parliament;—nothing easier than to meddle and interfere, to pick quarrels, and to order great battles to be fought. There is a natural propensity in human nature—in statesman-nature more especially—to meddle with other people's affairs, and to quarrel for the mere love of strife. The veriest dolt can order a battle to be fought;—merit is there none in ordering it. Our Governors have shown, in later days, how very little capacity it requires to bring about a vast effusion of blood. This blood-shedding is, of all attributes, the most common-place. It may be vanity, or it may be intemperance, or it may be ignorance, or it may be indolence; but to one or other of these by no means uncommon qualities, or, perchance, to a hideous combination of all, is to be assigned the paternity of well nigh every war, with its human sacrifices steaming up to Heaven. We should shout with very joy at the discovery—a discovery reserved for some remote Millennian age, when meekness shall be the characteristic of the tiger and abstinence of the wolf,—that moderation in Statesmen is a common-place virtue. Sir John Shore was not a common-place Statesman, because he was a moderate one.

It has been said, that though an excellent man, he was out of his place at the head of the Government of India. If it be necessary for an Indian Statesman, in order to show that he is in his place, to emulate the heartless rapacity of other Governors-General—if it be necessary, in order to show that he is in his place, to juggle and defraud—to outrage and to tyrannise—to trample beneath his feet every consideration of virtue and of honor;—if it be necessary, in order to show that he is in his place, to exhibit, on every occasion, a reckless courage, that dares do *more* than becomes a man—a disregard of human suffering—a contempt of human laws—a fearlessness of responsibility to God and man;—if it be necessary to do these things, in order to show that he is in his place, then must we admit,

that Sir John Shore was not in his place as Governor-General. Still, whilst we acknowledge that he was weak enough to be virtuous, a virtuous Governor-General now and then is not wholly without his uses. The life of Lord Teignmouth may be read with profit, not to be gleaned from histories of Clive and Hastings, by men who speak scorn of him, and say, that he was a poor creature. It will there be seen by these scorners how a man, with nothing to recommend him but his undeviating virtue, attained an eminence in the political world, which was vainly aspired after by many of the most brilliant men of a peculiarly brilliant age. The lesson, perhaps, is rendered all the more instructive by the denial of Shore's abilities as a Statesman. If he possessed no abilities as a Statesman, the triumph of virtue is the more conspicuous. Shore had no family connexions; no political interest; he paid no court to men in authority; he sought neither place nor power. When the Governor-Generalship was offered to him by a Ministry certainly not wanting in ability, nor wont to do foolish things, it was most reluctantly accepted. The greatness was thrust upon him, and why?—Because, in the opinions of Pitt and Dundas, he was the fittest man in the kingdom to exercise the vast powers of the Governor-Generalship of India.

Of his administration, it ought to be sufficient to assert, that it was approved by the Company, the ministry and the People. A Governor-General is not sent out to India to follow the guidance of his own lusts; to play the autocrat without regard to the principles of those from whom he derives his mission. Sir John Shore was appointed Governor-General under a new Charter, which was framed in accordance with the spirit of the times and the wishes of the people. He came to India, believing that the Act of the Legislature was intended to be observed and not to be disregarded by him; that as representative of the British interests in the East, it was his duty not to violate the Acts of the British Parliament, or to set at nought the desires of the British people. If the system of non-interference with independent states, pursued during Sir John Shore's administration, had a tendency to weaken our hold of India, by giving strength to our enemies, by enabling them to increase their resources and to concentrate their energies to an extent injurious to our security, the fault must be laid at the door of the Parliament, and, therefore, of the people of Great Britain, from whom that system emanated. A Governor-General is no more chargeable with the errors of the Legislature, than a Judge with the defects of the laws which he administers. By virtue of the Act of the Legislature, he holds his authority; and to the provisions of that

Act he is bound to adhere. It is no part of our business to enquire how far the Act was a wise or an unwise one; our opinions on the subject may, perhaps, be derived from the general tenour of this article; but so long as that Act existed, the Governor-General was bound to take it as his rule of conduct —bound not to suffer any motives of personal ambition, or any feeling of arrogance and impatience, to mislead him from the plain path of duty, as marked out by the Legislature of Great Britain. If there were nothing else to be alleged in favour of Sir John Shore's moderation, it would be sufficient to declare, that this moderation was prescribed by the Parliament of the country; that the Charter-Act, from which he derived his authority, expressly inculcated a close adherence to the system of non-interference, which he made the rule of his political conduct.

Of his character as a man, but one opinion can be entertained. At a time, when to be corrupt was only to be like one's neighbours, he preserved, in poverty and privation, the most inflexible integrity. Ere religion had touched his heart, he was an upright and a virtuous man; but it was beneath the warm sunlight of Christianity that his character expanded into the fulness of life and beauty. His patience, his humility, his dependence upon God, are beyond such praise as we are capable of bestowing. His talents, which were of a high order, he rendered subservient to his Christian principles; he had no ambition to shine; his sole desire was to be useful; and he turned aside from every temptation to distinguish himself at the cost of one conscientious scruple. There are men who make themselves up to dazzle, as there are women who make themselves up to charm—men who would rather tell a lie, than spoil a sentence; rather violate a principle, than miss a point; rather destroy the happiness of thousands, than lose an opportunity of doing a brilliant thing. Lord Teignmouth was not one of these. At the summons of his country, he conceived that he was bound to do his duty in the state of life into which God had called him, at the sacrifice of his own personal happiness. But though he could bring himself to sacrifice his ease and comfort, to abandon the joys of home and the pleasure of domestic life, he could, on no account, sacrifice one tittle of those high principles, which glowed in his breast, and rendered him a Christian ruler not merely in *name*. When his work was done, though scarcely advanced in his pilgrimage more than mid-way between the threshold and the bourne, he retired into private life, as a man who deemed it a higher privilege to walk humbly with his God, than to sway the poli-

tical destiny of millions. From the day that he set his foot, for the last time, on the shores of England, he began, as it were, a new life—a life of almost total abandonment of secular affairs; and for more than thirty years, though tempted with the offer of place and power, he continued to tread this lowly path of Christian well-doing, a happy and a cheerful man; of a kind and charitable nature; in his own family-circle loving and beloved; beyond it universally respected. Thus he lived, to the age of four-score, and "died, as he had lived, like a saint, 'full of alms deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a 'godly life."

> All must to their cold graves.
> But the religious actions of the just,
> Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust

ART. III.—1. *History of Christian Missions from the Reformation to the present time. By James A. Haie, Author of the History of the Jews, &c. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd*, 1843.

2. *An Essay towards the conversion of learned and philosophical Hindus: to which the prize offered through the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, has been adjudged by the University of Oxford, &c. by the Rev. John Brande Morris, M. A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London: Rivington*, 1843.

"INCREASE and multiply," was the law of preservation and continuance impressed by the fiat of the Creator on all animated being at the dawn of time. The temporary suspension of this law endangers the healthfulness of existence; its continued or permanent suspension would put an end to existence itself. Here is a vigorous sapling, the solitary representative of a whole genus of vegetable form. Plant it in a genial soil, encompassed about, above, beneath, and all around, with nutritive influences,—it speedily shoots upwards to the skies, and outwards into the circling atmosphere. It had reached a certain stage in its progress towards maturity. There you wish it to remain. Its further growth, accordingly, you endeavour to arrest, desiring to retain it in the freshness and vigour of its attained development. Will you succeed? Impossible;—every effort put forth to accomplish this end, whether by artificially repressing the expansion of the branches, by neglecting the means of supplying the needful nutriment, or by allowing it, when supplied, to be absorbed in a luxuriance of worthless weeds—plainly does violence to the divinely imposed law of increase; and, by so doing, does equal violence to the sole condition of healthful and even continued

existence. In this way, the stateliest and most vigorous son of the forest may soon be reduced to a sickly, languid, and shrivelled form; and if the process of repression or neglect be long persevered in, it may ultimately lead to the extinction of vitality altogether.

Precisely parallel is the case with all other life—animal, intellectual, moral and spiritual. Now Christianity is not, as certain idle dreamers doatingly suppose, a mere matter of opinion, a merely speculative notion, a barren inoperative dogma. It is *a life*—a divine life, or living energy infused by omnipotent grace into the souls of regenerated men Neither is the Church of Christ a piece of inert mechanism for the exhibition of pomp and parade and ceremonial form. It is a *living body*—endowed with all needful organs for discharging the functions of spiritual life. Without any special prescription, therefore, analogy alone would suffice to convince us, that, in order to a healthful existence, the Christian Church must obey the great law of "multiplication and increase." But we are not left to the inference of analogy, however conclusive. He who, at the rise of a beauteous material world out of the chaos of physical elements, laid all animated being under the command of "increase and multiply," did again, at the rise of a still more beauteous spiritual world out of the chaos of moral elements, authoritatively interpose to lay the new creation under a similar command. "Go ye," said he to the first disciples and representatives of his Church in all ages, "go ye and 'teach all nations." "Go into all the world and preach the Gos-'pel to every creature." Under the contagious fire and impulse of this divine command, the Apostles and their immediate followers did go into all the world—teaching all nations and preaching the Gospel to every creature. And while the command was faithfully obeyed, multiplication and growth *outwardly* were at once, by action and re-action, the cause and the consequence of *inward* light and life, purity and vigour, such as the world never witnessed before or after. And if, in the succeeding ages, Apostolic labours had been persevered in, with Apostolic zeal and courage, the Church of Christ would ere long have been co-extensive with the globe, and its members, the people of all kindreds, tongues, and nations. But, the Apostolic enterprize, instead of being sustained in steady onward progression, was destined soon to terminate like a spasmodic effort, which recoils painfully in collapse and complete exhaustion. The enlargement or outward extension of the Church was generally and in a great measure arrested. We say, generally and in a great measure, because we would neither forget nor undervalue the

attempts made in subsequent centuries, and more particularly in the sixth and seventh, by the Britons, Scots, and Irish, to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel over the northern parts of Europe, which had still remained shrouded in the gloom of a debasing idolatry. But then, it must be borne in mind, that these were only made by fits and starts along the outskirts of a portion of Christendom. They were not the regular product of a general system in action, but an irregular activity in some of the remoter members. They somewhat resembled those fitful explosions, after long intervals of time, along the outer margin of the great crater of a volcano, which chiefly serve to prove, that the fires of the central mass are gradually expiring. Besides, even the partial satisfaction which these isolated and disjointed attempts might afford, is greatly diminished by the reflection, that they were all, to a greater or less extent, tarnished and obscured by the mummeries of a cloistered monasticism and the superstitions of a rapidly paganizing Christianity; —and by the farther reflection, that, whatever nominal accessions might be made to the visible Church of Christ in the West, these were more than countervailed by its still greater losses and ultimate utter desolation in the East. On the whole, then, it must still be declared, that, after the Apostolic age, an arrest was laid on the march and progress of an aggressive Christianity. Men began to pause as if content with the triumphs already won—forgetting that the retention of existing conquest depended on the life and energy developed and sustained by the continued efforts to accomplish more. Concern for the spread of the Gospel having degenerated into a cheap and worthless compassion, which, contrary to the divine command, rested satisfied with saying, "be 'enlightened, be converted, be saved," while it did nothing and prompted to nothing,—the inner light and life of Christianity began rapidly to decay. Light not being freely communicated, as designed by Him who gave it, the lamp is suffered to grow dim, as the oil that fed it is, in retribution, withdrawn. Life, in like manner, not being propagated, the springs of it are made to dry up, as the waters that replenished them are, in judicial displeasure, withheld. With this decay of light and life, the first love waxes cold; luke-warmness and apathy succeeded; and all the effects, alike lamentable and disastrous, of practical unbelief, follow apace. The God-like generosity, that would freely give all, believing that its means would only increase with enlarged distribution, is exchanged for the covetousness that would avariciously grasp and hoard up all. The disinterested benevolence, which in benefitting others, is resolved cheerfully to submit to sacrifices itself, counting these

not a grievance to be eschewed but an honour and privilege to be coveted, is displaced by the cold selfishness that shrinks from toil and shuns self-denial in behalf of others as it would the pestilence or the plague. The pure and holy zeal, which only tends to enkindle charity and incite the church militant to wage war exclusively against error and spiritual wickednesses, is supplanted by the spurious and intemperate zealotism that blazes only to extinguish gospel charity and muffle the testimony for truth within the sacred enclosure of the Church herself. Such, alas, was the condition of the Church for more than a thousand years. It was not merely stationary; it was retrogressive. It was not merely still; it was stagnant. It was not merely inactive, as respects all good; it was smitten with paralysis. It not merely ceased to spread outwardly; it ceased to live inwardly—shorn of more than half its beauty, and well-nigh stripped of the whole of its *legitimate* dominion. To the wondering gaze of a world which had once experienced its spiritual prowess and sanatory powers, it exhibited the spectacle of a huge corporation or organized body—unwieldy, from the loss or decay of vital energy—bloated, from the accumulation of abounding humours—and loathsome, from the signs and symptoms of a threatening dissolution.

To arrest the Church in this, her retrograde tendency; to agitate her out of this stagnation; to re-vigorate her out of this paralysis; to quicken her out of this spiritual stupor: to arouse her out of this sluggish lethargy; to beautify her out of this hideous deformity; to restore her organs to the discharge of their proper functions;—this, this, was the mighty achievement of the Lutheran Reformation. This achievement having been nobly executed; and the Church having recovered her well nigh extinguished light and life, powers and energies; —what ought she to have done? Beyond all debate, a resuscitated Church, modelled in doctrine after the primitive Apostolic times, and restored to the possession of primitive Apostolic rights, ought to have remembered primitive Apostolic duties—ought to have remembered the original, unaltered and unalterable condition of continued health and prosperity, which is inseparable from the law of multiplication and increase. In obedience to the divine command, she ought to have gone forth into all the world—teaching and preaching the gospel to every creature. Had she done so, her sinews and nerves would have been so braced by salutary exercise; her vital organs would have been kept in such healthful play; her spirit would have been so gladdened by every fresh conquest over sin and ignorance and heathenism—so ennobled

by the lustre of heavenly grace—so refreshed by the savour of the bread of life—so apparelled in the whole armour of righteousness—so heroic in the conscious possession of the divine favour,—that she would have risen upon the world, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army 'with banners." But, instead of this, she, fatally for herself, re-enacted the part of the Church of the Fathers—the Church, which succeeded that of Apostolic times and Apostolic men, without inheriting the Apostolic spirit. In other words, she resolved to lie still—satisfied with the achievement of her own deliverance from a worse than Egyptian bondage—wrapping herself up in the mantle of self-complacency—proposing nothing, doing nothing, and apparently caring nothing for the extension of Messiah's Kingdom over the benighted nations. That the Church of a former and more primitive age had been similarly negligent could be no excuse for modern inactivity. Rather, such neglect, with the commentary of its fatal consequence, ought to have operated as a beacon—a solemn warning—that the law of a flourishing Christianity cannot be violated with impunity. Accordingly, in verification of the immutable principle, that like effects flow from like causes, the most famous Churches of the Reformation began to decay like the most celebrated Churches of primitive times. The non-fulfilment of the law of multiplication and increase was followed by a gradually augmenting stagnation, paralysis, and spiritual death. Then, sprang into existence the seeds and germs of fermenting evil—seeds and germs, which, at divers times and in sundry places, sprouted up luxuriantly—bearing the bitter but ripened fruitage of Arianism and Socinianism, Rationalism and Pantheism, Neology and Puseyism, and all manner of partially or fully developed schisms and heresies.

How supremely important, then, is it practically to attend to this grand law of multiplication and increase! And what is this self-propagating, self-expanding power, when in active operation, but another name for Christian missions? *Christian* missions, we have said,—not missions in general, or in the abstract. Missions, in the abstract, furnish no *necessary* tests or criteria of the truth or excellence of any principles, but only of their life—being the flower and fruit which transmit and multiply the reproductive energy of such life, be the principles what they may. For it must not be forgotten, that error, however ephemeral, has its life as well as truth. Neither do we speak of means, modes, or methods of conducting missions; these, and all other accessories and circumstantials being left to be determined by men's practical judgment. But, referring to Christian

missions, in their main scope, object and design, may we not now well ask, who can lay any thing to their charge? The unbeliever and the scoffer may. But no true Christian, with the Bible in his hands, and a faithful history of the Church as its commentary, can or dare, without contravening the peremptory injunction of his Divine Master, or without being guilty of a suicidal act towards the root and nourisher of his own avowed faith.

At length, about the beginning of last century, different portions of the Reformed Protestant Church began to awaken from their criminal sloth and slumber. Attempts then began to be made in widely distant parts of the world, which, though isolated, scattered, and unsystematic, were not without gratifying success;—while they served to exemplify great force of character and unquenchable zeal on the part of the projectors,—adorned the annals of humanity with names that might have been those of chieftains in the noble army of martyrs,—and bestudded many a barren wilderness with bright spots, arrayed in the verdure of truth and righteousness. There was Schmidt, of Holland, who disarmed the hostility of the African savage, and converted his barbarous kráal into the dwellings of peace and purity, holiness and love. There was Egede, of Norway, and Christian David, of Moravia, with many more, who, though ridiculed in their day and generation as deluded fanatics, or branded as designing hypocrites, went forth, braving the inhospitable climes of Greenland and Labrador, in order—

> To plant successfully sweet Sharon's rose,
> On icy plains, and in eternal snows.

Evangelists were these, whose sufferings and hardship have been touchingly pourtrayed in prose by Crantz, and in verse by Montgomery, amid an exuberance of descriptive imagery, seldom equalled, and scarcely ever surpassed;—Christian heroes, whose daring adventures, dangers, and escapes have often an air of romance, and are associated with scenes of fearful sublimity; as when a field of ice of many leagues in extent, from which they had scarcely emerged, suddenly burst and was overwhelmed by the waves,—"the sight being tremendous and awfully grand, the large fields of ice raising themselves out of the water, striking against each other, and plunging into the deep with a violence not to be described, and a noise like the discharge of innumerable batteries of heavy guns,—the darkness of the night, the roaring of the wind and sea, and the dashing of the waves and ice against the rocks, filling the travellers with sensations of awe and

'terror, and almost depriving them of the power of utterance." There was John Eliot, "the Apostle of the American Indians," who, after a self-denying life of toil and labour and varied success, left on record the imperishable saying, that "prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing." There was Christian Rauch, whose unsuspecting confidence softened the obduracy, while it excited the astonishment and admiration, of the remorseless wielder of the tomahawk, who, when thirsting for his blood, and observing him profoundly asleep, unguarded and unarmed, was constrained to exclaim, "This man cannot be a bad man; 'he fears no evil, not from us who are so fierce, but sleeps 'comfortably and trusts his life in our hands." There was David Brainerd,—the devout, the seraphic,—regarding whom the celebrated Robert Hall has remarked, that his "Life 'and Diary exhibit a perfect pattern of the qualities which 'should distinguish the instructor of rude and barbarous tribes— 'the most invincible patience and self-denial; the profoundest 'humility, exquisite prudence, indefatigable industry and such 'a devotedness to God, or rather, such an absorption of the 'whole soul in zeal for the divine glory and the salvation 'of men, as is scarcely to be paralleled since the days of the 'Apostles; such being the intense ardour of his mind, that it 'seems to have diffused the spirit of a martyr over the most 'common incidents of his life;"—David Brainerd, who, as the result of close observation and reflection, has left the following declaration respecting the true and only source of any extensive, deep, or lasting reformation, as a precious legacy to posterity;— "Happy experience, as well as the word of God and the exam- 'ple of Chirst and his Apostles has taught me, that the very me- 'thod of preaching, which is best suited to awake in mankind a 'sense and lively apprehension of their sin and misery in a fal- 'len state, to excite them earnestly to seek after a change of 'heart, and to fly for refuge to free and sovereign grace in Christ, 'as the only hope set before them, is like to be the most suc- 'cessful towards the reformation of their external conduct." There was Berkeley, the amiable and pious, the acute and philosophic Bishop of Cloyne, who, when Dean of Derry, published his "Scheme for converting the savage Americans to Christ- 'ianity by a College to be erected in the isles of Bermuda"— concluding with these weighty and solemn words:—"A bene- 'faction of this kind seems to enlarge the very being of a man, 'extending it to distant places and to future times; inasmuch 'as unseen countries and after ages may feel the effects of his 'bounty, while he himself reaps the reward in the society of all

'those who, having turned many to righteousness, shine as 'the stars for ever and ever." Nor did his zeal evaporate in written proposals, however energetic. When in the very zenith of his popularity and renown, beloved for his virtues, as much as he was admired for his talents, he resolved to devote his own life to the work of reclaiming and converting those savage tribes whom he himself represented as "inhuman and barbarous" beyond any known to exist in the "gentile world." And, in order to promote this truly noble and philanthropic design, "he employed," as Sir James Mackintosh expresses it, "as much in- 'fluence and solicitation as common men do for their most prized 'objects, in obtaining leave to resign his dignities and revenues, 'to quit his accomplished and affectionate friends, and to bury 'himself in what must have seemed an intellectual desert." Having resigned his ecclesiastical preferment and princely emoluments, he proceeded to Rhode Island, to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of native American youths, on the moderate subsistence of £100, yearly! Nor did he abandon the evangelic undertaking, till compelled to do so, from the total failure of the promised and expected means of prosecuting it.

These, with many more, of whom the world was not worthy, were the pioneers of modern missions, properly so called—missions, which owe their origin in part to the mighty re-action produced by the tremendous shock of the French Revolution, towards the close of the last century. And now, whether we consider the suddenness of their rise, the rapidity of their progress over every region of the habitable globe, the magnitude of their resources, the amount of concurrent and co-operative energy embarked in their promotion, or the grandeur and sublimity of their ultimate aim and design—even the regeneration of a lost and guilty world,—it must be owned, that their very existence, as such, is one of the greatest facts of the present age. It is not, however, with missions in general that we have at present to do. Whoever desires, at little expence of time and labour, to familiarize his mind with the leading or salient points connected with their spread and development, has only to turn to the spirited sketch of Mr. Huie, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. It is with missions in India that we are more immediately and specially concerned. To overlook their agency, bearing, and object in a work exclusively devoted to Indian affairs, in all their varied phases, physical and social, economical and jurisprudential, intellectual, moral, and religious—would be an omission as unphilosophic in the abstract, as it would be unpardonable in a practical point of view. Besides, the interest in Indian mis-

sions at home and abroad, has, of late years, been greatly increasing; as is abundantly evidenced by the many able and elaborate works which have recently appeared on the subject. Of these, the title of one—and that, an Oxford University prize essay—is prefixed to the present article, not on account of any merits, intrinsic or extrinsic, which it possesses, but simply because it is the latest that has reached us. In truth we must, in passing, remark, that it is altogether, in thought, style, sentiment, and execution, a very sorry performance. Indeed, any thing more jejune, inept, or ineffective than this essay, as regards the great object professedly aimed at, has seldom issued from the British press. The author, in reference to Hinduism, has enacted the part of an amateur tactician; who, having learnt, that in India there are mountains and valleys, fields and forests, swamps and rivers, jungles and deserts, would sit down in his cloistered retirement in a British College, and there sketch out the plan of a magnificent campaign, embracing the wide extent of our Indian territory. On paper, it may all look very admirable and very grand; but when attempted to be reduced to practice, it unfortunately turns out, that mountains constantly occur instead of valleys, and valleys in place of mountains; fields instead of forests, and forests instead of fields; swamps instead of rivers, and rivers instead of swamps; jungles instead of desert, and desert instead of jungles;—that difficulties and obstructions present themselves where none really exist; and where they do really exist, none are to be found;—that the sheerest trivialities are gravely magnified into matters of prime importance; and matters of real importance either wholly passed by, or diluted into the merest trivialities. Such, we regret to say, is the very picture and counter-part of Mr. Morris's intellectual closet campaign against an actual and a living Hinduism. His mistakes and blunders, however, as well as his constant displacement and inversion of the order of things, arising from helpless inexperience and practical inacquaintance with the vitalities of his theme, we could overlook, palliate, or forgive; though scarcely his presumption in grappling with a task for which he is so obviously incompetent. Even the idle display of pedantic erudition,—which, ever and anon, introduces into the text loose and incoherent materials, apparently for no conceivable end, except that of furnishing an opportunity for quoting Latin and Greek, French, German, and Spanish, Hebrew and Syriac, Arabic and Sanskrit, in the Notes—we could pass by with a good-natured smile. But there are other points which it is not so easy to overlook or forgive. *The work is insidiously strewn throughout with the rudiments of a latent and undeveloped Puseyism.* Yea, on its very front it unblushingly bears one of

the brands of that greatest and most pestilential of modern heresies. The title imports, that it is "an essay towards the *conversion* of learned and philosophical Hindus." The avowed design of the liberal donor of the prize, as well as the professed scope of the essay itself, conclusively prove, that "conversion" here is intended to signify, "conversion *to* Christianity." And yet, the author, in his preface, has the assurance to apprize his readers, that "much else might have been expected to be found here (in the essay) which is purposely omitted. For instance, *there is no statement of what the Christian system is, or how its evidences may be best studied*;—one reason for omitting such subjects is, *because there would evidently be a want of delicacy in treating of them before heathens, &c.!*" But enough of Mr. Morris and his prize essay! Whoever wishes for accurate and apposite information on the vital and actual realities of Indian missions must look elsewhere. And, as we may have frequent occasion to refer to them in their diversified connections and relations, literary, religious, and political; we know not what could prove a more natural or appropriate introduction to the whole subject, than a sketch of the Danish or earliest Protestant mission to India. It is one, the details of which are little known—these being, in general, slightly passed over, or but cursorily alluded to, amid the larger and more prominent incidents of a comprehensive history. But, apart from the peculiar merits of the men and their measures, there is about this mission the indescribable recommendatory charm of its being the *first* attempt of a reviving and expanding Protestantism to break up the fallow ground of Indian idolatry and superstition. The facts which compose our narrative we derive from no secondary source. They are drawn exclusively from the letters of the Missionaries themselves and other authentic documents, published originally in the high Dutch, and subsequently translated into different European languages.

It is a fact, at once creditable and unique in the history of modern evangelization, that the first Protestant mission to India, owed its origin and support to Royalty. In 1705, Frederick IV., of Denmark, at the suggestion of Dr. Lutkens, one of his Majesty's chaplains, resolved to establish a mission for the conversion of his Indian subjects in Tranquebar and the adjoining territory; which, for nearly a century, was attached to the Danish Crown. On application to Professor Francké, of Halle, two young men, of promising talents and decided piety, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutscho, were selected for the important embassage. His Majesty of Denmark guaranteed an adequate pension or salary out of his Royal Treasury for their maintenance. At a later period, their

undertaking was liberally assisted with grants of money, paper and books, by the English Society for promoting Christian knowledge. For the farther consolidation of Missionary plans, the Danish Monarch, in 1714, set up a Missionary College at Copenhagen, consisting of some of the leading Ecclesiastics and Counsellors of State. To them was committed the whole care of establishing and carrying on the existing mission to the East, as well as of facilitating and enlarging the work of evangelization in other destitute parts of his Majesty's dominions. Special instructions were issued by the King to the College or incorporated Society, in which every member was solemnly exhorted "to think it his duty, after hearty prayers put up for that purpose, to lay to heart a work of so great concern, and to employ what gifts Providence had bestowed upon him for advancing so Christian a design; viz., that the Gospel of Christ be preached to the gentiles, and thereby many souls be brought over to Jesus Christ." They were exhorted to make it their particular care, in every way possible, to assist the Missionaries already employed in the work; seriously to consider in procuring more labourers to be sent on the same errand; to discover what methods may be taken with the heathens, even after they have embraced the Christian religion, thereby to promote their spiritual and temporal interest; and to do all things as in the presence of God and according to the dictates of their own consciences. Nor was the College inattentive to the Royal counsels. Proceeding energetically to work, its members commenced their labours by drawing up a memoir, or brief account, of the measures already taken in Denmark for the conversion of the heathen in the East Indies, as well as of further supplementary measures proposed to be adopted. It is a document which abounds with weighty sentences. We quote the following as a specimen:—"Of what importance the institution of such 'a mission is, and how great advantage may be expected 'from it, will be best understood by those who have obtain-'ed grace to work out their own salvation, and are endued 'with an ardent desire of rescuing also their fellow-creatures 'from a state of darkness and ignorance. Nay, should this 'mission be attended with no other effect than that the light 'of the Gospel has, by this means, been happily put on a candle-'stick, and shone for several years among the heathen; yet 'hereby is there abundant cause administered to glorify God 'on that behalf."*

* Our readers may remember, how, about the same time, George I of England,

Happy had it been for mankind at large, were the spirit and the sentiments, which animated the king of Denmark and his Royal Missionary College, more prevalent among Rulers and their Counsellors. For never, surely, can earthly princes do greater honour to themselves or greater good to others, than when, instead of looking down on the grovelling multitudes prostrate at their feet, to be regaled with the incense of their senseless adulation, they have the wisdom to look upwards to the throne of the Majesty on high, there to learn how the tiny lustre of their glory is eclipsed by reason of the glory that excelleth, and how much nobler and worthier it is to be the willing servants of him who is King of kings and Lord of lords, than to be absolute despots over half the nations. Happy omen for Denmark, when its reigning Monarch, regarding himself simply as a member and citizen in the Church and commonwealth of the Redeemer, felt the sacredness of the obligation to do what in him lay to advance the great ends of the Redemptive economy, and honour and support those who were appointed its heralds and ambassadors to the realms of heathenism. The world is ever ready to yield the homage of its admiration to the men, whose sole and immediate aim is that of personal aggrandisement, but who, in the pursuit of it, do, in spite of themselves, promote the improvement of the physical resources of a country, and thereby the temporal amelioration of its people. But the world is ever slow to render its homage of admiration to the men, whose sole and immediate object is, the temporal and eternal welfare of the people of every clime, and who seek for themselves nought beyond the necessary means of maintaining their own efficiency as instruments in consummating so glorious an end. Verily, when the day arrives, in which men in general shall learn to prize the moral virtues that have their spring in disinterested benevolence, vastly beyond the vulgar utilitarian virtues which can claim no higher source than the epidemic selfishness of humanity, we may conclude, that the iron age is coming to a close, and that the age of gold is speedily about to dawn upon us.

On the 29th November, 1705, Ziegenbalg and his associate set sail for India in a Danish ship. The phenomena of an Indian voyage have so often been described, and have become so familiar to thousands, that we might as well expect to meet with novelties in a trip up the Thames or the Hugli as in doub-

was led to take the deepest interest in the Danish mission; yea, and to enter into *direct personal correspondence* with the Missionaries. And certainly no act in the life of the British Monarch does more credit to his head and heart than the penning of these Royal Missionary letters.

ling the Cape of Good Hope. Still, to all who have never encountered the river excursion, or the oceanic voyage, the real phenomena, when actually witnessed, will have as rich a gust and freshness, as if they had never been pourtrayed. Let men smile at it, if they will, as the illusion of heated fancy, or the sprouting of a morbid sentimentalism;—but, apart from all other phenomena, there is that in the transparency of a tropical sky,—with its light feathery clouds skirting the horizon, and islet-like openings fringed with tints of cerulean green, and canopy of dark deep blue stretched overhead,—which singularly affects the mind, communicating new sensations, and stirring up trains of thought and feeling akin to the reveries of poesy. In the case of our voyagers, every thing had the charms of novelty and the vividness of a holy interest; and they noted all with the naiveté and simplicity of child-like ingenuous minds. Soon after setting sail, a mariner, tumbling down from the mainmast, miserably broke his neck, to their great surprize! Another, falling into the sea, was narrowly caught by the hair of the head, and saved from drowning, to their equal surprize! In stormy weather, they reached a Swedish harbour, surrounded with pleasant and delightful rocks. In the North Sea, the abode of him who "haply slumbers on the Norway foam," they both fell sea-sick, but "soon recovered, by the help of God." Sailing past the Western Islands or Orcades, and leaving England and Ireland on the left, they entered the Spanish seas, whose towering billows "received them very stoutly, the ship seeming as if it were carried through a deep vale, betwixt two lofty mountains." They met a vessel which they took for a French privateer, and after manfully charging their guns for a desperate attack, they quickly discharged them into the air, on discovering their mistake. Passing the Azores, the weather began to be a little warmer. On crossing the tropic of Cancer, they perceived the heat to be very excessive, "attended with lightnings and terrible thunder-claps." Within the torrid zone, they had continually—till they came to the Equinoctial line—"a small side wind." Then the heat grew so piercing, that the ship's crew, "to get a little refreshment, often threw themselves into the sea, and staid there all the while the ship was becalmed! What had become of the sharks in those days we are not told. Daily they saw flying fish flickering about in great numbers. At times it seemed as if a whole multitude of aquatic creatures was gathered together in the sea, with intent to storm the ship. Some "marched in great pomp and state, accompanied by a large train of lesser ones."

Of those, called *Hayen*, some were "above six yards long, having six rows of teeth in their mouth, which is under their belly, their skin being of the thickness of a finger, and their brain said to be useful in physic." Near the line, "a Sea Devil (so called) swimming up to them, rowed all day long about the ship. He had great horns, in thickness and in length equally proportioned, and was, for the rest, very ghastly to look on." At the Cape they were amazed at the sight of all manner of rare and precious plants;—strange kinds of beasts—sea cows, rhinoceroses, elks and lions;—fishes, with strong, sharp-edged prickles instead of fins, and one in particular, of "so diffusive a poison, that if one touched him only with his shoe he could not walk for some time on that part, feeling a sensible pain struck through the whole body." Off the Cape, they had the usual complement of storms, with the usual accompaniments of splintered masts and shattered canvass. How the ship could survive such reeling and tossing, excited no small degree of astonishment. When calm returned, they were daily visited with abundance of birds "of so dull a nature, that they of their own accord flew into their hands, or lighting down near them, would play with them. Nay, they would by no means be turned off, till they were driven away by force." In passing close to Ceylon they could spy the wild elephants walking on the shore. On the 9th July, after a long and tedious voyage of nearly eight months, their toils and fatigues ended in a happy arrival at Tranquebar—the place of their destination.

And here, it is instructive to pause and note the frame and disposition of mind in which such a voyage was encountered by these servants of God. How often do we hear of the insufferable dulness, weariness, and ennui of a voyage round the Cape,—arising from want of society and recreation—the closeness and confinement of the floating tenement—the badness or unpalatableness of the food—monotonous tameness of oceanic scenery? In the case of our voyagers, society they had none, save that of the captain and his roughish crew; recreation they had none, of a physical or external character; their cabin was a scantily-furnished crib; their fare, for the most part, consisted of "mouldy bread, dead beer, and stinking water;" and the scenery of ocean, on whose "azure brow time writes no wrinkle," was the same as it has been to every voyager since. And yet, never were human beings more happy than they! So far from being wearied or saddened, they were refreshed and exhilarated beyond measure. "Our precious time," say they, "we passed both with great advantage and a delicious entertainment of our minds; so that the same seemed rather too short

than too long under such useful exercises. Nay, we should now count it a small matter, if it was our lot to live a sea-faring life for some years together, provided the Lord did grant us our health." Wherein lay the secret of all this pleasantness? It is, happily, one that lies within the reach of all, if all had the wisdom to avail themselves of it. Their own account of the matter is clear, simple, intelligible, and edifying. It is, in substance, to this effect:—From the first, they resolved to convert the voyage into an opportunity for acquiring true and substantial wisdom. With such a resolution, every thing tended to afford satisfaction and enjoyment. The wonders of God, gloriously displayed in the seas, inspired them with new and unwonted delight. In fair weather, they would sit down on the deck of the ship, and give vent to their mind,—rejoicing in the contemplation of the pleasant situation of the skies and seas,—and from thence taking occasion to entertain themselves with discourses concerning the glory of the world to come, and the lively hope of those who have a share in it. In tempestuous weather, the more the storms and roarings of the sea broke in upon them, the more increased the joy and praise of God in their mouths; seeing they had such a potent and powerful Lord for their father, whom they might daily approach, and, as confiding children, put up prayers and petitions to Him. Yea, the nearer they touched upon the very brink of death, the more they endeavoured thoroughly to acquaint themselves with the great God, and to adore Him in spirit and in truth; that so they might be prepared, whenever the Lord should be pleased to bury them in the merciless waves of the sea. And this consideration was the cause of abundant good on their sides. The faculties of their soul became thereby more and more purified, and consequently fit to receive the gracious operations of Divine Wisdom. Their meditations, and whatever they read, saw or heard, in things both *spiritual* and *natural*, they could now, under this disposition of mind, deeper penetrate into, and improve to its main and genuine scope. The voyage was thus turned into an *experimental school*, wherein they were not so much taught the bare letter of divinity, as the lively and practical sense of the inward power and sweetness thereof. They felt as if the Lord, under various crosses and trials, more and more opened unto them the mysteries of salvation hid in the letter, and lively impressed the divine truths on their minds, to the end they might be able to deliver it to others again, with the greater boldness, from the stock of their own experience. Morning, noon, and night they usually had some exercise of piety in the ship, discoursing of the word of God, praying, singing,

and praising the Lord for all his worshipful mercies vouchsafed to them. The rest of the day, they employed likewise in reading and pondering some scriptures, with such discourses as might stir up the mind to contemplate the wonders of God in the works of creation, which were now the daily objects of their senses. Sometimes they endeavoured to praise God with a concert of music, both vocal and instrumental, and by some melodious hymns awakened the inward harmony of their soul to praise and magnify the Lord. Happy men! whose happiness was independent of external and adventitious circumstances;—yea, who enjoyed the divine art of extracting happiness from circumstances apparently the most adverse! In pure and upright minds, in sanctified hearts, in pacified consciences, and in the full possession of the divine favour, they carried about with them an internal spring—a perennial source of true felicity. Their own spirits, like a tranquil summer evening's sky, communicating its beauteous tints to the varied objects of a smiling landscape, diffused calmness and serenity, joy and gladness all around,—mantling the face of all nature with vivid reflections of their own inward light, and drawing forth from all, the responsive echoes of their own inward melody.

Arrived in India, how do they proceed? Their great object is, "spiritually to enlighten the understandings of men—to exalt and magnify the Lord Jesus in their souls—and, by the grace of God, to convey such a lively knowledge of the Gospel as might render the heathen obedient to the faith, and thereby save them from everlasting ruin." Such was their solemn and deliberate purpose; but as to the manner of its execution, they had no pre-conceived plan. Their resolute determination was, to convey the knowledge of salvation—to communicate the divine message, "believe and live,"—and to do so every where, and any how. The *end*, as essential, was clearly defined; but not, the *means*. Every thing connected with the mode and manner, the time and the place, being justly regarded as accessory and subordinate, was left to be determined exclusively by prudential considerations. "How unwise!" exclaim some. "How very wise!" retort we. There is in the human mind a craving after simplification and generalization, both in theory and practice. The ancients, untutored by the discipline of modern philosophy, usually assumed some grand general principle, and then endeavoured deductively to apply it to all particulars. One made water the principle of all things; another, fire; and another, air. The moderns, trained in a better school, profess to begin with particulars, and inductively proceed to the establishment of general principles or laws. But, impatience of the

toil and labor which this involves, often leads them or tempts them to spring, at one leap, at some grand generalization. So it has been in practice. The Alchemists strove to obtain a panacea, that should heal all diseases; a philosopher's stone, that should turn all things into gold; and a general element, into which all others might be resolved. Their labours, contrary to their earnest wishes and aspirations, have ended, not, in unifying, but in multiplying. Instead of one simple original element, the primeval source of all the rest, chemistry now rejoices in upwards of fifty distinct uncompounded elements. And, while any excess in multiplication would be just as great an error as excess in simplification, such a fact serves to prove, that truth may lie as much in the direction of the former as the latter—more especially during those intermediate stages that may usher in the discovery of some magnificent harmonizing principle. The same spirit and crave for simplification or unification has been carried into every other department, whether of medicine or law, economy or jurisprudence, science or philosophy, education or general benevolence. The physician longs for a method of treatment applicable to all diseases; the lawyer, for a simple code of justice, that shall rectify all wrongs; the politician, for some legislative measure, that shall heal all commercial, financial, and social maladies; the educationist, for some universal scheme, that shall macadamize the pathway of instruction in every branch of human learning; the missionary, for a principle, which shall form the basis of an all-comprehending theory of evangelization, or a model, which shall form a pattern for all climes, and kindreds, and tongues, and peoples and nations. What is all this but to indulge in the spirit of the Alchemists, that panted after the philosopher's stone, or the universal element? But it will not do. As in other matters, so here. Multiplication first, must lead to simplification afterwards. He who enters an entirely *new* missionary field, with a definite theory and a pre-determined plan, may soon have reason to alter, or modify, or abandon his theory—to vary or transmute his plan into something wholly different,—to break it up into fragments, or superadd to it a dozen more. The time has not yet come for a universal theory or universal model of missions. The present is the transition period for observation and experiment, the collection and classification of facts, the application of principles and the record of results. It was, therefore, infinitely to the credit of Ziegenbalg and his associate that they came to India, without a pre-conceived theory, as to the best mode of operation, or a pre-determined plan. They came with what was vastly better. They came

with an heroic spirit instead of a theory—with a fixed purpose, instead of a fixed plan. And as they heroically proceeded with the execution of their purpose, they never doubted that by the current of circumstances they would be guided to the adoption of right plans. Emergencies and unforeseen difficulties would naturally suggest these. The occurrence of special obstacles would prompt to the choice of special plans or methods by which these might be overcome, and their ultimate object gained. And thus, beginning with no plan at all, they might be constrained to end with as many as there were distinct obstructions to be over-mastered, or specific objects to be achieved. And in the adaptation of the separate means to the separate ends, was there not abundant room for practical wisdom to display itself?—far more room than in guessing, or conjecturing or dictating a universal method or plan? The truth is, that as yet, any such plan or method must be accounted as altogether visionary and impracticable. When all diversities of climates disappear; when all differences of ranks and degrees, age and sex, knowledge and ignorance, barbarism and civilization, shall cease; when all social and domestic usages, all moral and religious dogmas and ceremonies, all forms of jurisprudence and government, shall be fused into a general uniformity;—then, but not till then, may we look for a simple, uniform, and universal plan, method, or model of missions. That is, in fact, such a plan, method, or model will become practicable, when it is no more needed, and there is no room or occasion for it, amid the blessedness of a universally evangelized world!

Fired with holy zeal, Ziegenbalg and his companion burned with desire, immediately on their arrival, to deliver their message. But on the very threshold, they were confronted by the grand preliminary obstacle—the want of a medium of communication. And yet this obstacle—one of the bitterest fruits of the curse of Babel—many a flaming philanthropist would perpetuate by his advocacy of isolation and purism in language! But letting that pass;—if the Missionaries addressed the people in their own tongue, which was the High Dutch, they must, by being utterly unintelligible, act towards them the part of barbarians. Either, then, they must learn the language of the people, or the people must learn theirs. But, what motive could be presented of sufficient potency to overcome the *vis inertiæ* of a poor, carnalized, indolent people, and impel them to the toil and drudgery of mastering a foreign tongue? None whatsoever. But, even if they could, it would not answer their immediate end. If that end had been to communicate the largest and most comprehensive range of information within

their reach, this could be done most rapidly and effectually by the latter process. In this way the Romans betook themselves to the study of Greek, and eventually succeeded in incorporating and naturalizing the literary and philosophic stores, locked up in that most copious and beautiful of European tongues. In this way the nations of western Europe, one after another, set to the study of Latin, for the sake of appropriating its original treasures and transplanted spoils. In the same way must the better-conditioned natives of India now vigorously betake themselves to the study of English, which, as regards them, is the direct key of all true literature, science, and theology;—the classic tongue, which stands towards them in the same relative position that the Greek and Latin did to the kingdoms of Christendom at the time of the Reformation,—the most powerful and effective medium for pouring in on the minds of the chosen few those streams of knowledge, which, by them, must be poured out again, through the medium of improved vernaculars, on the minds of the less favored many,—the mightiest instrument, therefore, in inseparable conjunction with indigenous auxiliaries, for ultimately refreshing the dry and parched soil of the Indian mind, through those processes of irrigation which have heretofore fertilized and gladdened happier climes. But the more immediate design of Ziegenbalg and his companion was somewhat different. Their direct purpose was, in the speediest way possible, to convey exclusively the best of all knowledge—the knowledge of Salvation, through a crucified but Divine Redeemer. To attain this single, but noble, end—an end, which, however noble, could not, in the first instance, be appreciated by the people—they must submit to the toil of acquiring the native language. On enquiry, they soon found, that, from the early conquests and settlement of the Portuguese in southern India, numbers of the heathen were not only familiar with, but habitually spoke a vulgar gibberish of the language of the conquerors. They also found, that the Malabarick language, or Tamul, the proper language of the country, was involved in greater difficulties than the Portuguese. What, then, were they to do? Learn one or both of these? If only one,—which? It is interesting and refreshing in this more learned and artificial age, to note the simplicity and singleness of aim of these devoted soldiers of the cross. Aware of the brevity and uncertainty of life—remembering the divine precept about redeeming time—seized with no vain ambition for the idle honour of *mere* literary renown, or of the status of membership in *mere* literary Societies, whether Royal or Asiatic—disdaining the questionable reputation of being mere machines for learning

languages—an acquisition which makes vastly larger demands on the memory than on the judgment, and admits of men becoming prodigies of proficiency in the memorial art of accumulating words, who may be prodigies of deficiency in the possession, use, and exercise of the higher reflective faculties;—they resolved to economise time by learning the Portuguese only, as being the easiest, and requiring the least expenditure of that most precious of earthly commodities—itself the purchase of an infinite price—and giving a ready access to a greater number of immortal spirits than they could expect to overtake in their life time, however prolonged. "At first," say they with inimitable simplicity, "we were at a stand, not knowing whether it 'would be wisely done to spend our time in learning it (the 'Tamul); especially since we found the Portuguese as yet sufficient for our design." Here, too, the practicalness of their aim was eminently conspicuous. The spoken dialect of Portuguese was very different from the classical language of the Lusiad, or the style of speaking among the better classes in Portugal. Did they, then, despise it?—No such thing. They were no squeamish eclectics or super-refined purists in language. They could not be seduced to regard that, as an end and object in itself, which, by the destination of Providence, was only designed to be an instrument and a means. They could not be tempted to prefer a pretended and profitless purity to a real and demonstrable utility. They looked upon language, as it truly is, only as an assemblage of arbitrary signs of ideas, and of no practical value, except as the sensible symbols of these. They knew, that purity of language is very much a matter of taste, and time, and relation, and casual coincidence—and that, as no words are invented to express or represent non-entities, every language, as it actually exists, is a mirror that accurately reflects the mind of any people, being exactly proportional to their state of culture, and commensurate with their ideas. They adjudged therefore that, for their direct, immediate, practical purpose, that language—whether pure or impure, original or derivative, simple or mixed—is and must be the best, which is best understood, and is the most effective medium for reaching the head and heart of those intended to be addressed. With views like these, they still thought it necessary to render "the fundamentals of the parent language of Por-'tugal familiar to them," but only in order that they "might be 'able afterwards, more easily and effectually to condescend also 'to the more vulgar form of speaking."

They soon, however, discovered, that, as regarded the masses representing the national mind, the Portuguese was but a foreign tongue—that the spoken dialect of it was that of the most worth-

less, worst-conditioned and least hopeful portion of the community—and that, in its rudeness and barrenness, it possessed few or none of the appliances and resources of a general illumination. They, therefore, concluded, that they must address the great body of the people in the indigenous or native tongue. But their resolute purpose to economise time suggested that, after having acquired Portuguese, this might be done through an interpreter. A very doubtful conclusion, involving a perilous experiment! It is true, that in the ever-memorable case of Brainerd, this plan did succeed. His career was too brief and meteor-like to admit of his thoroughly mastering any of the Indian languages. From first to last, he spoke chiefly through an interpreter. The effects were never surpassed in ancient or modern times. Whole assemblies of men, women, and children—stained with blood and steeped in licentiousness—were instantaneously bowed down together—melted into tears, and filled with distress and alarm for the safety of their souls;—so that the preacher himself often "stood amazed 'at the influence which seized the audience almost universally, 'and could compare it to nothing more aptly than a mighty tor-'rent, that bears down, and sweeps before it, whatsoever is in its 'way." Nor were these effects transitory. Hundreds lived to afford hopeful evidence of a real conversion to God. At the same time, it ought not to be forgotten, that ere these striking manifestations, in which the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly like "a mighty rushing wind," were realized, the interpreter himself had become a convert, and, in conveying the words of his master, was enabled to impart to them, the tone, unction, and savour of a gracious spirit. But the history of the world proves, that the case of Brainerd was not the splendid exemplification of a general rule, but the realization of a splendid exception from the general rule. And to convert the exception into a rule of action, is in principle as fallacious, as in practice it must prove fruitless. Nor is there any mystery here. A word, viewed simply as such, being merely the sign of an idea, coldly addresses the understanding. It is the modified tone of utterance that embodies the feelings of the heart, and with sympathetic touch awakens kindred feelings in the breasts of the hearers. But, in the case of an interpreter of uncongenial mind, the very flower, bloom, and fragrance of the original sentiment may be lost in the act of transmission through him, as the vehicle of the dry naked meaning, detached from the sweetly attractive and moving influences that emanate from a feeling heart. Accordingly, after a short trial, the practical sagacity of our Missionaries led them to discover their mistake; and they at once resolved, that they themselves must learn the Tamul. But the same stern regard for the

economising of time, still influenced them; and their first determination was, that "one of them should employ himself to get the 'language of the country to such a degree, as to be fit to improve it 'to the main scope they were sent thither for. In order thereto, 'they cast lots; and the lot falling on Mr. Plutscho, he readily 'embraced it, and now applied himself entirely to the learning 'of that language;" while Ziegenbalg devoted himself still more intensely to the Portuguese. Subsequently, however, the latter also found it advantageous to direct his attention to the Tamul, in which he very soon attained so great a proficiency as to prove, that his original reluctance to encounter it, arose neither from inability for the task, nor from disinclination to submit to the necessary toil, but solely, from the purest, most disinterested, and most conscientious motives. A Tamul grammar, composed by him, is so superior as to be still in high esteem among oriental scholars. In two years he compiled a Dictionary, comprising twenty thousand words and phrases,—each word being written in the Malabarick character, the pronunciation being appended in Latin, and the signification in German. For this purpose, upwards of two hundred Malabarick authors—not only Theological, Philosophical, and Historical, but likewise those that treat upon Physic and Economy—were carefully read, and the most elegant phrases taken down out of every book. Besides this Dictionary, intended for common use or ordinary purposes, he collected, at the cost of still greater toil and labour, ample materials for what he designates a "Poetical Dictionary"—containing all the higher, rarer, and more classical terms in the language. He confesses, that this Dictionary was of no great use to him in delivering the word of God to his congregation, a "plain style being the fittest 'for instruction." How, then, did such a rigid economist of time vindicate such lavish expenditure of time and strength upon it?—In a way which reflects the highest credit on his judgment as well as his enlightened and expanded views of Missionary labour. His own words are these:—

"It (the Dictionary) is a key to unlock and to untie all those knots and difficulties wherewith the Malabarick Poets abound. And because I am resolved to expose, one time or other, all their heathenish fopperies in their own and native ugliness, I found myself obliged to venture thus far into these spacious fields of the Pagan Poets. Besides this, the many visits I receive from the Poets themselves, seem to make it necessary; they putting almost every thing they speak in a Poetical dress, where I must understand at least what they say, in order to confute the better their silly tales and stories."

One of the first difficulties of an *external* kind which they were doomed to experience, on actually commencing their labours, and one of the chiefest which harassed them all their days, arose from a source as unexpected as it was painful and melancholy,

viz., "the scandalous and corrupted life of the Christians con-
' versing with, and residing among, the heathen." In all their communications, there is no theme to which they feel themselves constrained to refer more frequently, and none which calls forth the expression of deeper regret or concern. They had naturally hoped to find among the Christians some, at least, who might have a true hunger and thirst after the word of God; but they were grieved to find little among them besides "a religion
' raised on maxims of state and policy, void of all that substantial
' piety and truth which is in Jesus." Every one pretended, that "he could not serve God so well in those parts, as in his own
' country; so they thought they had rather put it quite off, till
' they came home again." This was sad enough, as regarded the Europeans themselves; but the effect was still sadder, as respected the influence of such conduct on the natives. "The abomi-
' nably wicked life of the Christians," say they, "has generated
' one of the most obstinate prejudices in the native mind against
' Christianity itself. This has inspired the heathen with more
' than an ordinary hatred and detestation of any thing that sa-
' vours of the Christian religion; nay, they look upon Christians
' as the very dregs of the world, the vilest and most corrupted
' people under the sun, and the general bane of mankind." This made them frequently ask, "Whether the Christians led as
' wicked lives in Europe, as they did in the East Indies?" "Bet-
' ter, infinitely better," exclaim the Missionaries in deepest sorrow, "if never any Christians had been among them; for then
' their minds would be less prepossessed against Christianity,
' the free reception of which is now stifled by many inveterate
' sins and customs they have all along observed among Chris-
' tians." Thus, was the work of conversion among the heathen rendered very difficult:—

"The Christians, letting loose the reins to sin and vanity, render thereby the name of that religion which they profess very odious to the poor offended heathens. For though the Pagans see the Christians punctually attend their religious ways and ordinances, and hear them boast of the only true Church and Worship, rejecting, at the same time, with disdain, the religion of the heathens; yet it is extremely hard, (nay, beyond all human skill and endeavours) to make them believe the Christian religion to be the best and safest, whilst the lives of those are so bad who profess it. All our demonstrations about the excellency of the Christian constitution, make but a very light impression, whilst they find the Christians generally so much debauched in their manners, and so much given up to gluttony, drunkenness, lewdness, cursing, swearing, cheating and cozening, notwithstanding all their fair and specious pretences to the best religion. But more particularly are they offended by that proud and insulting temper, which is so obvious in the conduct of our Christians here. 'Tis true, they too much value themselves on one hand, on account of their own parts, wit, and abilities; and on the other, make too little of the

poor heathens, whom they treat with a haughty look, call them *dogs*, and shew them all the spite and malice they are able to contrive. Yea, some of our Christians are arrived to such a pitch of haughtiness, as to continue utterly ashamed of the heathens, even then, when they are brought over to Christianity by baptism, and initiated into our holy faith. Much less will they be induced to live with them as with *brethren* in Christ,—a name so much used and beloved among the Christians in the primitive days. Many of the heathens, it is true, are convinced of the soundness of the doctrine we have all along proposed to them; but casting their eyes upon the profligate manners of those who profess it, they are at a stand, and do not know what to betake themselves to. They suppose, that a *good religion* and a *disorderly conversation*, are things utterly inconsistent with one another. And because they see the Christians pursue their wonted pleasure presently after divine service; some of the heathens have from thence taken up a notion, as if we preachers, in our ordinary sermons, did teach people all those debaucheries, and encourage them in so dissolute a course of life."

Such is the distressing picture given by one of the most scrupulously honest of observers. But alas! it is no new one. A century earlier (1615) a gentleman attached to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, to the Court of the great Mogul, thus writes:—

"It is a most sad and horrible thing to consider what scandal there is brought upon the Christian religion, by the looseness and remissness, by the exorbitances of many which come amongst them, who profess themselves Christians; of whom I have often heard the natives (who live near the port where our ships arrive) say thus, in broken English, which they have gotten: *Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk; Christian much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others.*"

And has not the same complaint been substantially reiterated from every port, of every continent and island of the heathen world that has been visited by Europeans in pursuit of commerce? And is it not inexpressibly painful to think, that those who ought to be the pioneers of Christian civilization, should everywhere be found leavening the heathen mind with hostile prejudices, and prepossessing it not only against Christians, but against Christianity itself? Let us rejoice, that in India, there has been, of late years, so marked and decided an improvement in this respect; though there is still abundant room for a great deal more. Christians in general are not sufficiently impressed with a sense of the awful responsibility that devolves on them, as temporary sojourners in a heathen land. They little think how effectually they may be *preaching down*, by their life and conduct, all that the most faithful and zealous ministers may be *preaching up*, of faith and morals. Of all opposition, theirs is most destructive and fatal, who, "under an external shew of 'the same confession, practically destroy the vitals of the Christ-'ian faith." On the contrary, of all helps of an outward kind, there is nothing, which next to the grace of God, so powerfully

aids the propagation of the Gospel, as a holy and blameless life on the part of its professors. There is a charm about such a life which often exerts a resistless influence. Grace, burning within and shining without in a heavenly walk and conversation, is fitted to pierce into hearts the most obdurate and prejudiced,—spelling out in legible characters the nature of true religion,—insinuating principles the most momentous but unpalatable—awakening pungent convictions and secret longings, in a way which the eloquence of mere words may never reach. But let the state of things be reversed, and see what counteractive influences are at work! Speak of the evil and danger of sin to the heathen; and they immediately point to professing Christians wallowing in its very mire and filth. Talk to them of the necessity of holiness and purity of heart; and they point to men of unholy and impure lives. Enforce the necessity of walking in the way of God's commandments; and they point to those who in practice habitually violate them all. Set before them the beauty and lustre of the Christian faith; and they point to the vileness and deformity of Christian manners. Refer to the superiority of spiritual delights; and they point to men wholly under the dominion of sense. Extol the pursuit of heavenly riches; and they point to men wholly bent on earthly treasures. Expatiate on the joys of heaven and immortality; and they point to men bearing the name of Christian, who are manifestly drenched in the pleasures of a perishable world.

How then, is so formidable an obstacle to the conversion of unbelievers to be overcome? Ziegenbalg and his associate resorted to two methods. First, as regarded the heathen, they "endeavored to give them a frequent opportunity to hear 'the word of God itself, if, perhaps, they might be induced 'to take that for a *standard* of the *Christian faith*, rather than 'the corrupt life and loose conversation of the *so-called* Chris-'tians;" while they strenuously laboured in their own personal demeanour to exemplify the heavenly truths which they taught. Secondly, they attempted to reach the very root of the evil, by striving to Christianize those, who, to the honourable profession of Christians, claimed the dishonourable privilege of superadding the lives and practices of heathens. For this end, they began to "set up an exercise of piety in 'their own house. Numbers came to hear the word of God. 'But, some ill-disposed men, highly displeased with their 'design, began to exclaim against it. However, this proved 'but a means to draw more people to the house, and some even 'of the first rank; so that the room was hardly sufficient to 'contain them." They, then, secured a larger place of meet-

ing; and eventually the Governor himself requested them to preach once a week in the Danish Church. Their labours in this department were crowned with large and varied success. And hence we may learn, how direct preaching to Europeans in heathen lands may have a closer and more essential bearing on purely missionary operations than the unreflecting are able to understand or willing to believe;—yea, how at certain periods and in particular localities, it may become a necessary integral part of a complete scheme of Missionary action.

Another obstacle, which annoyed and vexed them throughout, arose from the proselyting processes pursued by the Romanists, as well as the deplorable character of their nominal converts. The Lutheran Reformation having wrenched the half of Christendom from the grasp of Rome, she was desperately bent on repairing and balancing the loss, by the subjugation of the gentile nations to her sway. Her *chief* end, therefore, was, not the enlightenment of the understanding, or a real conversion of the heart towards God, but proselytism —naked, unencumbered proselytism—the mere accession of numbers, any how obtained, to her communion;—numbers, in whom all mental freedom and ethical individuality remain undeveloped, or become extinct, that they may the more fitly swell the hosts of obedient and dependent captives, that grace the advancing car of a triumphant spiritual despotism. The nature of the end dictated the selection of the means. Even the most innocuous measures for gaining fresh recruits, reflected little credit on human nature, and little honour on Christianity:—

"Since their chief design," says Ziegenbalg, "is, to make Proselytes to *a party* only, the souls that fall under their management, are left in the utmost ignorance, without so much as receiving a real tincture of inward piety or of a saving conversion to God. At this rate, they go astray like lost sheep, and remain altogether strangers to the grand mysteries of salvation. Nor do their Priests take the least pains to *train them up* to a competent knowledge of divine things; but suppose they have sufficiently answered the character of a Missionary, when the heathens have learnt to perform the external and customary formalities of the Church of Rome. And after this manner they convert numbers of Pagans in a little time, and with less pains and labour."

As a specimen of their mode of procedure, take the following:—

"In the year 1709, there was in the country so great a scarcity that abundance of the Malabarians died for want of necessaries, and others were forced to sell themselves for slaves in that extremity. The Portuguese Church here, being very large and populous, took hold of this opportunity, and bought up a great many of this poor people for slaves, one being sold

from twenty to forty *Fano*, or from eight to sixteen shillings English. After they had purchased the number of fourscore heads, the *Pater Vicarius* appointed a solemn day for administering the *Baptismal Act* to all those souls at once. At the set day, they went in one body or procession, being accompanied by some who beat the *Malabar* drums, and others who played on the flute; these being the usual instruments the heathen make use of both at their idolatrous worship in the common *Pagodas*, and in their public processions, when they carry their idols about, as they use to do upon some days set apart for that purpose. There were likewise some standards attending the procession, to give the greater lustre to so solemn an act and formality. The whole Pageantry being thus mustered up, the sacrament of baptism was ministered to those ignorant wretches, without so much as asking them one question about the substance of these transactions. Being *sprinkled* one after another, they were led back in the same pompous manner; the aforesaid Father ordering abundance of *Cass* (a very small coin, eighty whereof make one *Fano*) to be thrown among the people as they went home. And these sorry performances, whereby they make daily additions to the Church of Rome, are entitled by them as extraordinary acts of devotion, and their Church set out as the most flourishing of all others. By this instance we may learn what to think of the high boasts, wherewith some Popish Missionaries have filled their books, and told the world, that they have *converted thousands* of heathens within the compass of one year. Which sort of conversion is undoubtedly much of the same nature with what we have seen performed in this town."

What wonder is it that accessions of nominal converts, thus obtained, should prove the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of real evangelization? Such converts having changed merely their name, they generally retained their heathenish notions unmodified, and their heathenish practices, with little or no effort to conceal or disguise them One day the Protestant Missionaries were visited by a Brahman, who "carried 'about him the usual *badge*, whereby the silly priests do 'distinguish themselves from the common people, which is a 'little heathenish *idolet* fastened before their breast. He also 'anointed, after the way of the heathenish priests, his breast and 'forehead, with an ointment, made of ashes and cow-dung, and 'other filthy ingredients." Never doubting that he was a genuine heathen Brahman, and discoursing with him on the supposition that he came to be instructed in the principles of Christianity, they were, after some time, confounded to hear his own confession, that he had been baptised five years before by the Roman Catholics, and so believed to become a member of the true Church. "All he knew of the Christian 'religion was no more than that he had been *sprinkled with* 'water, and thereby initiated into the Christian Church." But the means of proselytism were not always of a character merely childish, frivolous, superficial or inept. They often involved cruelty and guile, force and fraud. Accordingly, it is matter of earnest and reiterated complaint, that, as the papists were

wont "to decoy the heathen into Christianity (so-called) 'by all manner of sinister practices and underhand dealings," these were naturally and necessarily filled with all kinds of fears, suspicions, and repugnance. "They are afraid of us," says Ziegenbalg, "as of designing men, ready to steal in 'upon them by some project or other contrived for that pur-'pose." Now, how did they attempt to overbear and remove this head-strong prejudice? By uniformly protesting, that they "never designed to use force or craft in the conversion of 'souls; but leave every one entirely to his own free choice and 'liberty"—that any thing approaching to guile or violence, was directly contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and utterly subversive of the great ends of a spiritual conversion towards God; while, in the whole of their practical dealings with the heathens, they habitually strove to exemplify the tenour and import of their solemn protestations. In other words, by raising high and conspicuous the standard of Protestantism—substituting openness, candour, and kindness, for concealment, guile, and violence—the spirit of inquiry, for the stupor of apathy—knowledge, for ignorance—mental freedom, for blindfold acquiescence—the distinct and independent individuality of man, for his irresponsible absorption into the general mass—the right of private judgment, for the obligation of passive obedience;—they expected, not without reason, ultimately to render the contrast between Protestantism and Romanism as striking to the shrewd common sense of the heathens, as if they were severed by an impassable gulph.

Besides these and other obstacles of an *extraneous* kind, there were peculiar difficulties soon found to spring up from the very nature of the undertaking. Penetrated as they were with a sense of the immeasurable superiority of their own faith, they might antecedently be led to expect, that the simple announcement of the glad tidings would instantaneously be hailed by an ignorant and deluded people. But they were soon destined to find, with the youthful enthusiastic Reformer, that in India, as elsewhere, the "old Adam was too 'strong for young Melancthon." After a short residence, they freely confess, "that it is very hard to make any impression 'on the minds of the people, or to bring them out of the gross 'blindness that overspreads them, to the glorious light of the 'holy Gospel." Nor did this arise from the radical corruption of human nature alone, as common to all mankind. The people were not in a blank state of mind, ready for the reception of new impressions. Unlike the American Indian or African Bushman,—whose degeneracy into the savage state

has left them little even of primitive patriarchal tradition, beyond a few rude and incoherent notions of the supernatural, coupled with a few witching spells and incantations,—the Hindus were soon discovered to possess a systematized Divinity and Philosophy of their own, the principles of which were altogether different from those of the systems prevalent in Europe. It was also found, apparently to the surprize of our simple-minded labourers, that the Theological and Philosophical doctrines in vogue were not transmitted as oral traditions, but recorded in works of reputed sacredness. "They 'have many books," they remark, "which they pretend to have 'been delivered to them by their gods, as we believe the Scrip-'tures to be delivered to us by our God. Their books are 'stuffed with abundance of pleasant fables and witty inven-'tions concerning the lives of their gods. They afford a variety 'of exorbitant fancies and delusions about the world to come. 'And at this rate the word of God, which we propose, seems 'to them to contain nothing but dry and insipid notions." What, then?—did they despise these heathen systems and heathen books, because they abounded with so much that was vain and preposterous? No such thing. Ardent though they were, they were not less wise than ardent. Baseless and puerile as the reigning dogmas might be, and interlaced with whatever amount of fictions and fables, they were found to exert an absolute dominion over the popular mind. And to overlook their undisputed and hereditary sway, would have been as great a practical paralogism in spiritual husbandry, as it would be in the physical, were the husbandman to overlook the marsh, and the jungle, and the forest which, for ages, had exclusively pre-occupied the surface. Accordingly they resolved to subject the Hindu systems to a rigorous and searching investigation. In order to do this satisfactorily, they must secure the standard works in which these are recorded and developed. But how were the works to be obtained? Having learnt, that the four Vedas were the chief, they made a desperate attempt to obtain these, but in vain. They strove to induce an old teacher, whom they had taken into their pay, to transcribe them for their use, offering him ready money for his labour. But they could not prevail with him; "he pretending it to be contrary 'to their laws, to communicate them to a Christian." The unsealing of these mysterious works was reserved for British enterprize and British gold. But were Ziegenbalg and his friend discouraged? No. They determined to secure what books they could. For this end, Malabarick writers were despatched a great way into the interior to purchase or copy every pro-

curable work. Such works were often bought from the widows of deceased Brahmans, and when not sold, transcribed. But why bestow such trouble and expense in procuring writings, concerning which the very best that could be said was, that they were "enriched with fables cunning enough, and trim-'med with as fine poetical flourishes and fancies, as many of 'our heathenish authors, both in Greek and Latin?" The design was at once enlightened and wise. It was to prevent their beating the air, or fighting with shadows, or mistaking windmills for giants. It was to enable them authoritatively to unravel the mysteries and fundamental principles of Hinduism —to expose it in all its black and odious colours—and to confute it by materials drawn out of its own records. "It is," says Ziegenbalg, "very useful for our design to have a com-'petent insight into the grounds their idolatrous worship is 'raised on, and into all the other matters relating thereto. Such 'a discovery may, in time, prove a mean to strike at the very 'fundamentals of their religion, and convince them of the 'groundlessness the whole structure of their idolatry rests on, 'and at last, after the removal of such prejudices, clear the way 'for true and substantial knowledge."

Nor did they labour in vain. Considering the little assistance to be had in those early days from preceding authors, their diligence, as manifested in the result, was surprizing. In a few months from the date of their arrival, they were enabled to frame a sketch of the popular or Puranic system, remarkable for the minuteness and accuracy of its details. Here they had the sagacity to discern, that, amid the three hundred and thirty millions of deities which crowd the Hindu Pantheon, there was, after all, but one eternal, unmade, self-existent Being—the productive cause of all things. A striking testimony, extorted from the mightiest polytheism under the sun, to the all-important fact, that there is but ONE SUPREME—the source and original of this great universe, however lame and inadequate the views entertained of his character and attributes! An additional confutation also—deserving a distinct chapter in Cudworth's immortal work—of the theory of those philosophical dreamers who maintain, that the primitive faith of man was polytheism, and monotheism the deduction of refinement and civilization, instead of monotheism being the original faith, and polytheism its subsequent degeneracy and corruption! Then follows the entire system of Hindu Mythology;—Theogonies, or the genealogies of the gods, superior and inferior, through all their varying degrees and changes—their periods of existence, modes of governing, and final absorption into

the Being of all being—their horrid shapes, weapons, quarrels, exploits and misdeeds;—the successive eduction of rudimental principles, and then, of the grosser elements, with sundry cosmogonies, and alternate destructions and renewals of the globe;—the fourteen worlds, superior and inferior, with oceans intervening between;—the contradictory notions about the soul, as whether it be God himself or a part of God, whether souls were created all at once, or begotten by earthly parents, or the product of the pure elements;—the numberless transmigrations of the soul out of one body into another;—the inadequate apprehenions of sin, arising from familiarity with the doctrine of the soul's revolutions and rambles, or from the inveterate belief that it flows from the incorrigible pravity of matter, or from the high Pantheistic dogma that would extirpate the very notion of it altogether;—the sacrifices, austerities, and penances, which secure liberation from the body and a temporary enjoyment of celestial bliss; the method of abstraction, involving a renunciation of idol-worship with its works and ceremonies, in order to ascend beyond the heavens and obtain final beatitude, or absorption into Brahma, or what is equivalent, the bliss of annihilation; with sundry other peculiarities, tales, fictions, extravagancies, and impertinences, too prolix to be rehearsed! Well might Ziegenblag conclude his doleful summary, with the pious reflection:—"May the 'Lord commiserate the fate of these poor deluded souls, and 'enlighten the eyes of the Christians, to see how far they 'are obliged to improve the light of the Gospel, now so gloriously 'shining upon them, and walk as children of the light, whilst 'they have it!"

What a lesson and a rebuke does all this superlative diligence in mastering the systems of Hinduism convey to others! How many have come to India to propagate the Gospel, who have overlooked or despised the elaborate and systematic study of the Hindu Mythology and Philosophy! A few floating scraps and fragments they may, and indeed must pick up, as providence or chance may throw them, unsought for, in their way. But their proper nature and value, their proper place and bearing, their proper relation and connection with the system as a whole, they know not, and cannot explicate. And so, they blunder on, to the delight of their adversaries and the confusion of their own cause. For such negligence what can be the excuse? To plead inability or indolence would be to proclaim unfitness for the work, and the perpetration of a moral wrong in undertaking it. Such excuse, therefore, will not be put forth in arrest of judgment. No! the ordinary pretext is, that the

systems themselves are so puerile and absurd, that it would be a waste of precious time to study them. Now, puerile and absurd though they be, we cannot admit that nothing is to be learnt from them. Much may be learnt, fitted to throw light on the moral and religious constitution and tendencies of the human mind, and on the nature of those revealed truths which mankind originally possessed, and which have been corrupted, mutilated, or exaggerated by accumulating traditions. But, besides this, the system of Hinduism is not, like the mythology of Greece or Rome, an *extinct* one—the remembrance of which is perpetuated only by a still surviving Literature. It is a *living* system, which must be confronted as an active and mighty antagonist in every attempt to diffuse gospel truth. Such a system must be exposed. And, contrary to the conclusion of the unintelligent, the more puerile and absurd it is, the greater may be the difficulty in effectually assailing it—in palpably exhibiting its true character—in detecting and laying bare its roots in the common nature of man—and in tracing its primary dependence and subsequent re-action on the intellectual, moral, social, and physical habitudes of the people. Error may assume forms so refined, so subtile, and so stamped with verisimilitude or apparent impresses of truth, as to elude detection, and deceive the wisest. But to the view of enlightened reason, gross and extravagant error speedily betrays itself; and the intuitive facility of its detection is in the proportion, or direct ratio, of its grossness and extravagance. Not so, in the case of the unenlightened. As regards them, the real question turns, not on the fact of the grossness and absurdity of their system, but on the fact of its potency or dominion over their minds—not, whether the things believed are extravagant and false, but whether they are really believed to be true. If so, the greater the folly and falsehood of the things so believed, the greater will be the influence which they are likely to exert, and the greater the difficulty in exposing them. Indeed, the difficulty of exposure will be, not in the inverse, but in the direct ratio, of their grossness and extravagance. And why? Because, in the minds from whose degeneracy they originally sprung, and whose increased tendency to degenerate they so materially aid, there is no internal light to expose their hideousness; and any external light that glares upon them is like a torch held up before shut or blinded eyes. Because, those, who are capable of entertaining such fooleries and lies as if they were wisdom and truth, do thereby plainly proclaim to the whole world, that the understanding is too darkened to discern the standard, tests, or criteria

of truth and error—that the heart is too dead to the finer sensibilities that would instinctively loathe grossness and impurity—that the conscience is too seared to perceive the clear line that divides the empire of right and wrong—in a word, that the mental and moral powers have undergone such a paralysis, as to incapacitate them for discharging those functions of comparison and judgment, by which error may be detected and truth firmly established. The man, with a mind illumined by the truth itself, is like the angel standing in the sun, beholding all objects in the blaze of his radiance. The man, with a mind unillumined, is like him who would survey the variegated surface of hill and dale, field and flood, under the darkness and frown of night. Apart, therefore, from all other considerations, the enlightened disseminator of truth ought to make any system of a *living* heathenism, however gross, absurd, or false, a matter of deep and profound investigation—not for the gratification of a vain or idle curiosity—not for the purposes of a rude or irritating assault—but as furnishing a ready clue to the heathen mind, and indicating the channels through which truth may glide, and the forms in which it ought to be presented, to ensure an easy, and it may be, an unsuspected entrance.

The more thoroughly Ziegenbalg and his associate became acquainted with the practical working of the system of Hinduism, the more sensible did they become to its all but omnipotent influence over the national mind. "Their idola-'trous worship," they remark, "*seems* to them to have more *truth* 'and *pleasantness* in it, than the doctrine of Christ, both 'because they fancy theirs to be of older date, and to con-'tain more curious and delightful pastimes than the revealed 'word of our God; which they think to propose nothing, but a 'deal of tedious mortifying matters, not working so much upon 'the *senses*, as upon the inward frame of the mind; while, 'on the contrary, their passions are fired by a huddle of *material* 'things (such as their idols and processions) striking in upon 'the *sensitive* part." Still, though the people were led away by a world of errors and delusions, they nevertheless put such pertinent questions, and returned such pertinent answers, in matters of religion, as utterly to surprize our Danish labourers. "The Malabarians," say they, "are a witty and sagacious people 'that need to be managed with a great deal of wisdom, circum-'spection, and discretion,"—"a quick and understanding people, 'who require good reasons and arguments for every thing." This is nothing singular. Long and habitual exercise on any one subject, is sure to sharpen and invigorate the intellect in reference to that particular subject, while it may remain contracted in refer-

ence to every other, or even in reference to any new and more comprehensive views on the same. In arguing, they could vary and shift their ground indefinitely. Even the godship of the idols they could soon abandon;—pretending that they were only "god's 'soldiers, and life-guard men"—that they were not worshipped by "men of wisdom and understanding, but only designed for children 'and the meaner and duller sort of people, who knew not what ideas 'or representations to frame of heavenly beings, or of the life to 'come"—that the "whole pack of those idolets or idolatrous images 'were mere fooleries, and all the worship founded thereon false and 'foppish." These, and such like argumentative subtleties and evasions, led the Missionaries naturally to remark, how in Europe, some of our learned men have lavished prodigious stores of erudition in discussing *the methods and ways of converting heathens*;" and how they might well do so, with no ordinary self-gratulation and self-complacency, seeing that "they all the while have argued '*with themselves only*, and fetched forth the *objections and answers* '*from their own stock*." Assuredly, should these learned gentlemen, who so readily set siege to, and so heroically batter down, the citadels of Paganism, in their literary cloisters in the heart of Christendom, ever come into closer contact with the actual living heathen of the East, they would not find them, in *self defence*, so destitute of resource, as those nursed at a distance, in all the pride and self-sufficiency of superior civilization, are apt to imagine. Subtleties and subterfuges they are soon found to possess in abundance—and these of a different kind from what it had ever entered into the European imagination to conceive—wherewith to vindicate their own consistency, uphold their ancestral faith, and frustrate the designs of the most skilful adversary. Yea, and they are often able "to baffle one proof alleg-'ed in favour of Christianity with ten others brought in against 'it"—proofs, which, however impotent in a logical and moral point of view, to their prejudiced minds have all the effect of conclusiveness. Now, how did our friends grapple with this peculiar difficulty? Betake themselves to the pages of Aristotle and other great masters of the dialectic art? Take lessons in the school of Loyola, and learn to meet subtlety with subtlety—parrying the ingenuities of a perverted wit, with the ingenuities of a wit, if not as perverted, at least as attenuated into a slender and useless sharpness? No such thing. Learning they did not despise; rather, they valued and cultivated it. Dialectics, in proper time and place, they not only sanctioned but practised. In the present instance, however, they judged, and they judged wisely, that the disposition of mind, which, in so grave and solemn a theme as a message from the great God concerning the salvation

of the immortal Soul, could spontaneously resort to shifts, evasions, subtleties, and subterfuges, needed some other logic than that of the schools. In such cases, the real obstruction lay not in any difficulties which the intellect honestly apprehended in the doctrines propounded, or in any inherent incapacity of intellect to apprehend their true nature; but in indifference and deadness of heart, and the perversion of the moral feelings; leading to a total unwillingness to receive them at all. Plainly for such a state of mind, no mere argument, however resistless in true logic, could aught avail. And here, in passing, we may remark on the radical imperfections of all existing systems of logic, which aim chiefly, if not solely, at purging the intellect and holding up truth to it—whereas, the most stubborn grounds of resistance to truth will always be found in the heart, the affections, and the will. But, letting that pass;—note the pratical wisdom and sagacity of the decision at which Ziegenbalg and his friend arrived:—

"It requires an experimental wisdom to convey a saving knowledge into their mind, and to convince them of the *folly* of Heathenism, and of the *truth* of Christianity. And this wisdom is not to be had in the barren schools of *Logic* and *Metaphysics*, but must be learnt at another University, and derived from God himself for this purpose. The best way is to keep the mind constantly in that temper and serenity, that the great God may influence it himself, and qualify it for so important a work; that so, in some degree at least, may be obtained what the Lord hath promised to his disciples sent out to preach the Gospel.—Matth. X. 19."

Another difficulty soon presented itself, connected with their attempts *publicly* to address the people. And this naturally leads to the remark, that, in regard to *preaching*, and more particularly the *mode* of it, there often is a great deal of vulgar misapprehension abroad. Some men,—strangely and even preposterously forgetting that the expression "he '*taught* the multitude," exhibits as scriptural an example as the expression, he "*preached* to the multitude"—and that the command, to "*teach* all nations," is just as divine and as divinely obligatory as the command, "to *preach* the Gospel 'to every creature"—insist upon it that "preaching," and that too in their peculiar sense of the term, is not merely the *chief* but the *only* scriptural method of disseminating the glad tidings of Salvation. Yea more, as if such partial and one-sided dealing, at once with the language and recorded examples of Sacred Writ, were not enough, they first insist on attaching to the term "*preach*," a restricted and limited interpretation of their own, founded very much on the conventional artificialities of modern civilization, instead of allowing it that boundless latitude of varied and modified application, so suited to the free genius and

unconstrained spirit of Christianity, as contradistinguished from the rigidities and fixities of a ceremonious Judaism; and next, they presumptuously determine, that whoever does not accommodate his mode of communicating divine truth to their Procrustes square and mould of preaching, cannot be said to preach the Gospel at all. Not so thought Ziegenbalg and his co-adjutor. They were above such injurious and narrow-minded prejudice. They knew that that method, be it what it might, which most speedily and effectually conveyed the knowledge of life and salvation to the soul of a blinded idolator, or ill-informed nominal Christian, must be the best, and the most accordant with the spirit and letter of Holy Writ and recorded Apostolic example. Preaching, in the most thoroughly modern and technical sense of the term, or the formal delivery of set sermons, or didactic discourses, well studied, arranged, and systematized—accompanied with all the usual apparatus of pulpit, desk, and pews—they did not despise. On the contrary, in proper time and place, they habitually practised it. But they did not fail soon to discover, that the state of mind and feeling of an audience, nominally Christian, and therefore willing, and even predisposed to listen to expositions of Gospel truth, was very different from the state of mind and feeling of an ignorant and heathen audience, filled with pre-existing prejudices and antipathies against the truth to be delivered. Neither were they long in finding out, that, formally to stand up in the isolated commanding position which a pulpit supplied, was at once to appear to assume an attitude of superiority and a tone of authoritative dictation, which looked like a proclamation of war. And what was the consequence? That against "the very time, form and place," of such set and formal discourses, the minds of the heathen were often "already up in arms." What, then, were they to do? Persevere in such a method of preaching, as the only legitimate and scriptural one? They had not so read their Bibles; they had not so learnt the mind of Christ and his Apostles; they had not so studied human nature. To disarm the heathen of such antecedent hostility arising from such cause, the existence of which would prevent the possibility of their gaining any good—they proposed, and successfully adopted, the method of *friendly conferences* with the leading and learned men. In these, all parties were to present themselves on the arena of discussion, on a footing of perfect equality, not as panoplied antagonists in a battle field, but as kindly counsellors in a chamber or council of peace. A wise and admirable expedient, worthy of being better known and more generally practised! From appearing, not as adversaries,

superiors, or dictators at such conferences, the missionaries were enabled to proclaim the plainest truths without producing irritation or offence. After levelling their discourse chiefly against "the idolatrous worship so much in vogue," and expatiating on the principles of the Christian faith, they usually parted on the most amicable terms—some of the eldest of the Brahmans, at the close, often "returning thanks in the name of the 'whole company, and expressing withal a great satisfaction 'at the kind invitation offered them by the Missionaries." A volume, containing an epitome or outline of many of these conferences, now lies before us; and from it one may learn infinitely better the real nature of actual Missionary warfare, than from ten thousand such inane, imaginative, and half heretical volumes as Mr. Morris of Oxford's Prize Essay.

From farther experience, they found the minds of ignorant adults more difficult to deal with than those of ignorant children. The mental faculties of the former are dull through habitual neglect, and rigid from want of exercise. Those of the latter, though feeble, have about them a certain spring and elasticity, together with all the freshness and the promise of a budding germination. In adults, they found a fickleness and restlessness of mind—an extreme difficulty in fixing steadfastly the attention—an obtuseness in apprehending spiritual truth—and a constant tendency to rest satisfied with partial, confused, and inadequate ideas. Yea, they found and confessed what others since have been so loath and so slow to learn—that the very terms which they were obliged to employ, as vehicles of Christian knowledge, raised up a new class of obstructions of no ordinary difficulty and magnitude. "We were," say they, "not a little put to it, how to find words which might savour 'somewhat of a Christian style and temper—words expressive 'enough for the delivery of *spiritual* doctrines, and yet cleared 'from the leaven of heathenish fancies and superstitions." In these circumstances, did they fold up their arms, and cleave to the more dignified forms of sermon and conference? No. They were intent on their Master's work—instant in season and out of season—earnest in rescuing perishing souls as brands from the burning. And in this attempt they felt, that all high notions about ceremony and dignity and stateliness of order, were as incongruous as would be the artificial forms of politeness and complaisance in rescuing drowning men from a watery grave. They then bethought themselves of the primitive practice of "*catechising*," as apparently well adapted to meet and overcome the new class of difficulties; and they resolved to revive it. The design of it was, by kindly and skilful interrogation,

to awaken attention, whet curiosity, habituate the faculties to reflection, discover actual misapprehensions, detect their latent sources, remove existing mistakes, expound the meanings of important words, and incidentally communicate stores of sound and useful knowledge. Nor did they fail in their favourable estimate of probable results So profitable did they find these catechetical exercises, and so superior and manifold the advantages accruing from them, that they continued to devote to them at least *two hours daily*. Heathens, Muhammadans, nominal Christians, old and young, rich and poor—all were indiscriminately invited to attend; and, to a greater or less extent, all of these did avail themselves of the invitation. The catechising consisted not in running over by rote a fixed form of questions and answers, however correct or valuable, such as are to be found in some of the symbols, standards or formularies of certain national and other Churches. It was a skilfully conducted process, in which, information not yet possessed, was questioned into the hearers, and information already possessed, was questioned out of them. By such means, lassitude and weariness were banished—the ear was opened to listen with attention—the faculties, by being summoned into exercise, were braced and invigorated—conceptions of truth were cleared of the thick fogs which encompassed them—right views were imparted or deepened—errors were rectified, whenever the answers pointed out their true nature and origin—words were dissevered from misleading associations, and made the signs and the vehicles of accurate ideas. Altogether, by such a process, the minds of those who submitted to it were sharpened, quickened, and disciplined for benefitting by systematic discourses and sustained appeals. If their early experience amply verified the saying of the old Divine that "sermons can never do good on an uncatechised congregation," their later experience proved to their cotemporaries, and to all subsequent labourers in the ministerial vineyard, that to neglect the humble and unpretending, but primitive and effective system of "catechising," is to neglect one of the best preparatory means and chiefest instrumentalities of ministerial usefulness. It was of this ancient practice that good old Herbert averred, that it "exceeds even sermons in teaching; 'but there being two things in sermons, the one informing, the 'other inflaming; as sermons come short of questions in the one, 'so they far exceed them in the other. For questions cannot in-'flame, or ravish;—that must be done by a set, and laboured, and 'continued speech." The plain inference, therefore, is, that it is best to have both—each in its proper place. So concluded and acted the Danish Missionaries. From varied scattered state-

ments, it may be gathered, that their sermons were well attended; their conferences, better; and their catechetical exercises, best of all.

But these varied labours did not meet all the demands which a growing experience suggested. Truths, delivered by word of mouth, they soon found, were easily forgotten, and thus proved ineffectual; or liable to be perverted, and thus form the source of new and corrupt traditions. This impelled them to commence the *translation* of portions of the Bible; nor did they rest till the whole of the New Testament, and a large proportion of the Old, were conveyed into the Malabarick tongue. Of the importance of this great work Ziegenbalg had a very solemn sense;—a work which, when properly executed, whether by him or his successors, he could not but regard as calculated to exert a mighty influence "in establishing the religion of Christ on a 'firm foundation in these parts." The real difficulties of the task he was not blind to; like others, who have rushed to it with a precipitancy which has proved their incompetency to estimate its nature, and utter unpreparedness for creditably accomplishing it. He knew full well, that the particular genius and idiom, whereby the language was distinguished from all in Europe, made the undertaking vastly more difficult. And to increase the arduousness of his task, he tells us, "In this work of translating, I am to embark 'quite alone; there being not one man I know of, either among 'Christians or heathens here, qualified for lending me a hand there-'in, or for composing but one entire sentence without faults." Still, he and his friend did not shrink, but manfully persevered. Nor was their multiform and indefatigable industry in translation restricted to the preparation of the Bible. Experience had taught them, that for a people so fickle and unsteadfast in spiritual things, short treatises were necessary. They, therefore, resolved to prepare a series of Christian *tracts* and *books*, beginning with digests of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, and so, by degrees, embracing the whole range of Divine truth. And such was their success in this department, that, in a few years, they composed or compiled and translated not fewer than *thirty-two* tracts or books in the Malabarick tongue, and *twenty-two* in the Portuguese language. But their difficulties were vastly enhanced by the necessity under which they lay of having every thing transcribed on palm leaves, and of multiplying copies by manual transcription alone. How intensely, in these circumstances, did they long for that mightiest instrument of enlightenment in modern times—a *printing press!* After waiting for years, they at length obtained one from the friends of missions in England. They hailed its arrival with no ordinary joy, view-

ing it as the most potent agency for speedily and effectually dispersing the word of God on the heathenish shores of Malabar. They gratefully tell their benefactors in England, "that 'they have still greater reason to rejoice at it, particularly, because they have a share in all the future blessings, which are 'like to spring up among the heathen by its means." And then they pray, saying, "May God graciously grant that the truths 'of Christianity to be printed by this means on paper, may be 'also deeply impressed by his Holy Spirit on the minds of such 'Pagans and infidels as shall happen to read them." But, after their press was in full operation, they began to experience a fresh drawback from the want or deficiency of paper. They, therefore, longed for the means of setting up a *paper manufactory*. And this eventually they were enabled to accomplish, chiefly through the liberality of the Governor, who himself, much to his credit, defrayed one half of the expense.

As yet we have not reached the end of the catalogue of the labours of these devoted men. By degrees, their minds are opened up to perceive the prodigious benefit of bestowing a *Christian education on the young*. And they prefer the form of a charity school, in which the children, whether of Heathens or of Christians, may obtain clothes, diet, and lodging gratis, and so be entirely under Christian control and entirely separated from heathen influences. Their sentiments are strong and clearly expressed:—

"We must needs say, that the erecting of a charity school would prove highly advantageous to our design. By this means, some might be made fit in time, to lend a helping hand, if not to us, yet, perhaps, to those that might come after us, and prosecute the same business we are now engaged in." "The greatest efforts must be bestowed on the *education of children*. In these a solid foundation may sooner be laid, than in those that are grown old in their heathenish fancies and superstitions." "For this reason we soon after our arrival here, began to set up a charity school." "We are resolved to maintain all the children of such parents as come over to Christianity, that hereby we may gain the full management of them betimes, and give them such an Education as is like to produce some good effects in time." "We are more than convinced that here (the charity school) *the beginning of a real conversion must be made among the heathen*; the old Malabarians being generally so fond of their idolatrous way of worship, as maketh them unwilling to forsake it." "Only this we say, that we likewise are fully persuaded, that true Christianity, and all that can make for the common good of the gentiles, at least here in the East Indies *must be founded and built upon Christian schools for children*, who growing up from their infancy in the knowledge and fear of God, may, by the divine blessing, become a means of planting a Church of Christ, deeply rooted in the word of truth. Therefore, we being sensible of this truth from our own experience, and it being the end of our holy calling, that men may be turned away from their abominable idolatry unto the living God, we make it our principal business to procure, by the divine assis-

tance, the *establishment of Christian schools for the children of the gentiles.*" "But I must not forget," writes Ziegenblag, "to tell you, that what taketh me most in this affair is, *the education of Children in India.* They are of a good and promising temper, and being not yet prepossessed with so many head-strong prejudices against the Christian faith, they are the sooner wrought upon and mollified into a sense of the fear of God. To tell you the truth, we look upon our youth as a stock or nursery, from whence in time plentiful supplies may be drawn for enriching our Malabar Church with such members, as will prove a glory and ornament to the Christian profession."

These are very decided views of the superior importance of Christian education; but not more decided in the conception and expression of them, than in the vigour with which they were reduced to practice. After some time, they had *five* charity schools; two Malabarick for boys, and one for girls; one Portuguese, and one Danish;—containing, in all, about a hundred, boarded, lodged, and taught gratuitously;—many of these being bought, according to the usages of the country, in times of famine. They chose rather to increase the number of schools, than of children in the schools, that they might "get the sooner a competent knowledge of the temper of the 'children, and train them up the better to Christian maturity." Nor were they long in reaping some delightful fruits. Among these we may specify one. "We have," say they, "been 'surprised (when upon several occasions we have made a 'progress to other places, and taken with us one or two 'scholars out of the school) to find how much this hath 'contributed to the conversion of souls, both among heathen 'and Christians." Formerly they were always wont to pray for more labourers from *home* only. This discovery seems powerfully to have thrown a new idea into their mind, or to have dragged forth into prominence, and shaped and embodied a dim and floating one, viz. the desirableness of erecting a *higher seminary* in India itself, for the *education of native Missionaries;*—men, who, by their life and conduct, would give greater hope of success hereafter;—men, whose mother tongue was the language which in time they must use in the discharge of their important trust. "Every day's ex-'perience," say they, "gives us to understand, that, in order to 'have good and sufficient masters, catechists, writers, and such 'others as may be useful on several occasions, (such as the future 'service of the Church) it is necessary they should be bred up in 'good schools. And this hope which we conceive of our scholars, 'will not, we are sure, be in vain, since God gives the increase 'to such an education, for his own glory, and the future happy 'enlargement of Christ's Church in the East." So intent were they on the erection of a higher seminary for the rearing of

native teachers, catechists and Missionaries, that many of the best thoughts of their latter days were devoted to the devising of plans for its furtherance.

On a subject so important, and one which has been so strangely controverted, we have deemed it proper to adduce, at some length, the testimony and experience of two such competent and unexceptionable witnesses, as Ziegenbalg and his associate, rather than indulge in any comments of our own. To these weighty testimonies, we are now tempted to add, that of one of the calmest, soberest, and most truly evangelical men of the present day—the Rev. Josiah Pratt, of London. In his sermon at the consecration of the revered and lamented Bishop Corrie, Mr. Pratt, on the subject of "a due provision of competent labourers," remarks as follows:—

"Whoever were the instruments of conveying the Gospel to any land, it has no where obtained a permanent settlement, but through the means chiefly of native converts; who possess advantages which no foreigner can attain in knowledge of the language, in habits of living, in familiarity with the manners, and opinions and feelings of their countrymen, and in acquaintance with the most effective means of influencing their minds. There is, consequently, that self-sustaining power in a native Ministry which is necessary to the permanent and extended influence of the Gospel in every country, but which foreign Churches cannot supply." "The Missionaries who led the way, in the more recent efforts among the heathen, went out under a prevailing feeling that their one and almost exclusive object was, to preach the Gospel. The education of heathen children seems not to have entered into their estimate of the means which might be profitably employed. But the apathy, fickleness, levity, superstition, and sensuality of the adult Heathen, so discouraged in many instances the hearts of the labourers, that they felt relief only in the hope, that God might be pleased to bless their endeavours among the children of those heathens. So little, indeed, had this course of labour entered into calculation, that doubts arose, in some quarters, whether the societies at home would not consider such occupation of the time of Missionaries as too remote and contingent in its prospect of benefit, to justify them in entering thereon; and the preacher well remembers a case in which a company of Missionaries, in utter despair of accomplishing any good work with the adults around them, who were yet willing from the hope of secular advantages to entrust to them their children, pleaded earnestly with the society at home, that they might be permitted to devote their time to such children: he well remembers too, the reluctance with which this request was granted; yet the wisdom of the measure now commends itself to all competent judges."

Mr. Pratt,—after shewing how such a system may be "better adapted than any other to the ultimate establishment of the Gospel in the nations of the earth"—how, many of the youth, after embracing the Christian faith, have been trained up to become school-masters, readers, and catechists—and how, others are preparing for the higher functions of the Christian ministry,—concludes with remarking, that, "thus a system has been brought into

'operation, which needeth nothing but adequate enlargement, wise 'superintendence, and steady perseverance, with that blessing 'which God never fails to bestow on the patient labours of His 'servants, to provide that supply of Teachers and Ministers from 'native resources, which alone will be adequate to establish and 'maintain the full influence of the Gospel in any Heathen land."

But, let it not be thought, from the more hopeful impressions of the Danish Missionaries respecting well conducted Christian schools, viewed as the nurseries of a future enlarging Church, that they neglected the adult population. Enough, and more than enough, has already appeared to prove the contrary. Indeed, practically, their chief strength was devoted to adults, in the various forms of preaching, catechising, conference, friendly conversation, and distribution of Bibles and tracts. Nor did they limit their labours to their own private house or other fixed place. They sallied forth to address the people, wherever they could obtain an audience;—by the wayside, or in the neighbourhood of public marts of business. They also made occasional tours into the interior; where they tell us, the inhabitants were "wonder-'fully kind to them upon account of their language." On these occasions, they further inform us, they "often took up their 'lodgings with the Brahmans themselves, who entertained them 'kindly, and with great attention hearkened to what they deliver-'ed about the means of salvation." After frequently sitting up till late at night, arguing with a grave assembly of Brahmans of note and reputation, it was "usual to take down all their names, 'with the view of establishing a regular correspondence with them 'by way of letters." Of these letters a volume was at the time published in Europe. At length they resolved to erect a Church for the special accommodation of the natives. Their own account of the circumstance which suggested it, and the manner in which the design was prosecuted, is very simple and natural:—

"We know very well that the dispensation of the Gospel, in the New Testament, requires chiefly an *inward* and invisible worship, and that many of the christians doat too much on a fine set of *outward formalities*, confined to churches. However, since God is a God of order, and requireth to be worshipped both privately and publicly, we have been obliged to resolve upon raising a church for our greater conveniency, our own house being on one hand too small for preaching, catechising, and administering the Sacraments; and the heathens, on the other, too shy to venture into the churches of the *Blanks* (so they call the Christians) since these were generally adorned with fine clothes, and all manner of proud apparel; but they themselves black, wearing nothing but a thin cloth to cover their body." "In the name of God, we laid the foundation of a church. Every one that saw it, laughed at it as a silly and rash design, and cried us down for sots, venturing too boldly upon a thing, which, they thought, would certainly come to nothing. However, we prosecuted our design in the name of God; a friend sending *fifty-six dollars* towards it. By this forwardness of our work, the enemies were confounded;

and some of them did then contribute themselves towards accomplishing the whole affair, which proved no small comfort to us."

As regards *immediate spiritual* progress, their own sober declaration is, that "what they had undertaken, in singleness of 'heart, had been attended with the *conviction of many*, and the '*conversion* of some souls." Of the sottishness of their own worship many were thoroughly persuaded; and this the Missionaries very properly considered as "the prelude to a general 'commotion in the whole Malabarian Paganism." In 1713, the whole number baptized, in the Malabarick and Portuguese churches, was reported to be 246; that is, 125 women, and 121 men. From what classes of natives were these chiefly derived? As might be expected,—from the poorer. Other systems despise or frown down upon the poor. But it is the distinguishing glory of Christianity—the religion of infinite compassion and infinite love—that, to the poor, who, in this life, are so often ground down by endless and nameless oppressions—to the poor, pre-eminently, is the gospel preached;—that blessed gospel, which lets in the sunshine of a future assured hope on the melancholy realities of the present. And though the admission of the very poorest,—or those who are so abject and vile as to have no caste to value themselves upon—is never without grave and serious difficulties; —seeing that "for a little rice they will be of any religion, and 'for as small a consideration leave it again;"—sober experience and prayerful circumspection will usually lead to a righteous decision. Accordingly, even among the poorest converts, there were individuals that gave special evidence of real conversion:—

"There is a blind man in our congregation, endowed with a large measure of the spirit of God, who begins to be very serviceable to us in the catechising of others. He has such a holy zeal for christianity that every one is astonished at his fervent and affectionate delivery."

Very different is the case of men of caste, rank, wealth, learning, and power. The obstructions that impede their way, and hinder them from changing their faith, are so numerous; the sacrifices to be submitted to, so amazing, as to require a degree of faith and moral fortitude far beyond the share that ordinarily falls to the lot of humanity:—

"If any resolves upon entering into our religion, he must forthwith quit all his estate and relations, and suffer himself to be insulted, as the vilest and most despicable fellow in the world." "The truth is, that as the primitive christians lost their friends by going over to this religion; so the Malabarians, by engaging in christianity, are not only turned out of their estates, but also entirely banished from all their old acquaintance, so that they must expect no manner of favour from any Malabarian whatsoever. Nay, they are so far exasperated against such as from among them come over to us, that they use to call them *Racker*, which imports no less than the very dregs of a nation. Hence they don't stick in their furious outrages to persecute them, to beat them

violently, to hurry them away, and now and then to kill them out-right; exceedingly embittered against those that are lately become Christians."

The Bible itself distinctly declares that not many mighty, not many noble, not many wise men after the flesh, are called. And when, to the pride and self-sufficiency of rank, learning and wealth, is superadded such a host of troubles, trials and sufferings, as has now been recounted, who need wonder that *not many* mighty or noble, wealthy or wise, patiently listen to the gospel message, or yield obedience to its call? Still, though *not many* such are called, the expression plainly implies that *some* are. Thus it has been in all ages, and in all climes. The main bulk of every true Church of Christ has consisted of the poor;—a man of wealth, or rank, or learning, or power, being now and then hopefully converted, to prove that with God there is no respect of persons, and that His grace can "stain the pride of all glory." To the omnipotence of His power, the loftiest mountains, and the lowliest hillocks, are both alike. Thus it was in Malabar. The very first convert of the Mission was a young man of royal extraction. But he did not enter the kingdom of heaven, till, amid the convulsions of states and the crash of dynasties, he had learnt in the school of affliction to estimate earthly riches, honours, and power, at their proper value. Another of their converts was one of the most learned men in the country—that is, learned in the Philosophy, Mythology, and legends of Hinduism. This class, better known amongst us under the designation of *Pandits*, they call *Poets*. And their estimate of them is as follows:—

"Certainly these unfortunate scribblers have pestered the Heathen world with an infinite number of worthless books. The best is, that there are but a few that understand them, and these are generally a great deal wiser than those that set up for *Poets*, and know all their bombastic fictions to a nicety. There are a pretty many of the Malabarians favourably inclined to christianity; but hardly will any of these poetical wits (who think themselves to be the *politer* part of this world, and raised above the common level of men) give away to the *plain truth* of the gospel Nay, instead of submitting themselves to true religion, they will, out of pride and vanity, raise all manner of frivolous disputes against it, and by many philosophical shifts indispose themselves and others for the reception of the christian faith."

And yet, even among this apparently hopeless class—God had his chosen ones, who were destined to become witnesses for his truth. A young poet of uncommon ability and learning,—who, for three years, had rendered essential services in collecting and copying native works, in giving an insight into the highest Literature of the country, and in translating Scripture and other works,—at length gave free and uncompelled utterance to his long strengthening conviction of the utter falsity of his own system and the truth of christianity. This was contrary to all expectation.

In his pride and self-sufficiency, he had written a letter and addressed it to all the learned in Germany, together with 608 questions, treating upon Divinity and Philosophy, wherein he wanted to have their determination. Indeed, so much was he, in common with his class, influenced by the suggestions of his own corrupt and blinded reason, and so apt to cast mists before other people's eyes, and thereby obscure and adulterate the simplicity of truth, that Ziegenbalg positively declared, he "never could be 'induced to believe the young man would ever embrace in good 'earnest our holy profession." Yet, in the good providence of God, was he led not merely to embrace it, but privileged to furnish proofs of his sincerity in so doing, as substantial as any which the whole history of evangelization can exhibit. The announcement of his resolution to espouse the Christian faith was followed by a train of various trials, in their generic and specific features so identical with kindred and parallel scenes, in later years and in similar circumstances, that the account, though long, we cannot refrain from extracting, as it does not well admit of abridgment:—

"When the rumor of his being made a Christian spread itself through the town, and became the common subject of conversation among the heathens, they now began to insult him everywhere. They did their utmost endeavour to restrain him from venturing too far into the ways of Christianity, lest by his example he should draw many others after him. His parents thought themselves more particularly obliged to confine their son to the old way of worship; and this they prosecuted a while with much vigour and fierceness. They shut him up for three days together, and left him all this while without any food at all; for no other reason, than to terrify him thereby from the way he was now engaging in. After this, his friends and relations rushed in upon him; and because 'twas just then that one of their great heathenish festivals was to be kept, they would needs have him go to this pageantry. But they could not prevail.

Being thus everywhere exposed to the insults and menaces of his enraged countrymen, he desired leave from us to retire to some place of privacy, in a house belonging to a widow, who is a member of our Church. Here he designed to be concealed for two days, and meditate upon the word of God. But he soon was found out by his parents, who, with great clamour and violence breaking in upon him, told him plainly, they would despatch him with poison, if he should persist any longer in a love to that new religion he was embracing; the mother having a dose of poison ready prepared for effecting that black and wicked design. These *threatenings* not producing the desired effect; they, both father and mother, fell down at his feet, and, with most endearing words, endeavoured now to gain by offers and *promises*, what could not be obtained by spite and malice. Home he went with his parents; whence, after a long discourse with them, he returned to us again, accompanied by his father, who, with many fair words entreated us to discharge his son from the service of our house. To this we replied, we were willing to do it, if he himself did require any such thing. The young man admonished all this while the father not to fight any longer against God. Hereupon the father quitted him with great indignation, but soon

after stirred up more than two hundred Malabarians, who, surrounding the young man at a convenient time, haled him into a house, and by force would make him forswear the Christian faith. He said, *he was willing to forswear what was bad, but not what was good.*

Being got once more out of their clutches, he would venture no more among the heathens hereafter; but most earnestly entreated us to baptize him with all convenient speed, fearing the Chief of the country might combine against him, and hinder him, if possible, from receiving this ordinance. When we saw his earnest desire for holy baptism, and considering the necessity of going about it without delay, we fixed a day for that purpose.

But the poet would by no means have this Baptismal Act performed *privately*:—on the contrary, he offered to write a letter to some of his friends, and therein openly declare, that no irregular end, but the *conviction* of the TRUTH itself, had brought him over to the religion of Christ. No sooner did they receive that letter, but away they trudge to the Governor, and with many solicitations entreat him to interpose his authority, and thereby forbid the reception of this young Malabarian into the Christian Church. Nor did the enraged crew rest there; but soon after despatching a letter to the Governor, did openly declare that, in case he refused to restrain the Missionaries from their present design, they were all resolved to abandon the country, and for ever break off all trade and commerce with the Company here.

All these threatenings we laid before the young man, to see how he stood affected; but he readily answered, *He was willing to suffer with us, even unto death, for the truth of the Gospel. He did not see any reason, why he should not bear affliction and reproaches, seeing that Christ himself and the apostles had undergone the same cheerfully in their days.* At which readiness, we did not a little rejoice, and after we had conferred together about it, baptized him on the 16th of October last.

No sooner was this over, but another threatening letter was sent to the Governor by some of the young man's friends living in the country. They required the Governor to deliver up the poet into their hands, and thereby prevent further mischief betimes. The poet himself had a letter sent him by an eminent *black*, wherein his friends did promise to make him a Governor of a whole country, and swear obedience to him in the presence of the Brahmans, provided he would return to his former religion: but then, again, they threatened to burn him if he should presume to reject so splendid an offer. Our Governor soon after received a third letter from another of their leading men, importing, he would shut up all the avenues to the town, unless he made the poet return to his duty. However, our Governor promised to return a smart answer to these busy heathens, in order to allay, if possible, the commotion that put them upon such restless contrivances."

After such a narrative, well might Ziegenbalg remark—"Upon 'he whole you see, that little good will be done among the 'heathens, except a man be armed with patience and an unshaken 'firmness of mind to bear the affliction which generally has attend-'ed the propagation of the gospel in all ages." It is not unusual with many Christian professors of our own people and nation, to make light of the sacrifices, even of respectable heathens, in embracing the faith of Jesus, and to throw all manner of doubts and suspicions on the sincerity of their motives. But we question

much, how far these would themselves be prepared, solely on account of their faith, to submit to such a fiery ordeal as that through which the Malabarian Poet passed unscathed. Rather we are very sure, that, as regards the majority, such ordeal, if fairly applied, would prove like the furnace heat which soon demonstrates, how hugely bulky the useless dross is, compared with the pure metal ore; or, like the whirlwind on the summer's threshing floor, which, sweeping away the vast piles of chaff, soon discovers, how very little real grain remains behind.

The desperate condition into which converts were brought, in consequence of the abandonment of friends, the loss of temporal possessions, or the deprivation of the ordinary means of employment, deeply affected the Missionaries. What were they to do? Lend no temporal aid at all? Then, must their proclamation to the Heathen, in effect, be, "Repent, and suffer the loss of all things; believe, and famish; be baptized, and die!" Would this be Christian? Would it be rational, benevolent, or just? No! And such was the firm conclusion of Ziegenbalg and his associate. They determined, that, in every case of pressing necessity, it was a duty to relieve temporal wants as well as spiritual;—a duty, evidencing that faith which worketh by love—a duty, according with the example of the Apostles themselves, who, in similar circumstances, most deeply laid to heart the care and management of the poor in the several churches—a duty, the discharge of which was well calculated to wipe away the reproach of the name of Christian, which had been blasphemed among the heathen, by the cruel and uncharitable proceedings of those who bore it. But, was there not a fear of such humane treatment leading to *eleemosynary conversion?* Suppose there were;—what of that? Must men be hard-hearted, ungenerous, and unjust, merely because their generosity may, by human selfishness, be often abused? Such risk and fears are not peculiarly linked with changes of religion. They are inseparable adjuncts of human nature. Did not the Saviour himself complain, that many sought him, not for the heavenly doctrine which he taught,—the spiritual manna—the bread of heaven,—but for the loaves they did eat—the bread that perisheth? Did not the Apostle of the Gentiles complain of some who "professed godliness for the sake of gain?" Yet, did they not both provide for the temporal necessities of the poor and the destitute?—What does all this prove? Truly, that man is a being of mixed motives and carnal appetencies; and that there are self-deceivers, as well as deceivers of others, in the world. And what should be the effect of such knowledge? To shut up men's bowels of compassion towards those, who, by embracing the religion of Jesus, have reduced themselves to want and poverty?

Surely not. What then? What, but to increase the wonted vigilance in "trying the spirits," and the wonted circumspection in admitting candidates within the pale of the Christian church? What, but more peremptorily to insist on an aptitude in penetrating into the spiritual dispositions of men,—grounded on a solid judgment, trained by experience of the various workings of one's own mind, and sharpened by careful observation of the workings of the minds of others,—as one of the most essential and important qualifications for the Christian Ministry? So thought, so felt, and so acted the Danish Missionaries—consulting in this, as in other matters, the dictates of common sense. They resolved to assist poor converts, or converts reduced to poverty, in their distress. But they were too wise to desire, that they should permanently eat the bread of idleness. They remembered the Bible maxim, "He that worketh not, let him not eat. They, therefore bent the energies of their minds to contrive wherewithal the converts might honestly and honourably earn a livelihood for themselves. Hence the resolution, to do their utmost to establish *manufactories* of various kinds. "The setting up 'of *manufactories* in these parts," say they, "we think highly 'necessary, not only on account of drawing from thence some 'help and supply for carrying on the work itself; but *chiefly on 'account of employing the new converted heathen about some useful 'business at home.*" Again, "we have begun to set up some ma-'nufactures, which we hope may prove in time *beneficial to the 'main work we are carrying on.*" The subject of providing lawful means of support to converts from heathenism—without encouraging hypocrisy, exciting cupidity, or impairing that spirit of independence and honest industry, which all ought to desire to cherish—is one of the most perplexing, connected with successful Missionary operations—one, moreover, which hitherto has awakened far less sympathy and attention than its importance merits, or its clamant necessities must eventually demand. The earnestness of such men as Ziegenbalg and his associate in the matter, ought to accredit it, with the Christian world, as worthy.

Such having been the leading measures of the men, let us now take a brief survey of their general character. They exhibited an *habitual trust* and *confidence* in God. When literally bowed down and depressed by all manner of adverse circumstances, do they ever despond? No; never. Their constant language is, "notwithstanding all this, we continued in daily prayers and supplications to God; beseeching him that when we had so little aid and encouragement to expect from men, he himself would open a door for us, and favour us the more with his wonted mercy and goodness, which then commonly begins to act when things seem to

be at the worst." They uniformly displayed *resignation to the Divine will, self-denial,* and *preparedness* to suffer. Persecution they courted not, but ever calmly awaited it. When undergoing any of its fiery trials, their language is, "All this, as it usually 'doth, may rather speed than hinder the work of God. We have 'resigned ourselves to the guidance of God, hoping that under 'his gracious influence we shall be ready to seal the testimony of 'the gospel with our own blood, if the Lord should be pleased to 'dignify us with so glorious a character." They unceasingly strove *to live by faith, not by sight*—making it their study to realize the saying, that, "For this reason we are made Christians, that we 'should be more bent upon the life to come than upon the pre-'sent." They were scrupulously watchful, lest they should "for-'get to consecrate their life and actions entirely to an invisible 'eternity, little minding the world, either in its glory and smiles, 'or in its frowns and afflictions." Their estimate of the *transcendant value of immortal souls* was such as to fill their hearts with *love* towards them, and inspire them with intense desire for their conversion:—"If," say they, "the Lord shall be pleased to 'grant us the conversion but of one soul among the heathens, we 'shall think our voyage sufficiently rewarded." Again, "We 'cannot express what a tender love we bear toward our new plant-'ed congregations. Nay, our love is arrived to that degree; 'and our forwardness to serve this nation is come to that pitch, 'that we are resolved to live and to die with them." But though their zeal was thus great, their *prudence* was equally conspicuous. They were zealous, but not zealots. They avoided ostentation and shew in their labours. Bustle and noise and parade they systematically shunned, lest "by an unreasonable zeal, they 'might dash the people at once, and prejudice them against com-'ing near them again." Their *good will and compassionate regards* extended *indiscriminately* towards all,—high and low, rich and poor, old and young. The poor, the degraded, the out-caste, who had none to care for them, excited in an especial manner their tender pity. Finding that the Protestant inhabitants of the place kept *slaves,* they earnestly memorialized the Governor, "to order these wretches to be sent to them two hours a day, on 'purpose to be instructed in sound principles of religion." Their *generosity,* in proportion to their scanty means, was boundless. They contrived so to live as to devote the larger part of their own income to the support of charity schools, and other benevolent purposes. With a simplicity which is all their own, they say, "There is no such charity to be expected in this country; we 'have indeed fastened an *alms box* in our house, but we find 'nothing in it but what we put in ourselves." Their *meekness* in

the endurance of wrongs shone forth among the clustering constellation of their other graces. Clamorous opposition, reproach and calumny had only the effect of driving them to God. "All these engines," say they, "set on work by the devil, only 'serve the more gloriously to display the work of God, and 'to unite us the nearer to him, who is the only support of all 'the distressed." Their *wisdom* always displayed itself in their clear appreciation of the *necessity of divine grace* and the *necessity of means*—praying as earnestly for the former as if it alone were needed, and labouring as strenuously for the latter as if they alone were of any avail—and yet, for ever insisting on the inseparable conjunction and harmony of both. Their diligence in *improving* or *redeeming time*, was very remarkable. From *six* in the morning to *ten* at night, every hour was statedly and fixedly apportioned to Missionary operations of some kind, direct or indirect—with the exception of one interval from noon to two o'clock, and another from eight to nine in the evening, which they devoted to refreshment and relaxation. But such was their economy of time that, even during meals, one was appointed for the express purpose of "reading to them all the while out 'of the Holy Bible." And in this course they persevered to the end, though experience extorted from them the confession, that "a country so hot as this did not permit too fervent an appli-'cation of the head." Partly, no doubt, as the result of such intense devotedness, both were soon called to their rest—Ziegenbalg, the master-spirit of the mission, in *seventeen hundred and nineteen*, at the early age of *thirty-six*. But there is truth as well as point in the common adage, "Better to wear 'out, than rust out." An idle man, in so busy a world, is an anomaly; but an *idle Missionary* must be an *insufferable nuisance*. And it were well to remember, that one who may not be literally and absolutely idle, may go about his work in so dronish and drowsy, so fitful and irregular a way, as to be chargeable before God with all the sin and criminality of idleness. As to *results*, they patiently waited upon God. Many are foolishly impatient in this respect. They wish to reap as soon as they sow, and would be better pleased if they could reap without sowing at all—if they had it all harvest, and not spring season with its toils, or summer with its long delays. Ziegenbalg and his friend looked, and longed, and prayed for fruit, but only as the result of labour on their part, accompanied by the blessing of God. And if they reaped not themselves, they were quite satisfied with the divine assurance, that what one sowed in tears, another would reap in joy. Lastly, they strove habitually, to *purity of doctrine* to

superadd *sanctity of life*—believing, that they who preach the truths of Christianity, not only in words but in deeds, in life and manners, must succeed, according to the saying of old, "The 'man whose life is lightning, his words must needs be thunder."

Such having been the character of the men, it may not be unprofitable to take a parting glance at their *methods*, and their *success*. As regards the *former*, is it not an ever-memorable fact, that,—whereas they came out in singleness of heart, seized but with one idea and bent on but one object—that of preaching the Gospel, and thereby converting souls to Jesus,—they gradually found themselves embarked on such a multifarious variety of occupations and methods; and that too, because of the very resoluteness of their determination to accomplish their one object—to give practical effect to their one idea? But so it must ever be in all merely human undertakings. Why, then, on a subject like the present, should there be so much of unintelligent thoughtlessness abroad? When a single and simple end, such as that of converting souls by the preaching of the Word, is intended, men rush into the conclusion, that the *means* or *methods* must be single, simple, and uniform, too! But in so concluding, do they not practically forget, that it is the prerogative of Deity alone to pursue, not only simple ends, but ends the most complex, by the simplest means? By a single word, He can create whole worlds, with their ample furniture. By the establishment of the single principle of vegetable life, He can attire the surface of earth in its richest and most gorgeous drapery. By the single law of gravitation, he can regulate the infinitely varied and intricate movements of the planets in their orbits. But the prerogative of Deity it were boundless presumption on the part of a man to assume, or attempt to imitate. Man, being limited in his power and circumscribed in his resources, must be satisfied to seek for the accomplishment even of simple ends by the employment of complex means, or a multiform machinery. And if he be not so satisfied, what is it but to quarrel with the conditions of his being, and murmur against his God?

A colonist goes forth to take possession of an uncultivated, unpeopled territory. His sole, or, at least, principal object is, to sow the seed and reap a harvest. But at the very outset, he finds himself baulked, thwarted and defeated, in the *direct* attempt to carry out his *single* design. Ere that design can be effectively promoted, there are preliminary obstacles that must be overcome. There are immense forest trees—and these must be felled. There are swamps and marshes—and these must be drained. There are large stones and masses of rocks strewn over

the surface—and these must be blasted. Such operations again, imply the necessity of a suitable variety of instruments; and the preparation of these involves the necessity of resorting to sundry new species of labour. The earth must be dug for iron; a rude furnace must be constructed for smelting it; and a workhouse must be provided with the requisite apparatus for fabricating it. Timber, too, must be shaped and fashioned for houses and implements. Fuel must be collected and stored. And thus the colonist, bent originally on the *single* object of *sowing* and *reaping*, may, in time, find himself successively a miner, a smelter, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a feller of wood, a ditcher, and a blaster of stones, or all of these and many more, by turns;—and all this, because of the very energy of his unchangeable resolve, in the end, to secure the accomplishment of his *original* design. Of course, as the colony advances, such accumulation will naturally give way to an indefinite *division of labour*, which, by apportioning to different individuals their own separate share, apparently simplifies, while in reality it renders more complex, the aggregate of means for the attainment of the *main end*. Precisely similar is the case with the *first* mission to any morally uncultivated realm of heathenism. Ziegenbalg and his associate found it so in their experience. They came to India with but one predominant idea and object—that of preaching the Word to the heathen, and thereby saving their souls. They soon find themselves obstructed in their *direct* design by various obstacles. Europeans, by their corrupt lives, sadly retard the work,—they turn aside to reclaim them. Papists, by their unmeaning proselytism and superstitions, throw impediments in the way,—they turn aside to remove these. Many of the heathen are proud, and will not brook the superiority and monopoly of speech which preaching seems to imply,—they turn aside and adopt the method of friendly conferences. Numbers are listless, inattentive, dull of apprehension, and apt to mutilate or confound truth,—they turn aside to establish the daily practice of catechising. Memory is treacherous, and truth is apt to be perpetuated in perverted forms,—they turn aside to prepare, compile, and translate tracts and books, containing digests and expositions of the Christian faith, rendering, also, the Bible or portions of it into the native tongue. Books, to be of any avail, must be multiplied by being copied or printed,—they turn aside to superintend the copying on palm leaves, and afterwards the working of a printing press. Printing requires paper,—they turn aside to construct a paper-mill. The adults are found not only fickle, from their minds being unexercised, but so saturated with

heathenism, that a strong leaven still cleaves to them even after conversion,—they turn aside to found charity schools for the young, to train them up in ways of usefulness and in the fear of the Lord. Schools require special books and sundry other apparatus,—they turn aside to prepare these. Converts lose their earthly all,—they turn aside to set up manufactories and other modes of earning a livelihood. And thus, these holy and devout men, who came to India with the paramount design of being simply preachers of the Gospel to the heathen, find themselves, by the force of circumstances, constrained to act, in succession, the part of reclaimers of corrupt Europeans, confuters of Popish error, conference-holders, catechisers, book-compilers, translators, printers, paper-makers, schoolmasters, and cotton-manufacturers! What would our more rigid sticklers for *the one sole* orthodox method of preaching, according to their cramped and restricted notions, say, were they to look in upon Ziegenbalg and his associate, and actually find them in the very act of teaching, reading and writing to the young, or superintending the press, the paper-mill, and the cotton manufactory? What shocking deviations from the primitive Apostolic model! What insufferable desecration of the office of the Christian ministry! But is it really so? We trow not. The aforesaid sticklers, by exclusively adhering to *one part of the letter* of Apostolic example, do, in effect, violate both letter and spirit. The Danish Missionaries, by being replenished with Apostolic zeal, did, in effect, realize in their peculiar circumstances, the letter and spirit of Apostolic example. It was the very fixedness of their determination to "become all things to all men, if by any 'means they might win souls to Christ,"—the very persistency in their determination to prosecute this, their original design,—which compelled them to betake themselves to such a miscellaneous variety of occupations. These they pursued, not for their own sake, nor as ends in themselves, but solely as means—preparatory, accessory, auxiliary means—means entirely subservient to the promotion of their one great and unchanged end—the converting of souls through the word of God. This is what they themselves uniformly declared. "After all," say they, "we look upon these endeavours as so many *preparatory steps* '*only*, towards the ensuing great harvest of the heathen world. 'We do nothing as yet but *break the ice*, that those who come 'after us may find a way beat out for them, and propagate the 'Gospel of Christ with the greater ease and success." Doubtless, as the mission advanced, and the people came more and more under the influence of Christianizing processes, many of these operations would cease to possess an exclusively missionary

character,—submitting to the great law of *division of labour*, and passing over into the grand reservoir of the accumulating arts and professions of civilized life. Thus, too, may the prosecution of the primary and central object of all missions be indefinitely simplified.

As to *success*,—utterly repudiating the contracted views of those who would make the actual number of converts the *sole* measure of it,—we hold, that that attained by the Danish Missionaries was very remarkable. Is it reasonable or just to restrict the practical value of Christianity itself to the number of those—a small minority in any land—who are truly *regenerated* thereby? In softening and humanizing character, in elevating the tone of moral feeling, in purifying the affections, in expanding and invigorating the general intellect, in vindicating the rights of conscience and private judgment, in upholding the principles of civil and religious liberty, in improving the codes of jurisprudence and international law,—Christianity sheds around it influences and blessings, of a direct and reflex nature, that are great and numberless. And what are Missions, but so many attempts to introduce Christianity, with its regenerating energy, and whole retinue of concomitant benefits, into a rude, uncultured realm? Looking even at direct conversion, the number admitted into the Christian church, on a credible profession of their faith, by Ziegenbalg and his associate, was, for so short a time, very considerable indeed. Now, when we think of the transcendant value of the redemption of one lost soul, who can well overestimate the *intrinsic* greatness of the success in this highest department of ministerial usefulness? And when to this we add their varied successes of a general, subsidiary, collateral character —their successes, in reforming the lives and manners of Europeans —in stemming the tide of an advancing Popery—in subduing the most inveterate and hereditary prejudices against Christianity—in conciliating thousands to lend a favourable ear to its message of salvation—in establishing schools—in preparing, translating, and printing useful works—in reducing the language itself into practical shape and form by the compilation of grammars and dictionaries, and thereby rendering it a readier and apter vehicle for the communication of truth—in encouraging arts and manufactures—and in stimulating to the varied appliances of honest industry;—who can deny, that the Danish Mission, viewed as a *beginning*, was eminently successful, and promised, prospectively, to be productive of incalculable blessings, temporal as well as spiritual? We say, viewed as a "beginning," because, in this light alone, ought it to be viewed—in this light alone, was it viewed by the Missionaries themselves. They regarded their own position

merely as that of *pioneers*, and their share of labour merely that of tearing up the fallow ground, and preparing it for the reception of seed, which might eventually spring up into a harvest to be reaped by their successors. And this is the only sound view of Missions—the only sound view of the Almighty's dispensations. Men of narrow and contracted minds look only at the present—or, if at the past, only at some isolated point there; forgetting, that, in the development of the schemes of Providence, there is, whether we can always trace it or not, a continuity and a plan—a beginning, a middle, and an end—an incipiency, a progress, and a maturity—a collateral dependence of part on part, and a successive evolution of one part out of another. No mighty change or revolution in any country has ever been the work of a year, a month, or a day. The sensible manifestation—the visible outburst of the elements of national reform, may be sudden,—the work of a year, a month, or a day. But the accumulation of the materials,—with all their tendencies to combine, dissolve, and recombine in fresh groupings,—which prepare and ripen a national mind for great integral changes, may be, or rather, always has been, the slow, and often unperceived, growth of centuries. Thus it will be with all Missions, which look not merely for immediate transient results, that flash and blaze, and then vanish in gloom and smoke; but, laying their foundations broad and deep, regard present operations as *chiefly* preparatory in their bearing on the realization of mighty ultimate triumphs.

We began by saying, that "multiplication and increase" constituted the condition of a flourishing Christianity. We conclude by saying, that to "increase and multiply," till it pervade the globe, is its *design* and *destiny*, in the pre-ordination of heaven. The decree hath gone forth, and it is irrevocable,—"that all the 'ends of the earth shall remember and return unto the Lord, and 'all the kindreds of the nations shall bow down before him." And to consummate the objects of that decree, as an humble instrumentality in dependence on Divine grace, is one chief end of Christian Missions. What upheaving among the nations—what overturnings and new-modelling of all existing institutions, social, political, and religious, does such a consummation imply! We are no poetical visionaries, or philosophic dreamers; but, with the oracles of truth in our hands, we cannot doubt, that this earth shall be the scene of changes, greater and more marvellous far, than any that have figured in the visions of poetry, or in the dreams of philosophy. We eschew altogether such carnal reveries as those indulged in by many of the early Fathers. To Irenæus, and his patristic associates and successors, we leave such gross literalities as the following that

"The days will come, in which there shall grow vineyards, having 'each *ten thousand* vine stocks; and each stock, *ten thousand* 'branches; each branch, *ten thousand* shoots; each shoot, *ten* 'thousand bunches; each bunch, *ten thousand* grapes; and each 'grape squeezed shall yield *twenty-five* measures of wine; and 'when any of the saints shall go to pluck a bunch, another bunch 'will cry out, 'I am a better; take me, and bless the Lord thro' 'me.' In like manner, a grain of wheat sown shall bear *ten thou-* 'sand stalks; each stalk, *ten thousand* grains, and each grain, 'ten thousand pounds of the finest flour; and so all other fruits, 'seeds and herbs in the same proportion." But, while we repudiate such merely human imaginings, we would gladly cling to the general intimations of an infallible Revelation. The world was originally created for the happiness of man when holy and innocent: Why, then, was it preserved when he fell? Not, surely, that it might become a rich store-house of bounties to foster the pride of the wealthy, or gratify the lawless appetite of the luxurious: not, that it might become a fit theatre for the intrigues of the ambitious, or the investigation of the proud, ungodly philosopher. No. It was preserved for much nobler purposes. God's infinite goodness had already a heaven, for the display of its exhaustless bounties; his infinite justice had already a hell, for the exercise of its penal severities through unending ages; but his infinite mercy, long-suffering and love required a world of reprieved and ransomed sinners to manifest their unparalleled tenderness. The world, therefore, was preserved for the express purpose of exhibiting and magnifying God's glorious attributes in the mysterious work of man's redemption. In it, accordingly, his called and chosen people have a vital—a peculiar right and interest. Not that they are empowered to seize upon their neighbour's effects, and assert such lawless violence as the prerogative of the saints: not that they reign supreme over the kingdoms of this world, and enjoy an exclusive right to their honors and privileges: not that they have absolute control over the system of nature, or can command its exhaustless stores of unknown wealth and grandeur. No. But there is a high and holy sense in which the world is truly theirs; in the sense of "all things therein working 'together for their real and everlasting good." And often has every department and province of nature done homage to the people of God. For their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, rivers were turned into blood, and seas into dry land. For their refreshment in the wilderness, the clouds dropped down manna, and the flinty rocks gushed forth into streams of water. For securing their conquest over cruel foes, "the sun stood still in

' Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon." For the sake of righteous Noah, the world itself was saved from being utterly destroyed by the waters. And because ten righteous men could not be found in Sodom and Gomorrah, these cities of the plain were overwhelmed with fire and brimstone from heaven. And it is for the calling and the perfecting of believers, that the present material system is upheld in all its harmony—that it may prove a nursery for the Paradise above—that in it those seeds may be sown, which are destined to spring up and blossom in the climes of immortality. And when the number of the redeemed is completed, and the *last* saint shall have terminated his allotted course, then are God's purposes, in regard to the great system of nature, completed,—and then, also, shall the heavens pass away with a great noise, and the elements melt with fervent heat, and the whole become one vast concave of universal conflagration. And out of this " clash of matter and ' this wreck of worlds," will spring up " *new* heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

Sublime and glorious subject for contemplation! When wearied and sickened with the spectacle of earth as it now is—torn asunder with enmities, distractions, rivalries and sorrows,—let us rejoice in turning aside and seeking for relief and consolation here! By the beneficence of the Creator, we are not only susceptible of being affected by *contrast*, but are endowed with a resistless tendency to seek for it, and delight in it when found. Than contrast there is not, in the constitution of our minds, a more prolific principle of pleasant suggestion. When benumbed with frost and snow, how naturally we revert to the genial glow and warmth of summer. When scorched with tropical heat, how instinctively we recall to remembrance the cool breezes of temperate climes. When parched with burning thirst, how we listen, or dream we listen, to the trickling and ripple of the gentle rill, that oft refreshed us in our earlier days. When gazing at the naked sterility of the desert, how fancy teems with the garniture of enamelled meadows and shady banks. When dulled and depressed by the monotony of interminable swamps and plains, how imagination wings its flight to luxuriate amid the picturesque wildness of mountain scenery. Amid the gloom of midnight darkness, how swiftly are the chambers of imagery lighted up with the effulgence of the noontide sun. When we look abroad on a world that is rent with woe and burdened with the curse, how gladly ought we to turn to the prophetic picture of the same world, clothed with the verdure of righteousness and peace, love and joy. When we behold the wretched, abject, and prostrate multitudes, everywhere ground

down by oppression, and made to drink the cup of misery to the very dregs, how cheering to think of the happy period, when kings shall be the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers of their people—when justice will every where be seen holding up her even scales—and the genius of charity opening on the most barbarous shores, new founts of blessing, that shall never more be sealed. Surely, it is at least as rational and philosophic to regale our own spirits with such visions of *assured hope*, however remotely realizable in the distant future, as to be eternally brooding over present wrongs that mock all remedy, or present woes that refuse alleviation or relief.

ART. IV.—*The Chinese War: an account of all the operations of the British forces, from the commencement to the Treaty of Nan-King. By Lieutenant John Ouchterlony, of the Madras Engineers, Acting Engineer at the new Settlement of Hong-Kong.* London, 1844.

THIS is the only work which has yet been published, with any legitimate title to be regarded as a history of the War in China. We have received, from the pens of half-a-dozen writers, as many fragments of history, or narrative, or whatsoever these letters, and journals, and memoirs may properly be said to constitute; but before the publication of the present work, we had nothing like a history of the war, from its first outbreak in 1839, to its close in 1842. In the religion of Paternoster Row, priority covers a multitude of sins; and an account of a war, before it is half over, is a much safer trading speculation, than a history of the same war from its outbreak to its conclusion, committed to the Press on the restoration of peace. If a young Lord, in the prosecution of his travels, "looks in" at the war, spends a few months with the chief authorities, as a sort of amateur attaché, and hurries home, by the Red Sea route, with a few quires of manuscript in his portmanteau;—or if a Captain, or a Doctor, sends fresh from the scene of action, a narrative of sanguinary battles, the scent of which is still rank in his nostrils—their ill-digested fragments are saleable commodities, for they have the guinea-stamp of priority upon them. Priority is, with the trade, the first thing—the second thing—and the third thing. Primogeniture is not of less importance in the literary, than in the social, world. One has only to come into the world first, to secure—whatsoever may be the monstrosity, physical, or moral, of the first-born,—rank and wealth,—every thing that the law can give; whilst the comer-after, be he a very

paragon, is left in nameless obscurity, to pick up the scattered crumbs, which fall from the table of the heir. Many a man has lamented, in pathetic terms, that he has had the misfortune to come into the world, just one little year too late; and many an author has had to bewail that loss of priority, for which no amount of excellence can compensate. The comers-after suffer greatly by this incessant scrambling to be "out first"; and not only they, but the world. When history comes, at last, in all completeness—a genuine chronicle of a series of great events,—it appears before the world as a twice-told tale; the events, in fragmentary unintelligible shape, have been described, somehow, for better or for worse; the scramblers have carried every thing before them; and the historian, who had paused to give a whole-length picture of the war, often fails to make himself an audience.

And yet, perhaps we ought not, in strict criticism, to speak of the volume before us as a *history* of the War in China. There is, assuredly, nothing of the dignity, nothing of the philosophy of history in the narrative now presented to the world. The book contains a round, unvarnished tale, told by a soldier in plain, soldier-like language; the materials employed are of undoubted authenticity; and there is a continuity and completeness in the work, which must render it extremely valuable to all who read for mere outside facts. He, who looks for more, and feels disappointed, may find the history of his disappointment legibly inscribed upon the title-page—"Lieutenant John Ouchterlony, of the Madras Engineers, late Acting (Executive ?) Engineer at the new settlement of Hong-Kong." We cannot, in reason, expect to derive more from an officer attached to the force;—a young officer, still in the service, with the world before him—than a simple narrative of facts as they occurred. For neither military nor political criticism are we entitled to look. Much must be necessarily suppressed by a writer, in a dependent position, who puts his name on the title-page of his work. We cannot reasonably expect him to criticise the doings of his official superiors, as though he were beyond their reach; neither, perhaps, is it right, in any view of the case, that he should be regardless of the conditions of his military servitude. He cannot speak out, like another man; and, in that state of life, he ought not. The nearest approximation to fidelity, which we can look for, in these soldiers' narratives, is the absence of all perversion of the truth. Suppression there must be. The truth may be spoken;—but not the *whole* truth; a sword hangs by a hair over-head.

Still we are thankful to Lieutenant Ouchterlony. If his book

be not all that we could wish it to be, the fault lies, not in the author, but in his position; and, with all its deficiencies, the volume before us is immeasurably the best that has resulted from the China expedition. It is the work of a highly intelligent and candid mind; feeling sensibly the irksomeness of official restraint, but compelled to submit to it.

The War in China awakened at the outset an interest, which it did not eventually sustain. The interest, both in this country and in England, was principally of a commercial character. Where it existed in greatest strength, it was the growth of some pocket considerations. As a war, it was for some time, "nothing to speak of"—a very pottering, unsatisfactory affair. It is true, that when first the order went forth for an expedition to proceed to the Eastern Seas, visions of incalculable syceesilver, immeasurable bales of rich silks, and ivory-ware of inconceivable variety, flitted before the eyes of many aspiring young soldiers; some even, more sanguine than the rest, beheld afar off our British batteries playing upon the walls of the imperial palace of Pekin; but the general impression was, that as a fighting war, it would not be worth much. This impression gathered strength as time advanced. Nothing could be more unbusiness-like than our proceedings; and soon people not much interested in the commercial bearings of the case began to look on with philosophic unconcern. At best, the interest which attaches to the progress of events in the Eastern Seas, is of a fitful, irregular kind. There is no continuous stream of intelligence from China, as from places with which we have a land communication. Haply, once in a month, or even at longer intervals, a vessel entered the Hooghly river, bringing intelligence from the China Seas; and then for a day or two it was vividly remembered, that there was a war in that part of the world. There was, in fact, little else to interest. The tranquillity of Affghanistan was then conceived to be an established fact; the questioners were scouted as silly alarmists. We had no proclamations from the palace at Agra to amuse us; and were fain, therefore, to make merry, for a day or two, over those which issued from the palace at Pekin. But this did not last very long. The tranquillity of Affghanistan was found to resemble the couching of the tiger ere it springs upon its prey. A counter-excitement was soon at work. As in that Shakesperian passage, which proves the poet to have been a homœopathist, it was seen how

> "One fire burns out another's burning,
> One pain is lightened by another's anguish."

Similia similibus curantur—and our disasters in Affghanistan

soon cured us of any interest which we before took in the Chinese war. An arrival from China became, in time, a bore;—we had no room for any lesser excitements. The Cabul insurrection was the very Aaron's rod of political events;—it swallowed up all beside.

In England the case was somewhat different. Apart from all class interests, the selfish considerations of the few who had money to lose or money to gain, the general feeling, strange to say, was one of jocosity. It was not easy to bring the unconcerned vulgar to look upon a war with China as a serious business at all. There was something irresistibly ludicrous—something suggestive of every possible sort of facetiousness, in the bare idea of such an event. The thing was as full of jokes as a christmas pudding of plums. There was a broad grin on the very face of it. What endless subjects for the pencil of the caricaturist—the pen of the witling, in prose or poetry—the practical merriment of the pantomimist! There was the Bull in the China shop, as a standing dish; John Chinaman's pigtail alone was worth a small fortune; and then there was a never-ending succession of provocatives to mirth in the very names of Fi and Ti—Ho and Po—Chang and Kwang—Loo—Foo—and Choo; and other euphonious monosyllables. The joke-monger was sure to find an inexhaustible magazine of materials in a war with the platter-faced descendants of the sun and the moon. The ideas suggested by such an event had in them none of the terrible sublimity of human carnage; there was not a thought of murderous grape and canister riddling dense masses of humanity jammed into narrow streets. No; in the imaginations of these merry witlings, there was nothing worse than an immortal smash of China;—round-shot booming into porcelain-ware-houses and damaging, not men, but tea-cups. Perchance there may have been dim visions of small-footed women, like those who are sometimes seen on tea-trays, toddling away in a state of high alarm; but the grim picture of whole families murdered in cold blood, to place them beyond the reach of the invading foe, never rose up to turn the look of mirth into one of deepest pity and dismay. No; the whole thing was marvellously jocose; emblematised by a roaring bull in a crockeryshop; or, peradventure, as a more original notion still, a jolly jack-tar holding on to one of the tails of a fugitive Mandarin. It was barely possible to look upon the collision as one between men and men—to believe, that the ladies and gentlemen on the tea-cups, and the trays, and the screens, and the workboxes, and the blue and white crockery, were merely the representatives of human flesh and blood—of

living and sentient beings—with throats to be cut and limbs to be mutilated. A smashing of pottery seemed to be the worst of it.

Of course, there were no feelings of animosity at work. The two nations were at war with each other; but on our part there was no national enmity. They, who thought seriously about the matter, were mainly of opinion, that China was being just a little hardly used. As the war advanced, there was no attempt to get up any becoming national hatred. The feeling both in this country and in England was, that the sooner the war was brought to a close the better. We knew, that the unhappy Chinamen were at our mercy, and, therefore, we rather loved them. The magnanimity of Englishmen generally extends thus far. In the present case, they were uniformly successful in all their engagements with the Chinese, and, therefore, had nothing to forgive. Success in an enemy is unpardonable. As soon as he is feared, he is hated. National hatred is, for the most part, the child of national fear. We do not hate the weak, but the strong. Tippoo Sultaun, Napoleon Buonaparte, and, in later days, Mahomed Akbar Khan, were objects of national hatred and national abuse. We could not afford to laugh at *them*—but we could spit upon them. There never was a war entered into by the British Government, which called forth so small a display of popular feeling, as this war with China. The general exclamation of "Poor devils!" pretty well expressed the sense of the nation. The silly boasting of the Pekin Court—its overweening confidence in its own, and its utter ignorance of our resources—its inordinate demands upon the courage and skill of its officers—the impossible orders which were issued to them, and the preposterous edicts which were fulminated against us,—all had a tendency to strengthen the pity which was felt for the Chinese nation. The war was not with the people, but with the Government; but whilst the people necessarily suffered all the terrible evils of war at their own doors, it was almost impossible to reach the Government. Truth travelled not to Pekin. The Chinese Officers, to whom was entrusted the impossible duty of expelling the outside barbarians, were compelled to resort to enormous lying, to save themselves from death and their families from disgrace. His imperial Majesty issued his orders, as though he were commanding a wasp's-nest to be blown up, or a colony of rats to be poisoned; and it was long before his unhappy Commissioners could bring themselves to declare, that the vermin, which were thus ordered to be extirpated, were in good truth, a great and powerful people, with huge gun-ships and still more perilous

fire-vessels and ordnance, beside which the Chinese Artillery was as harmless as a shower of oranges. The imperial insolence was safe in its Palace at Pekin—lulled in the false security of ignorance; whilst the outside barbarians were ravaging the coast, and thousands of innocent men condemned to taste all the bitterness of desolating war. Truly, a most unsatisfactory state of things. There we were, for two years, or even longer, blustering away, with all our might; yet failing to make ourselves understood. The proceedings of the expedition in the Eastern seas were unintelligible to the Court of Pekin. War was made after a fashion; but no impression was made. The seat of the disease was not reached; and month after month, the mail carried home fresh tidings of renewed military operations; but month after month, nay year after year, the people of England saw, to their ineffable disgust, that the termination of this most unsatisfactory war was still as remote as ever. John Bull fairly lost his patience.

To many the war was doubly odious; because it was said to be an opium war. It was alleged, that the real origin of the contention was an iniquitous attempt, on the part of the British, to introduce the drug into the Chinese ports, in violation of the laws of the country. Into a consideration of the causes of the war we cannot now afford to enter. Lieutenant Ouchterlony affirms, that it was not an Opium war:—

"The novel war which was thus in a measure proclaimed, was not very popular in England, since there were many who could not divest their minds of the erroneous idea, that it was undertaken to enforce upon the Chinese the continuance of a traffic, whose tendency upon the morals and welfare of the people was of the most pernicious kind; and that it was a domineering and disgraceful attempt to compel the importation of an article strictly forbidden by their own laws; and further, that the sordid motives which had influenced the British Government to appeal to arms in support of the unrighteous cause of the opium dealers, ought to be held in abhorrence as wholly unworthy of that standard which was now about to be unfurled against a race whose sole offence was, a desire to maintain their own institutions, and to withdraw from all intercourse with a people, who had spared no exertion to overturn and set them at defiance.

But plausible as this view of the subject may appear, and just as it was deemed by many high-minded individuals, who ranked themselves against the prosecution of the so-styled "opium war," its entire fallacy and evil tendency were equally obvious to all who, from extensive personal intercourse with the Chinese, and from the means and opportunities of forming correct opinions upon the subject of our past and present relations with the empire, which they had thereby enjoyed, were well qualified to pronounce upon the merits of this important question, in its connexion with the war now about to be waged: the opium question should be regarded merely as a spark blown into a mine, which, during the past half century, the vindictiveness and insufferable arrogance of the Chinese Government had been gradually charging; and it can be no more considered the primary cause of the war, than

can the match, which ignites the train, be styled the cause of the breach made by the explosion. That the quarrel was an unhappy one, and for many reasons to be deeply deplored, does not admit of a doubt, but that it was on our part just and unavoidable, and that the demands of our Government were reasonable, and based upon the principle of reciprocity in commercial intercourse, all must allow, after a dispassionate consideration of all the circumstances of the case."

Our author does not sufficiently discriminate between proximate and remote causes. We cannot expect the mass of the people to look very searchingly into the latter. In all cases of contention, international or domestic, incompatibility is, doubtless, the predisposing cause. When such incompatibility exists, a collision must be looked for sooner or later; but it is the duty of both parties to avoid, by all possible means, whatever may precipitate this collision. Whatever does so precipitate it, may fairly be regarded as its cause; and we do not see, that the common inquirer is bound to look for more remote causes. The immediate dispute might always be settled, did not this incompatibility exist. Still, when an insult is offered, or a blow struck, it is fair to assign to the insult or the blow the causation of the rupture which follows.

We write this in a general sense; for we perceive, in the present day, somewhat too much of a disposition to look for remote causes, when proximate ones will not bear a very close inquiry. As regards more immediately the China war, we believe that though the Opium may, with some degree of fairness, be looked upon as the *teterrima causa*, we must regard it, not in the light of a noxious drug, but as an article of import, paid for by the Chinese somewhat too freely in bright silver. We do not assert, that the Chinese Government were wholly destitute of a benevolent desire to check the too-prevailing vice of opium-eating; but, with all our charity, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, that the constant drain of the precious metal was not regarded as the more serious evil of the two. The mischief did not lie so much in what we took to China, as in what we brought away from it. We took a noxious, stupifying drug; and we brought away bright silver. The drain of the specie was beginning to be severely felt; and hence the obstacle to the admission of our opium. In so far as the opium was concerned, we believe that this is the true history of the origin of the war.

The war in China was actually commenced in the early part of 1840. In the month of February, the Supreme Government received instructions to fit out an expedition, for the display of British power in the Chinese Seas. The instructions received were specific; and though the Council, of which that excellent man, Mr. Robertson, was then the President, felt that they were

engaged upon a work, which could not but result in failure, they had nothing to do but to obey. The force, which was ordered by the Home Authorities to be fitted out for service in the Eastern Seas, was small to an absurdity; and, with reference to the objects to be attained, totally inefficient. We had nearly written that, with reference to the plan of operations, the force was totally insufficient; but the plan of operations had been marked out by the Home Government, and was admirably adapted to ensure failure. This wise Palmerstonian scheme involved nothing beyond a display of a little strength on certain remote littoral points of the over-grown Chinese Empire. For such operations —the only result of which was likely to be an useless expenditure of gunpowder and of life—the three regiments of foot and the volunteer Native infantry Battalion, despatched, in the spring of 1840,* to Singapore, were something more than sufficient. But we might as reasonably have attempted to bring down an elephant with a pea-shooter. The Indian Government could not but see the utter folly of making weak demonstrations on the extremities of the Chinese Empire. The evil lay in the dense ignorance and the insufferable arrogance of the Celestial Emperor, and here we were attempting to enlighten and humble him by making small demonstrations on remote points of his empire—demonstrations which might, for all practical purposes, have been made with as good effect on one of the Pacific Islands. The Home Government took the business into their own hands, and manifested as gross an ignorance of the character of the Chinese Government, as the Emperor himself had exhibited, of the magnitude of British power and of the extent of British resources. This was the primal error. Had it been left to the Indian Government to determine the strength of the Expedition, and to settle the plan of operations, the war would have been brought to an end in a year. There would have been no useless hacking at the extremities—the blow would have been struck right at the heart. We write this not in mere conjecture; we know the feeling of bitter despair with which the then Council of India, having before it the sad example of the Burmese war, addressed itself to the executive duties, which had been delegated to it by the Home Government. The result predicted from the very first was precisely that which eventually accrued. That was done in the third year of the war, which ought to have been done in the first.

Let us not be misunderstood.—War is so mighty an evil, that

* Lieutenant Ouchterlony (Chapter III) says—1841. This is probably an error of the Press. Authors, resident in India, who publish their works in England, are unfortunately condemned to many such.

we must ever regard as criminal the Government, which sends unnecessarily one company into action—which carries war into an enemy's country one rood beyond the necessary extent—which sheds one unnecessary drop of blood, or destroys unnecessarily one dollar's worth of property. If four regiments of foot, with a small body of Artillery, acting in combination with a few ships of war, are sufficient to carry out the objects, which it has been determined to carry out, let not, in the name of humanity, one more regiment be added to the force. If we can save the limb, by cutting off a finger, in the name of mercy, let not the arm be amputated. But what mercy is there in hacking off first one finger and then another; then taking the hand off at the wrist; then the arm at the elbow; and then finally amputating at the shoulder? All experience was against the course of treatment, which the British Government thought fit to adopt. It could not, whether the nature of the disease or the habits of the patient were regarded in connexion with it, be any thing but inhuman treatment. The surgeon, who, operating at a distance from the seat of the disease, puts his patient, now become his victim, to the torture, without once reaching the part affected—and this, too, in the face of all experience, in violation of the most ordinary rules of science—should be indicted for cutting and maiming. Such was the Palmerstonian practice, and of such could any friend of humanity enter his approval? Whatever may be our opinion of war in the abstract—whatever may have been our opinion of the justice or the policy of any individual war, military operations being once determined upon, it behoves the Government of the country to conduct them on such a scale as shall tend most certainly and most speedily to bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion. Our operations in the China Seas were conducted in such a manner, as to lengthen out the war to its utmost possible duration, under the worst conceivable form of management. It did not appear to be the object of our operations to expedite, but to retard, the close of the war—not to put an end to suffering, but to lengthen out delirious joy.

The first achievement of the China War was the capture of the island of Chusan, in July 1840. An attempt was made to induce the Chinese authorities to strike their flag, without an effort to uphold the character of the nation. The Governor and the Admiral came off from shore, and had an interview with Sir Gordon Bremer, on board the *Wellesley*. It was represented to them, that we came not to make war upon the people, but on their rulers; that the British force was too strong for the Island to resist; and that it would be better to capitulate at once. The Chinamen thought it a hard case indeed, that

because the British Government had been insulted at Canton, it should revenge itself on Chusan; admitted, that the military resources of the Island were not sufficient for purposes of resistance; but added, that they had a duty to perform to their sovereign, and perform it they must at every hazard. Then was exploded that enormous lie, which, like all other lies, had "sentence of death written down against it" from the first—that the people of China were eager to exchange, for a foreign yoke, the sovereignty of their Tartar rulers; that our appearance among them as deliverers would be hailed with a shout of national welcome.* Whether it be a trick of our self-love, or whether it be a plaster of self-delusion, or whether it be a stroke of sophistry, wherewith we would delude others—somehow or other, the discovery of the hatefulness of the existing Government is always cotemporaneous with our intentions to bestow the blessings of British rule on our neighbors. No sooner is foreign war resolved upon—a war fated, from the first, to end in the acquisition of territory—than a flood of falsehood and cant is poured out to bewail the sufferings of the poor oppressed people, whom, in the plenitude of our benevolence, we are about to redeem from their cruel bondage. The sufferings of the people and the cruelties of their rulers are assumed, or invented; and as what is repeated very often without contradiction is sure to be believed by the majority of hearers—the takers-for-granted ever outnumbering the enquirers—the convenient falsehood soon becomes an article of faith, and injustice is robbed of half its naked hideousness. There are many well-meaning people, too, who, confiding in the truth of the abstract proposition, that British rule is preferable to Tartar or Talpoor rule, as being based upon sounder principles of Government, argue thence, a great deal too hastily, that it must necessarily be better suited to the wants of all classes of the great human family. According to our civilized notions, it is better to eat one's dinner with a knife and fork than with one's fingers, or even with chop-sticks; but it does not follow, that we should

* "We opened the summons, and they read it in our presence, and, indeed, before the assembled troops: the deep groans and increasing pressure of the people warned us, that we were among a hostile multitude, and from that moment I have ever doubted the fiction, so industriously circulated throughout India, of the hatred and dislike of the natives of China to their Tartar rulers; for it appeared, as far as we had an opportunity of judging, to be without the slightest foundation. The Summons addressed to the people stated, that no injury was intended to them; but it was against their rulers and their servants we had come to make war for their unjust acts. Of this they seemed perfectly aware; but they hated the invading Barbarians more bitterly than their Tartar rulers; and their clenched hands and anxious faces proved to us how false was the idea, that we were come among a people who only waited for the standard of the foreigners to throw off a detested and tyrant yoke."—*Lord Jocelyn.*

confer any blessing on an uncivilized people, by teaching them the necessity of feeding with the knife and fork, instead of those instruments which were made before them. Our customs may be very well suited to ourselves; but it does not follow, that they are adapted to the wants of our neighbours; and the Government which may answer the purpose of protecting the lives and properties, and advancing the happiness of civilized Englishmen, may be productive of very different results, when conferred on a nation of Barbarians. It is not the question, whether this or that is abstractedly good, or abstractedly bad; but whether it is suited to meet the requirements of a particular people;—whether it is adapted to the national character, and the intellectual and moral progress of the community on which it is bestowed. A savage would consider it an inconceivable hardship to be compelled to sit up to dinner and feed himself with a knife and fork; and there are many of our milder laws which he would consider atrociously cruel and oppressive. He prefers his own style of eating—his own wild and summary justice; and cannot understand us when we inform him, that the civilization, which we are conferring upon him, is a blessing to be greatly appreciated. It may be a blessing to us; but it is no blessing to him. The laws under which he lives, may be defective; but they suit him,—and that is enough. He does not comprehend what we mean, when we talk about coming as deliverers. His children's children may understand it; but it is beyond his rude intelligence. Of the blessings of civilization no sound man can be really sceptical; but it is a monstrous delusion to suppose, that these blessings are so intelligible to all, that even the uninitiated must be ever ready to open wide their arms to receive them.

The people of Chusan were not so weary of the Tartar yoke, as to hail, with any great amount of popular enthusiasm, the arrival of the outside Barbarians. On the whole, they thought it better to fight; and fight they did, with about as much success as could reasonably be expected. The first broadside from the fleet must have convinced them of the utter hopelessness of coping with a power, possessing such terrible war-junks as those which now opened on their ill-defended works, and scattered destruction among their shipping. It was all over with Chusan. The legs of the Admiral were carried off; and he died. The Governor drowned himself in a tank. The British flag was hoisted on the walls of Ting-hai. The soldiery drank sham-shoo till madness supervened—and our first Golgotha was acquired.

Lieut. Ouchterlony says somewhat less than might have been said of what followed. Chusan was taken. The

offences of Canton had been visited upon Ting-hai; and the British Government had gained a burial-ground for their superfluous troops. In six months, nearly five hundred men were carried off by fever, dysentery, and diarrhœa:—

"Out of respect to the religious feelings of the Chinese, Colonel Burrell did not permit any of the public buildings, or Joss-houses, in the city of Tinghae to be occupied as barracks by our troops, and with the exception of the 18th regiment, who were stationed in the large building on Joss-house hill, which had been converted into a strong post of defence, the whole of the force was encamped in tents, exposed by day to the glare of a fierce sun, and by night to the unwholesome exhalations which arose from the damp and reeking soil, and from the paddy fields and channels of irrigation by which they were intersected in a hundred directions.

Under such circumstances, not improved by the great want of fresh provisions which was experienced, fever and dysentery soon began their fatal ravages among men, who for several months had been accustomed to the dry and sheltered quarters of a transport's main deck. At this time an application was made for the use of an unemployed transport as a hospital for the sick, which was refused.

To give an idea of the extent of the ravages of these disorders, a statement is annexed of the admissions and deaths which occurred in the hospital of the European regiments, from the 13th July to the 31st December, 1840:—

	Madras Artillery.		18th Regiment		26th Regiment.		49th Regiment.		Total.	
	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.
Diarrhœa.....	81	3	234	3	324	63	190	1	829	70
Dysentery.....	48	7	160	32	185	65	566	114	959	218
Fever, Continued ...	15	..	15	..	56	1	169	1	255	2
Remittent....	..	..	1	1	4	5	..	..	5	6
Intermittent..	362	3	771	1	864	86	657	1	2654	91
Other diseases.....	69	3	160	15	112	18	286	25	627	61
Total	575	16	1341	52	1545	238	1868	143	5229	448

A committee of enquiry to examine into the causes of this dread mortality was assembled at Chusan—another in Calcutta. The information elicited clearly proved, that there had been culpable mismanagement; that bad food, unnecessary exposure, and an almost total want of all the appliances and means of a Hospital, had killed off our brave fellows by scores. The Calcutta Committee recorded a mass of most damning evidence. The facts which were proved, during the enquiry, rendered it marvellous, not that so many had died, but that so many had lived. Rotten meat, a burning sun, a swampy marsh, an inefficient hospital establishment, and a commanding officer,

with no bowels of compassion, save for one favored corps (his own)—these were enough to mow down the strongest force ever encamped in a new settlement. Iron could not have withstood it. But though all this was recorded in the evidence of many trustworthy witnesses; though the strongest possible opinion of the culpable mismanagement, to use a gentle word, thus evidenced, was entertained by the members, the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry were burked—nothing was heard publicly of the damning truths that had transpired—there was no exposure—no punishment—no warning.

In the meantime, whilst the land forces were rotting, like sheep, under this mild treatment, in the marshes of Chusan, the naval armament with the joint Plenipotentiaries, Admiral and Capt. Elliot were blockading the Ningpo river and exploring the bay of Pechelee. The good effects of the movement of the squadron north-ward were soon sufficiently obvious—so obvious, that if there ever had been any doubt, as to the best means of prosecuting the war, they must now have been wholly removed. The appearance of the hostile fleet, on the way to Pekin, made just the impression that it was desirable to make. Tidings of the advance of our fleet reached the Emperor, and, in alarm, he sent down Keshen to negociate for the withdrawal of our fighting ships. Keshen advised a further reference to Pekin; the Emperor very shrewdly suggested, that as the difference between the two Governments had arisen at Canton, it would be advisable to proceed thither to settle them. Accordingly, the fleet steered southward again; and the celestial heart beat quietly as before. A truce was proclaimed; and about the middle of November, the British diplomatists appeared at Canton to settle affairs with the Chinese Commissioner, who, a few days after their arrival, entered the city in state. Then began Chinese cunning and British credulity to display themselves in the strongest lights. Keshen began to treat after his own fashion;—to treat, in his vocabulary, was only to procrastinate. One great object had been gained by the removal of the fleet from its dangerous vicinity to Pekin. The next thing to be gained was, time. Whilst the Commissioner was deluding the lesser Elliot (for the greater one being seized with a complaint of the heart, had, ere this, gone off the stage) with false hopes of a satisfactory adjustment of affairs, he was, under instructions from higher authorities, diligently strengthening the defences of the Bogue. The old year went out, and the new year opened upon the same scene of shilly-shally; but, by this time, even Elliot's placid nature began to wax impatient of the delay, and orders were at last issued, in earnest, to commence hostilities. There was but a poor complement of lands-men—the recovered men of

the foot-regiments and a portion of the Madras sepoy-corps; but there were our ships of war, and strength more than enough for any work there was to accomplish. So, at last, on the 6th of January, the forts of Chuenpee and Tycocktow were attacked —forts lying on opposite sides of the river, and to be assailed by different squadrons. The defenders stood well to their guns. At Chuenpee, "many of the enemy," writes Lieutenant Ouchterlony "were killed inside the works, owing to their unfortunate impression, that our troops either gave no quarter, or, if taken prisoner, that their death was inevitable. Acting under this dread, no signs could induce them to surrender." At Tycocktow, the resistance was still more desperate; the enemy stood up even to the point of the cold-steel. Still opposition was utterly fruitless. The works were carried; the batteries dismantled; the public buildings and military stores destroyed, and then on the 8th of January, the Flotilla moved upon the Bogue Forts. Every heart beat high with expectation; there was a prospect of a decisive engagement; Aunughoy was within range of our guns; the seventy-four-gun ships were prepared for action—when lo! a poor dirty boat, rowed by an old woman, was seen putting out from land, and displaying the white flag of truce. In the boat was a quack doctor, who had been despatched as an emissary from the Chinese authorities, to propose to the British Plenipotentiary a temporary suspension of hostilities. Elliot the easy listened to the proposal; and negociations were resumed.

After twelve more days of treating, preliminaries were arranged; Chusan was to to be given up; Hong-Kong was to be ceded to the British in its place; six millions of dollars were to be paid as indemnification; the trade was to be re-opened; and direct official intercourse, upon equal terms, was to be established. A "Circular" to this effect was issued; and the "scrupulous good faith of Keshen" was therein publicly announced. On the 26th of January, the British flag was hoisted on Hong-Kong; but weeks passed, and there was no appearance of any re-opening of the Trade. The scrupulous good faith of Keshen had employed itself in strengthening the defences of Canton, concentrating troops in the city, and making every preparation for war. There were no hopes of any satisfactory arrangement, beyond an arrangement of words; so, again hostilities were commenced. The Bogue forts were attacked in earnest; Aunundoghoy and Wangtung—the whole line of defences—was carried; and as the last remaining fort fell before us, and the "tents, stores, Mandarin's houses and other buildings" were wrapt in flames, "the hills far and near reflected back the lurid

'glare of a conflagration which must have revealed to the 'surrounding population, many of whom witnessed the fight 'from the adjacent hills, the secret of the utter inability of their 'vaunted soldiery to withstand the prowess of the enemy they 'had held in contempt."

The naval armament moved upon Canton, carrying everthing before it as it went; and, on the 20th of March, the force being then close upon the factories, another suspension of hostilities was announced. Two new Commissioners had appeared on the stage. Keshen, not being truculent enough, was recalled, degraded; Yihshan and Lungwan appointed in his room. Elliot the easy had begun treating again; and the Port was soon said to be open. There was an armistice; the fleet, with the exception of a few small craft stationed to watch the factories, was withdrawn to Hong-Kong; some of our ships of war sailed for England; vessels laden with sick men and the Bengal sepoys were despatched to Calcutta; Sir Gordon Bremer, the Chief Naval Officer, proceeded to the same place to confer with the Governor General; and Sir Hugh Gough, who had taken the chief Military command, began to re-organise his small shattered force at the new settlement of Hong-Kong; whilst Captain Elliot employed himself in making arrangements for its civil government.

In the mean time, the Emperor, having received intelligence of the capture of the Bogue Forts, was gnashing his imperial teeth with malice and vexation. Keshen had reported the sad occurrence, and added a few unpalatable truths, for which he was incontinently handed over to the Board of Punishment. Furious edicts were poured forth from the Pekin palace; the most truculent orders were issued to all the Provincial Governors; a rebel-slaying General was appointed, with especial instructions to exterminate the contumacious Barbarians; and everything, though matters went on favourably enough at Canton, and the factories were once more alive with business, promised well for a bloody war.

On the 11th of May,* Elliot the easy repaired again to Canton, and found matters in such a state, that even he could not think them favourable. All the batteries in the neighbourhood were bristling with guns—the Joss-houses were garrisoned—the public buildings on the banks of the river converted into arsenals, and fire-rafts were being prepared in the creeks. The peaceful

* Lieutenant Ouchterlony is not very clear in his dates; he says, that Capt. Elliot went to Canton on the 11th.—Now, the last month named in the narrative is April, from which it is to be inferred that the 11th of April is implied—but it was the 11th of May. Other lapses of this kind occur.

inhabitants of Canton, fearful of the impending storm, were rushing in crowds out of the city—the merchants were betaking themselves to the ships;—the crisis was evidently at hand. There was no time to be lost. The fleet was moved up to Canton, and an attack upon the city was determined upon. The 24th of May—the Queen's birthday—witnessed the fall of the commercial capital of China. The Chinese troops held out, for some time, with considerable energy; but the advance of the British bayonets was irresistible; and the Forts were, in time, carried. The details of the engagement are well-known, and there is nothing new in the description before us. Having lost everything, the Chinese authorities again thought it time to treat; and Elliot the easy admitted them to terms. The Tartar troops were to be withdrawn from Canton; six millions of dollars to be paid down; compensation for the destruction of the factories and the *Bilbaino;* and on the payment of all the money, the British troops to be withdrawn to the Bocca Tigris. This ransoming of the city was a most unpalatable measure. The Military chief growled audibly, even in his despatches; and all under him were grievously annoyed at so great a display of forbearance on the part of Elliot the easy. Let us see what the intelligent author of the volume before us has got to say about this matter:—

"These terms were much criticised at the time, and have since afforded matter for warm discussion amongst those who, from long acquaintance with the peculiar tribe who inhabit the Canton province, could not but anticipate with the deepest interest and anxiety the completest humiliation to a city, whose gates had ever been inhospitably closed against them. The humbling of the provincial capital was deemed incomplete; and it was contended that, in consideration of the extreme provocation which the treachery of the Chinese authorities and the arrogance of the people had caused, no terms of accommodation should have been listened to, until the British flag had been planted on the rampart of the hitherto inviolate city.

But the considerations which influenced Captain Elliot were of great weight, and may be thus stated: The total numerical strength of the force under arms before Canton, on the morning of the 27th May, did not exceed 2,200 men of all arms, while within the city there were not less than 20,000 men, after making a very large allowance for exaggerations by the "confidental agents,"—fearful odds to be encountered in the pent-up space of a closely built city, where a knowledge of the localities would have given the Chinese abundant opportunity to molest our troops. Sickness, consequent upon the dreadful weather to which the troops were exposed, as well as disorder from the temptations of plunder and intoxicating liquors, which would have beset them on every side, were also much to be dreaded in any prolonged occupation of the city; and though the avowed confidence of Sir Hugh Gough in the discipline of his officers and men was great and well-founded, yet it must be admitted, that His Excellency's position *in terrorem* within an assaulted, but yet unconquered, city, filled with a rancorous and vindictive populace, and opposed in front by a regular force, and in rear by the armed population of the surrounding villages, would have been a most

difficult one to maintain, without the risk of a loss which, with the small force at his command, would have been fatal. It should, moreover, be borne in mind, that in the confusion which a bombardment of the town would have created, all public order must have been overthrown, and, in all probability, the greater part of the city destroyed by fire, and its treasuries plundered by the mob.

It appears now to be generally admitted, that the course pursued by Captain Elliot was, under the circumstances, the most judicious which could have been adopted. The leaders and the force, generally, were much chagrined at their withdrawal to without the Bocca Tigris; but this was a necessary condition of the ransom of the city of Canton."

Soon after this last achievement of the capture and ransom of Canton, Elliot was recalled by the Home Government, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed in his room. The change was one of vast popularity. Never was unhappy man, in high office, more virulently condemned and scouted. We have called him Elliot the easy, and an easy going man he was; over-credulous and sanguine; forbearing, beyond the tastes of martial men; and, to outward seeming, a very epitome of the gullibility of John Bull. But now that the hey-day of popular exasperation has passed, and men longing to be at them, are no longer pent down by peaceful negociators to grind their teeth in bitter disappointment, let him be judged fairly. Elliot was the great scape-goat; he bore the offences of others with all meekness; bound hand and foot by orders from the Foreign Office, he did the Palmerstonian bidding with scrupulous exactitude; and made for himself, not fame, but infamy. Elliot stood before us here in the East the visible embodiment of all the weakness and wrong-headedness of the Home Government. In the general fever of disappointment and indignation, which his temporising policy engendered among us, men seldom paused to ask, whether the easy Elliot was following out his own course of diplomacy, or whether he was merely putting into action the written policy, which he held in his pocket. We who now write—we speak candidly—were not wanting in inclination to pelt with the rotten eggs of our indignant rhetoric the pillory-exposed head of the unfortunate diplomat. But now we must do him all possible justice. Elliot acted under instructions;—what they were in specific form, we know not, save from their results, for no Blue-Book has yet fully revealed them; but that he was tied down by these orders is now a plain historical fact. The orders were issued in the spirit, not of a great statesman, but of a small tea-dealer. The gist of the thing was, that Elliot, somehow or other, was to get tea. He was to go upon the "little war system;" the object being, as best he might, to open the trade again. He had not means at his disposal, for any great enter-

prize—nor was he permitted by his masters to put such means as he had to their best uses. At one period, Sir Gordon Bremer, anxious to turn the bowsprits of the fleet once more towards the north, urged the matter with much earnestness upon Elliot, setting forth the obvious advantages of such a course. The advantages were quite clear to the Plenipo:—he disputed not the point; he simply produced his instructions; the Commodore was satified; there could be no move to the northward in the teeth of such instructions as those, any more than in the teeth of the foulest of winds. When Pottinger came, affairs wore a different aspect. The war was then begun in earnest. But to contrast Pottinger's conduct with that of Elliot would be a stretch of unfairness, of which we, at least, are not inclined to be guilty. You might as well tie a man up in a sack, and throw it in his teeth, that when set to run in a race against an unembarrassed man, without even the impediment of coat and waistcoat, he is left a long way behind. Pottinger came with other instructions—with more extended powers; he appeared on the arena, a free man; not tied and bound by the chain of the tradesman policy of a Palmerston. He had the experience of Elliot's failures to profit by, and liberty to turn them to profitable account. Let him be judged according to his own merits—and they were great—but let not the doings of Pottinger be employed to set off the short-comings of Elliot. Men may say, that Elliot was fearful of incurring responsiblity—that in such a situation he ought to have incurred it—that it behoved him to depart from his instructions. Some would have done so, there is little doubt; but it may be questioned whether it is any man's duty to disobey the orders of the higher authorities, from whom he derives all the power he enjoys. Though he knows that his disobedience would be productive of beneficial results, it is clearly his business to obey. Elliot was ordered to perform a certain duty, which he did according to the best of his ability;—that the duty he was charged with was not something different, was, assuredly, no error of his. It would be as fair to tax the Supreme Government with having sent, in the first instance, three thousand, instead of fifteen thousand, men to the China war, as to tax Elliot with pursuing a course of policy which was marked out for him in Downing Street.

But Elliot went—was provided with a new appointment—hurried off post-haste to Texas—whilst Pottinger, really a Plenipotentiary, set about doing things in earnest, with a new admiral, Parker, to help him. The work was not nearly done,—nay, only just commenced. There was now to be something like a move to the northwards—no treating now. In vain the

Chinese authorities attempted to delude us. Hong-Kong was duly garrisoned; the expedition moved upwards; and towards the end of August was opposite Amoy. The defences were soon stormed and carried. "The engagement," says our author, 'was a fine spectacle; but, beyond the picturesqueness of the 'scene, afforded nothing worthy of comment." The city was to be carried next morning; but it was evacuated during the night, and the sycee carried off most discreetly in hollow timber-logs. Not much richer than before, the expedition then steered for Chusan. The Island was retaken without much trouble, though since it had been given up by the British, its defences had been greatly strengthened; and military preparations, on a large scale, had been going on with much activity: Markets converted into cantonments—Joss-houses into barracks—vast stores of ammunition heaped up within the walls of the town. *Cui bono?*—For all this, there was only more slaughter. "The whole," says Lieut. Ouchterlony, "formed an exceedingly picturesque and 'brilliant operation." The next move was upon Chinhai, at the mouth of the Ningpo river. Great preparations had been going on here—the heights were bristling with guns; the citadel "which occupies the summit of a sharp and craggy hill," had been greatly strengthened, and everything was ready for another struggle. On the 10th of October, these strong positions on both sides of the river were attacked. The naval force carried the left bank; the military force the right. Then was enacted one of those terrible scenes of carnage, which render the history of this three years' war so painful to peruse:—

"In the meanwhile, a dreadful scene of slaughter was enacting on the right bank of the river, where the Chinese troops, retiring before the advance of the centre column, under Sir Hugh Gough, in the hope of retreating across the river by a bridge of boats which had been left uninjured a short distance up the stream, came suddenly upon the head of the left column, which, having overcome all opposition in its course, had completed the circuit of the hills, and was debouching upon the banks of the river, so as effectually to intercept the retreat of the dense mass which was then crowding towards the bridge.

It is not difficult to conceive the scene which ensued. Hemmed in on all sides, and crushed and overwhelmed by the fire of a complete semicircle of musketry, the hapless Chinese rushed by hundreds into the water; and while some attempted to escape the tempest of death which roared around them, by consigning themselves to the stream, and floating out beyond the range of fire, others appeared to drown themselves in despair. Every effort was made by the general and his officers to stop the butchery; but the bugles had to sound the "cease firing" long and often before the fury of our men could be restrained. The 55th regiment and Madras rifles, having observed that a large body of the enemy were escaping from this scene of indiscriminate

slaughter along the opposite bank of the river from the citadal and batteries which the naval brigade had stormed, separated themselves, and pursuing across the bridge of boats, severed the retreating column in two; and before the Chinese could be prevailed upon to surrender themselves prisoners, a great number were shot down or driven into the water and drowned.

The loss of the Chinese was immense in killed and wounded; a vast mob of prisoners was captured, besides numerous pieces of cannon, many of which were brass, an immense quantity of camp equipage, ammunition, arms, and stores of all descriptions, and a considerable number of junks and armed boats. The prisoners were all set at liberty on the following day, deprived, of course, of their arms, and some also of their tails, which, though an accident, easily remedied by the humblest of their tonsors, (by plaiting a new tail into the root of the old one,) was a mark of disgrace that did not fall to the province of the victors to inflict, and was a wanton outrage on the feelings of the Chinese, which could only serve to exasperate them against their invaders. Sir Hugh Gough, when informed by an officer of what was taking place, sanctioned his interference, and ordered that the prisoners be merely disarmed, and released without degradation of any kind When, however, this gentleman, who had followed Sir Hugh Gough in a boat, reached the shore, the last man of the Chinese *detenus* was under the hands of the operator, a tar, who, upon being hailed to cease his proceedings, hastily drew his knife across the victimized tail, exclaiming, that it was a pity the fellow should have the laugh against the rest."

Nothing very creditable this to the "true British sailor." We are tempted to ask what the officers were about, whilst this outrage was in course of perpetration. Was Sir Hugh Gough the only man in the force, who had the will or the power to stop it?

Ningpo was taken without a struggle, for the city was found empty; and our troops made themselves comfortable for a season. The new year (1842) found the British force in quiet possession of the place, rather enjoying their winter quarters. Provisions were abundant; there was a fine bracing climate; and a prospect, too, of more fighting. The inhabitants were sufficiently peaceable, and willing to supply us with all we wanted; but the imperial troops were hovering about; and early in March there was an appearance of a speedy renewal of hostilities. A warning note was sounded by "a number of little Chinese boys," who were found in the streets of Ningpo, and adopted, as servant-boys, by the soldiery. On the 9th of March, these little urchins announced, that the enemy were coming, and then flitted away for ever. It was true enough. The enemy *were* coming. Early on the following morning the British position was attacked. The "suburbs were alive with enemies, who poured down upon the gates in columns of dense array and prodigious length, headed by men whose gallantry and determination could not have been excelled."—They attacked our British troops, at all points, and fought with rare desperation. But

neither their numbers, their gallantry, nor their national hatred, could avail them aught. The British musketry was too much for them; and still more murderous our British guns in that dense city. Then was enacted another of those frightful scenes of carnage, which humanity shudders to contemplate, and which exhibit, in such huge proportions, the gigantic power of civilization in the field of war. Oh! indeed, we have the giant's strength—Would to God we never used it like a giant!—

"When morning had fully dawned, Colonel Montgomerie, of the artillery, conceiving that the obstinacy of the attack on the west gate might be turned to advantage in enabling him to make an effectual sortie from the town in that direction, brought a couple of small howitzers with a party of gunners, along the ramparts, and running one of them through the gateway, while the other was sent round to succour the south gate, ordered the outer gates to be thrown open, and the sortie to be made. A short time previous to this movement, however, the enemy had begun to draw off from the attack, and a party of artillerymen, under Lieutenant Molesworth, pushed forward a few hundred yards into the suburb, to ascertain the direction they had taken, and see what was going forward. They soon found themselves in front of a dense mass of troops, drawn up along the main street, upon whom Lieutenant Molesworth, although accompanied by a mere handful of men, instantly opened a smart fire of musketry, which the Chinese returned with much spirit, and shewed a disposition to advance upon their assailants. At this juncture, Captain Moore's howitzer came up, and, being run to the front, immediately opened upon the living wall before them with case shot, at a distance not exceeding twenty to thirty yards. The effect was terrific, for the street was perfectly straight, and the enemy's rear, not aware of the miserable fate which was being dealt out to their comrades in the front, continued to press the mass forward, so as to force fresh victims upon the mound of dead and dying, which already barricaded the street. The head of the column fell literally "like the moor's swath at the close of day," and the howitzer only discontinued its fire from the impossibility of directing its shot upon a living foe, clear of the writhing and shrieking hecatomb which it had already piled up.

It had, however, been only fired three times, and the destruction would have been far greater had not the short distance prevented the grape-shot from spreading. The infantry party had resumed their platoon firing, the front rank, after discharging their pieces, filing off to the right and left to load and form again in the rear, their places being filled by the next rank, and so on; by which means such a storm of balls was kept up upon the enemy, that in a short time the street was choked up, and when, for want of a living mark, the men were ordered to advance, their steps fell upon a closely packed mass of dead and dying for fully fifteen yards. A company of the 18th, and one of the 49th, regiment now coming up, the pursuit was continued along the bank of the western canal for about six miles, but over such slippery roads, and with such speed, that, at its close only a few men hung together, with three or four officers, when the Chinese, finding that every ball was telling in their ranks, and that the number of pursuers was so small, suddenly turned upon the foremost, and bringing four or five ginjalls to bear upon the road, kept them at bay until reinforcements arrived, by which time the main body of the fugitives had got too far in

advance to render it expedient to pursue them any further with troops so exhausted.

The repulse of this bold attack was now complete at all points, and its results must have been effectual in deterring the Chinese leaders from again venturing on the lair of their terrible invaders. While on our side not a single man had been killed, and only a few wounded, upwards of 400 of the enemy had fallen, consisting, of course, of their bravest and best. Much credit was given by the Commander-in-Chief, on his return to Ningpo, to Colonel Montgomerie for his conduct during the assault; and, indeed, had it not been for his promptitude in succouring the defenders of the gates, and for the alacrity and judgment with which he seized the opportunity of destroying the west column, before its retreat out of the suburb could be accomplished, there can be no doubt that the enemy would have drawn off their forces from the attack with so little loss, as to have induced them to renew it and to molest and harrass the garrison by cutting off its supplies, intimidating the inhabitants of the city, by continuing to hover in its vicinity. But the merciless carnage in the street of the western suburb proved too fearful a lesson to be soon forgotten by the Chinese troops: upon no occasion, during the war, had such terrible slaughter been inflicted either in no short a period of action, or in so confined a space. The corpses of the slain lay heaped across the narrow street for a distance of many yards, and after the fight had terminated, a pony, which had been ridden by a mandarin, was extricated unhurt from the ghastly mass in which it had been entombed so completely as to have at first escaped observation."

The next engagement was fought at Tsekee, where a strong body of the enemy had taken up their position. "The troops," we are told, "moved on in the highest spirits, thankful to have 'escaped from the life of apathy and inaction, which they had been 'leading at Ningpo." The Tsekee affair, much like its predecessors, was "brilliant and successful"—vast slaughter on the side of the Chinese; little or none on ours. The enemy were strongly posted on the heights of Segaon, which command three sides of the town of Tsekee. But what was position—what their numbers —what their strength? The heights were carried at every point. "The naval brigade came pouring down the heights, bayoneting 'and hewing down all before them, and the 49th at the same 'time pressing upon their rear and flank, they soon sank under 'the murderous fire thus accumulated upon them; but few out 'of the whole body thus hemmed in, escaping unhurt from the 'field, which was strewn far and wide with their slain."—The victory being complete, the troops returned to Ningpo; but in a few weeks were again on board the transports, steering for Chapoo—a Tartar garrison post. Here was seen, for the first time, the true metal of these Tartar soldiers. They fought desperately; but ineffectually; and died like men, with arms in their hands. Chapoo was carried, the Tartar city fell before us; and pitiable, indeed, the sequel.

Terrible are the ordinary effects of war;—the hundreds slain in fair fight, on the battle field—the wailings of the widow and

the orphan—the destruction of cities—the desolation of corn-fields and vine-yards—all the terrible progeny of fire, famine and slaughter. Terrible,—more terrible the excesses of war, when in the delirious intoxication of success, the fierce soldier ceases to be a man, and letting loose the foul passions of the dæmon, revels in all the worst madness of crime, sparing neither the innocent nor the helpless in his mad career of cruelty and lust. But never did the angels weep over aught so terrible as the deeds, which, in calm desperation, were done by the victims of the Chinese War. Defeated and humbled—dreading lest a curse more horrible than death should alight upon their desecrated homesteads, the Tartar warriors returned, in sullen despair, to their frighted families; and beneath the roofs, which had so long sheltered them in happiness and peace, coolly and deliberately, under an heroic sense of duty, made living sacrifices of their wives and children; and then, with the same unwavering firmness, turned the reeking daggers against their own throats. The scenes of house-hold desolation which presented themselves to the appalled gaze of the victorious enemy were the most fearful—the most pitiable: Beautiful women and young children, hanging lifeless from the roofs of their apartments, or stretched on the floor, weltering in their blood; and beside them in the agonies of death, their husbands and parents, who had died rejoicing in having rescued, by a deed of blood, all that they held dear from pollution. Let the story be told in the words of the chronicler. It is good for all, that they should see what war is :—

"As this place (Chapoo) afforded the first opportunity which the expedition had enjoyed of examining that remarkable system of living apart from the Chinese, pursued by the Tartars in all towns where they have adopted permanent residences, much interest was excited by the investigation of the buildings included in what was styled the "Tartar city." It was found to contain, besides magazines for arms, powder, saltpetre, and grain, and a foundry upon a small scale, several exceedingly commodious ranges of barracks, consisting of rows of small houses in streets, with cooking-houses, and small plots of ground attached to every two, with guard-houses and parade-grounds in their vicinity, and the whole united in a manner which proved, that the discipline maintained (as the sole foundation of the throne of the Mant-chow dynasty) would suffer but little by comparison with that of our more refined armies of Europe.

Miserable, however, was the spectacle presented by the interior of most of the better class of houses in the "Tartar city," on the entrance of our troops: strewed on the floors, or suspended from the rafters, were to be seen the bodies of women and young children, bloody from the wounds by which their lives had been cut short, or swollen and blackened by the effects of poison. Impelled by the same feeling of exclusiveness and pride which characterizes their habits of life as well as of government, it seems that the

Tartars of Chapoo, even when defeated and driven from their intrenchments on the heights, never for a moment contemplated removing their families from the town, and escaping beyond our pursuit; but, with a stern resolution to maintain to the last the inviolability of their homes, (which, though we decry it as barbarian, must yet command a share of our respect,) preferred staining them with their blood, to surviving to abandon them to the polluting touch and presence of the invader.

Of the females found dead and dying in the "Tartar city," many had evidently not been their own executioners, but the greater number appeared to have destroyed themselves by strangulation or by poison, after hearing of the defeat of their troops outside the city, and impelled, doubtless, by the exhortations and threats of the fugitives from the field, and by the near approach of the dreadful foreigners, at whose hands they had been taught to expect the most unheard-of atrocities. Many Tartar soldiers were also found dead within the city, with their throats cut, apparently with their own daggers, who must have thus fearfully ended their career, after consummating the cruel sacrifice of the lives dearest to them. Some few, who yet retained life, were removed from the scene of desolation which their homes presented, and placed in a house which was converted into an hospital, where they received every care which surgical skill and the compassion felt for them, could prompt; but many perished miserably, and these chiefly of the families of the mandarins and upper classes; and the day, which had dawned upon a town, trim and neat, and replete with life, and a gaily equipped force ranged upon its heights, full of confidence in their own valour and powers to defend the sanctity of the homes for which they fought, closed upon a scene of ruin and death which must have been truly appalling to those who survived to witness the general desolation.

The heights, which but a few hours before had presented a gay panoply of banners, ginjalls, and matchlocks, were now covered with slain, as well as the fields in the rear, where the fire of the Cameronians and 55th regiment had told with such effect upon the fugitive host; the joss-house in the valley near the suburb, which, in the morning a handsome and solid edifice, was now reduced to a heap of smoking and blackened ruins; and the suburb itself, which had been uninjured and entire, was now the scene of extensive conflagrations, whose blaze, spreading far and wide between the city and the harbour, fearfully revealed the horrors of the panorama, while, guided by it, large parties of Chinese marauders carried on their work of pillage and devastation among the shops and warehouses, with a celerity and effect which can only be fully conceived by such as have had to thread their way through the wreck of property and labyrinth of ruins and abomination which result from a single night's sack by these expert and daring miscreants. In the dwellings of the "Tartar city" all was silence and death."

On the 28th of May, the force was again embarked; and the prows of our vessels turned towards the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang river. Flowing into this great stream ("the child of Ocean") is a smaller one, which takes its name from the town of Woosung, which lies at the confluence of the two rivers. Some twelve miles up the Woosung is the great naval city of Shang-hae, this was the next point to be attacked. The Woosung defences being carried, as a small affair, *en passant*, Shang-hae was taken in the middle of June, without much trouble, or much bloodshed. Here the troops were quartered for a season. The

destruction of property was enormous; and, in many instances, a large quantity of vertu was destroyed, somewhat distressing to contemplate. The Chinese plunderers appear, however, to have carried off the lion's share of the spoil. The city having been well nigh gutted, was evacuated on the 23d of June. There was a gathering at Woosung. Reinforcements had come up; and a very pretty little force was all ready for further action. "Northward, ho! was now the cry. On the 19th of July, the expedition was before Chin-keang-foo—a most important position, the occupation of which by our army, commercially speaking, cut the Chinse Empire in two. A vigorous resistance was, therefore, expected, but "these anticipations were *disappointed.*" "Not a living creature was to be seen on the walls or buildings—no flags were flying in the usual Chinese style of defiance—no guns were seen pointed through the embrasures—no smoke rising from the houses; in short, no trace or evidence whatever of life could be perceived from the anchorage abreast of the town." Nothing immediately occurred to dispel this delusion; the Chinese troops, it was believed, had been withdrawn for the defence of the imperial capital. The Chinese authorities considered a descent upon Peking inevitable; and strenuous efforts had been made, not without success, to render the Peiho river unnavigable; and to strengthen the Port of Teentsin, by which the Capital was to be approached, up to the point of invincibility. Now quailed the imperial heart, inwardly, at last—but not to outward showing. The same confidence vaunted itself as of old—the same specious attempts were put forth to sustain the courage of the inhabitants of Pekin, and the surrounding provinces. Could it be possible, that the Emperor, determining to concentrate all his resources in the nearer neighbourhood of the Capital, had abandoned so important a position as Chin-keang foo? So, indeed, it seemed. The fleet anchored without a shot being fired;—the city seemed like the city of the silent. But the "disappointment" so much apprehended, after all, did not ensue. The force was landed, somewhat irregularly, in three divisions under Lord Saltoun, General Schoedde, and General Bartley; and then was fought the hardest battle, which is recorded in the whole history of the war. The Chinese troops, it was seen, had taken up their position in an entrenched camp, at some distance from the town; but the city was still silent; and even on the 21st of July, after our troops were landed, it was thought that there would be no resistance. In an hour or two, the three divisions were obstinately engaged with the Tartar troops. Lord Saltoun attacked the enemy's camp; whilst the two other divisions were operating upon the city. The resistance here was

obstinate: but the Tartars, it is said, were "unprepared for the mode of attack adopted." Chin-keang-foo was carried by escalade. The heat was terrific. Strong men, as they clomb the ramparts, fell beneath the scorching rays of the sun, as beneath the matchlock fire of the enemy. The British were resolute and daring; The Tartars cool and determined. The bayonets of our gallant troops were met by the heavy swords of an enemy no less gallant. But resistance was idle. The close of day found the British force once more triumphant; and once more red carnage showed its grim face terribly to the now placid lookers-on:—

"The morning of the 22nd July rose upon a fearful scene of desolation. The late flourishing city of Chin-keang-foo was now a spectacle of ruin; its ramparts and streets encumbered with the corpses of the slain, and the bodies of the wounded and the dying; many of its finest buildings destroyed, and its main street of shops, and the dwelling-houses, near the gates, gutted by the horde of marauders, who had commenced their devastations, even before the tumult of the fight had ceased, and its dangers were at an end. Many of these plunderers, and also most of the survivors of the garrison, must have made their escape under cover of the darkness, through a gateway opening upon the south-east, upon which a guard had not been placed until the morning; and considering the short space of time which had been afforded in the night for their predatory proceedings, the amount of destruction and of property carried off by the marauders was truly astonishing.

Armed parties were sent out shortly after daybreak, to patrol the Tartar quarter in search of concealed soldiers, and to destroy the arsenals and depôts of military stores, while fatigue-detachments of sappers and miners were employed in collecting and interring the dead, from whose remains, owing to the excessive heat of the weather, the most noisome exhalations were already rising.

Frightful were the scenes witnessed by these men among the houses and enclosures of the city, as group after group of whole families lying stiffened in their blood, within their own homestead, were discovered in the streets occupied by the Tartar troops and mandarins, so numerous and so painfully interesting in their revolting details, as to impress with deep and lasting horror all who witnessed this happily rare example of the miseries and ferocities of war.

The bodies of most of the hapless little children who had fallen sacrifices to the enthusiasm and mad despair of their parents, were found lying within the houses, and usually in the chambers of the women, as if each father had assembled the whole of his family before consummating the dreadful massacre; but many corpses of boys were lying in the streets, amongst those of horses and soldiers, as if an alarm had spread and they had been stabbed while they had been attempting to escape from their ruthless parents.

In a few instances these poor little sufferers were found the morning after the assault, still breathing, the tide of life ebbing slowly away, as they lay writhing in the agony of a broken spine, a mode of destruction so cruel that, but for the most certain evidence of its reality, would not be believed.

In one of the houses the bodies of seven dead and dying persons were found in one room, forming a group which for loathsome horror was perhaps unequalled. The house was evidently the abode of a man of some rank and consideration, and the delicate forms and features of the sufferers denoted

them as belonging to the higher order of Tartars. On the floor, essaying in vain to put food with a spoon into the mouths of two young children extended on a mattrass, writhing in the agonies of death, caused by the dislocation of their spines, sat an old decrepit man, weeping bitterly as he listened to the piteous moans and convulsive breathings of the poor infants, while his eye wandered over the ghastly relics of mortality around him.

On a bed, near the dying children, lay the body of a beautiful young woman, her limbs and apparel arranged as if in sleep. She was cold, and had been long dead. One arm clasped her neck, over which a silk scarf was thrown to conceal the gash in her throat which had destroyed her life. Near her lay the corpse of a woman somewhat more advanced in years, stretched on a silk coverlet, her features distorted, and her eyes open and fixed, as if she had died by poison or strangulation. There was no wound upon the body, nor any blood upon her person or clothes. A dead child stabbed through the neck, lay near her; and in the narrow verandah, adjoining the room, were the corpses of two more women, suspended from the rafters by twisted cloths wound round their necks. They were both young—one quite a girl—and her features, in spite of the hideous distortion produced by the mode of her death, retained traces of their original beauty, sufficient to show the lovely mould in which they had been cast.

From the old man, who appeared by his humble garb to have been a servant or retainer of the family thus awfully swept away, nothing could be elicited as to the mode or authors of their death,—nothing but unintelligible signs of poignant distress. He was made to comprehend the object of the interring party, and at once testified the utmost satisfaction and gratitude for their humane interposition, assisting to carry the bodies down the staircase into the court, where, a shallow grave having been excavated beneath the pavement, he tenderly placed them in their sad resting-place; and having covered them with clothes, the stone slabs were replaced over their remains. The two dying children shortly afterwards breathed their last, and were interred beside the grave of their hapless relatives. The old man remained in the now silent abode of his lost chief, and was seen no more.

The scene here described formed unhappily but one link in a dismal chain of suffering, which the horrors of our assault drew around the devoted city; and loathsome as such descriptions must be, the details in this instance have been given, because the knowledge which they afford of the domestic principles and the national antipathies and prejudices of a race so interesting to us as the Tartars have now become, naturally leads to reflections of a highly important nature, and enables us also to estimate the character and capabilities of a people with whose future history and welfare it appears probable that our own will henceforward become associated."

The gallant old General himself, who, as the evening of the preceding day set in, had make one last desperate stand, earnestly exhorting his followers to make another effort "to retrieve the fortunes of the day, and to prefer the death of brave men, to lives ignominiously preserved by base flight before the hated race of barbarian invaders," and "recommending to all who should survive the glory and honor of their banners, death by their own hands, rather than submission to their conquerors," acted up to his precepts with fatal sincerity, and died the death of Sardanapalus, on the funeral pyre of his home:—

"For some time after the capture of the city, the fate of the brave General Hailing, who had so nobly conducted its defence, was uncertain: his body could not be recognised among the slain, and none of the wounded Tartars who had been removed to our hospitals had seen him since the last desperate stand made by the remnant of the garrison among the gardens and inclosures. At length, however, Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, discovered a man who had acted in the capacity of secretary to Hailing, secreted in an out-house of a building in the Tartar quarter, and from him he elicited the particulars of the fate of this gallant man.

After haranguing his troops, he had mounted his horse, and placing himself at their head, led them to the ground upon which their desperate attack upon the 18th and 49th regiments was made: thence seeing that the main defences of the town were in our possession, and that the day was irretrievably lost, he returned to his house, and calling for his secretary, desired him to bring his official papers into a small room adjoining an inner court of the building, where deliberately seating himself, and causing the papers with a quantity of wood to be piled up around him, he dismissed the secretary, set fire to the funeral pile, and perished in the flames. In the apartment where this strange example of barbarian heroism had been enacted, Mr. Morrison found, among some heaps of ashes and half-consumed wood, evidences of the awful sacrifice which had been so determinedly consummated, amply sufficient to corroborate the tale of his informant: the skull of the General was unconsumed, and the bones of the thighs and feet, though partially calcined, retained enough of their original form and appearance to be recognised. The floor of the room was paved, and the flames had consequently not extended beyond the pile of fuel. Thus perished this brave man, whose devotion to his country rendered him, to quote the words of Sir Henry Pottinger's proclamation, "worthy of a nobler and a better fate."

A sacrifice such as this, would in the darker ages of the world, have entitled the hero who thus devoted himself, to divine honours; but in these our more enlightened times, while we bestow the meed of our admiration and wonder at the intrepidity and constancy displayed in such a deed, there mingles with these sentiments a feeling of regret, that they should have been so misguided and so ruthless."

The victory of Chin-keang-foo was a great thing achieved. Its importance had been by no means exaggerated in prospect. The Chinese Empire had been thus virtually bisected; and a great fear struck into the heart of the Emperor. The flower of his army had been utterly defeated. It was idle to attempt any longer to blind himself or to blind others to the humiliating truth, that these contumacious Barbarians, whom erst he had affected to despise as a swarm of noisome insects, were, in good sooth, a great and invincible nation. Verily, we were more than avenged upon the insolence of his celestial Majesty. His great city was pillaged and destroyed. The British force were posted in it some seven days; and left it on the eight a scene of pitiable desolation:—

"Short as was the time since the capture of Chin-keang-foo, it had been made a terrible example of, before our departure. No description, indeed, can convey an adequate idea of the utter desolation, ruin, and abomination, which it presented on the seventh day only of our occupation, after the troops had withdrawn from their quarters near the gates. It was a city of

the dead, and a silence the most dismal and profound rested on its deserted streets and tenantless ruined houses, as though the blight of pestilence had swept but lately over them.

In many parts where, from there having been no troops quartered, the interring party had not been very diligently employed, the air was poisoned by the bodies of Tartar soldiers lying where they had dragged themselves to die, or where they had been thrown down by their comrades who had borne them from the field, blackened by exposure to the sun, and swollen to a prodigious size. Wild, miserable-looking dogs, flitting about the streets when disturbed from their hideous banquet, were to be seen by scores, appearing to be the only things alive which remained to haunt the abodes of the departed, save where a gang of native plunderers might be discerned prowling about in pursuit of spoil. Scarcely a single dwelling-house, shop, temple, or public building, had escaped; all had their doors wrenched off, or their windows and walls beaten in; many were roofless, others half destroyed by fire, and the interior of most presented a mingled mass of furniture, wearing apparel, porcelain, arms, books, and every description of household goods, all torn, broken, or trodden under foot, which heaped the floors of their chambers and halls in melancholy and disgusting confusion.

Every effort was made by the military authorities to put a stop to the spoliation and plunder which were thus reducing the city to irremediable ruin; but they proceeded, in spite of the denunciations of the officers, and the energetic appeals of the provost-marshal and his guard; for while the front entrances of houses were preserved unharmed by our patrols, they were entered by passages and inlets in the rear, and entirely gutted by the plunderers who swarmed into the city after the assault, long before a suspicion was raised as to their proceedings. Indeed, what with soldiers, camp-followers, sailors, lascars, and Chinamen, (the latter of whom secreted themselves during the day, and issued forth at night like beasts of prey,) there was seldom wanting some active agent of destruction to complete the ruin commenced, the night after the storm.

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The news also of the rich harvest soon spread among the villages adjacent, and the numbers of these wretches increased hourly, until they reached such an amount and became so ferocious in their practices, that active and sanguinary measures had to be taken to get rid of them from the neighbourhood of the buildings in which some of our troops were quartered. Not a night passed without fires raging in a dozen places at once, and upon one occasion there arose a conflagration so extensive, that it was thought impossible that the buildings near the water, and the greater part of the entire suburb, could escape destruction. It lasted the whole of the following day, and was extinguished at last only for lack of material, leaving an extensive square void in the midst of the suburb. This destruction had been perpetrated by a party of Chinese, who being interrupted and assailed by some of their countrymen, while pillaging a rich pawnbroker and banker's shop, had adopted the expedient of setting fire to the streets all round them, so as effectually to isolate their prey from the adjacent buildings."

The expedition now moved upon Nan-king, and "the ancient Capital of China lay a tempting prize within its reach." But happily, this fine city was not doomed to desolation. The Emperor, fully restored to his senses, showed symptoms of a real desire to negociate. He had deputed Eleepoo, Imperial High Commissioner, to assure the British Minister of his sincere,

heart-felt desire after an immediate and a lasting peace. Sir Henry Pottinger made answer to the first message he received, that when the Commissioner produced, under the seal of the Emperor, his authority to conclude a treaty of peace, the representative of the British Government would order a cessation of hostilities, and at once accord the desired interview; but that until this authority was produced the British force would continue to advance. The force did advance; and on the 5th of August was opposite Nan-king. "A huge white flag waved from the walls;" and immediately a boat-load of Mandarins came off to the flag-ship, entreating that hostilities might not be commenced; for that Eleepoo was near at hand, with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. From the flag-ship they proceeded on board the Steamer, which held the British Plenipotentiary, whose answer was sufficiently favorable; but on the 9th it turned out, greatly "to the surprise and indignation of His Excellency," that Eleepoo had not full powers. So, hostilities were ordered to be recommenced; and the naval and military commanders, nothing loth, once more prepared for action. The prompt movements of the force impressed upon the Chinese authorities the necessity of straining every nerve to ward off the threatened blow. A mandarin of high-rank, who had just arrived from Pekin, was despatched to the *Queen* Steamer, to implore Pottinger to grant a little delay. The answer was to the same tenour as that already given; but delay was granted, and on the 18th, "the Plenipotentiary announced that his negociations with the Chinese High Officers had advanced to that stage, which authorised him to beg, that hostilities might be suspended." The war was now at end. Negociations were carried on to the satisfaction of both parties. Pottinger was satisfied of the sincerity of the Imperial Commissoners, and the preliminaries of a treaty were agreed upon. Affairs having advanced thus far, the Chinese authorities desired permission to visit the Plenipo, on board the flag-ship; and on the 20th the visit of ceremony was paid. "How striking the contrast," exclaims Lieut Ouchterlony, "between this scene and that enacted at the mouth of the Peiho but two years before; when the Commissioner Keshen declared it to be utterly impossible for him to compromise so far the dignity of the Celestial Empire as to go on board a barbarian ship to treat with a foreign Plenipotentiary!"

The visit of ceremony was duly returned; and every thing went on favorably towards the conclusion of a lasting peace. On the 29th of August the treaty was signed on board the *Cornwallis*. Twenty-one millions of dollars were to be paid by the Chinese Government; the ports of

Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Foo-chow-foo and Shing-hai, to be opened; Consuls to be appointed and Tariffs established; the Island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to the British Government; all prisoners to be released; and all communications between the two Governments to be carried on, on terms of equality.

Whilst this great matter of a peace was being settled by the political officers, the fighting foreigners were quietly exploring the city of Nan-king and the circumjacent country; and, barbarian-like, defacing that huge lion—the wondrous Porcelain Tower. Our author, who has no stomach for barbarism of any kind, admits that sundry fragments of the Tower were carried away by ruthless hands; and, in honesty, we must add, that if he had denied it, we should, with all our respect for his character, have accorded no faith to the denial; for we have never yet fallen upon one returned from this said China expedition, who has not produced, among other curiosities, such as little shoes, and huge dragon-bedizened mandarins' outer garments, a fragment of this Porcelain Tower.—But forgetting this, let us shout *Jubilate!* now that the treaty of Nan-king is signed. The glad tidings were conveyed to India, in one of those strange fire-ships, working against wind and tide, which so astounded the dwellers upon the Chinese Coast; and on the 14th of October, the Governor-General, from the misty regions of Simla, issued a proclamation, declaring that the work was done.

'Thus within two months after the arrival of the 'reinforcements sent from England and from India for the 'prosecution of this third campaign, the direction of a 'preponderating force to the true point of attack, has compelled 'the Emperor of China to submit to all Her Majesty's just 'demands.'

'The Emperor could only save the internal trade of his 'empire from ruin, his ancient Capital from capture by 'assault, and the Empire itself from the peril of dissolution, 'by yielding to such conditions as it was Her Majesty's 'pleasure to impose, in order to afford to the subjects of her 'crown indemnity for the past and security for the future."

'The event, glorious as it is to Her Majesty's arms, 'will convey to Her Majesty's heart other and yet higher 'satisfaction than that which is derived from the contem-'plation of military success, in the cessation of hostilities 'which have unhappily involved the most afflicting evils to 'humanity."

And now that this three years' war has been brought to

a close, let us in the true spirit of earnest humanity, ponder over what has been done. Far be it from us to convert our Review into a mere *hortus siccus* of unprofitable facts. The details of history are of little—the philosophy of history of incalculable,—value. It would be little to our purpose to inform our readers, that on every single occasion, the British soldiery exhibited their approved valour in the field; that the sea force, in gallantry and good conduct, in no degree fell short of the landsmen; that our British batteries and British broad-sides exhibited more or less the perfection of modern gunnery; these are all matters of course —but of little moment. The main facts worthy to be remembered are, that the British nation were, for the space of three years, engaged in a murderous conflict with the Chinese Empire; that all the worst miseries of war were let loose, in this unequal contest, upon myriads of innocent human beings; that thousands of homes were desolated; thousands of men, good after their kind, slain; that the horrors of this deadly strife ceased not at the confines of the battle field, but were carried home to the hearths of the defeated, where fair women and innocent children sat cowering, in the inner apartments, thence never to emerge into the light of day; that deeds were done "to make heaven blush, and 'earth amazed;"—and all, we ask, why and for what? Let what may be written about opium—*Black Joke* and *Bilbaino* affairs—destruction of British property and supposed insults to British officers,—the truth is clear to the outward eye as the hand-writing on Belshazzar's walls, yet needing no Daniel to interpret it to the inner understanding, that all this spilling of blood, this utter desolation, this stupendous display of crime and misery, were the growth of national ignorance—that obstinate national ignorance, which will not be enlightened. And here let no one, in patriotic self-complacency, flatter himself with the vain belief, that all this ignorance was born and nurtured at Pekin; for, in good truth, we understood not the Chinese one tittle better than they understood us. As was said at the outset of this article, the real cause of the war was incompatibility; that incompatibility, which makes no concessions, because it understands not the nature of the discordance; and knows not, if it be willing, how to make the necessary allowances. How hopeless the case of two inmates of the same house, condemned to daily intercourse, of different tempers and different habits, yet neither sufficiently understanding the temper and habits of the other to make those allowances and concessions, by

which alone a collision can be avoided! In circumstances like these, each irritated past endurance by the unintelligible demeanour of the other, detecting an insult in every look, in every gesture; not clearly comprehending the language of altercation or explanation; torturing words to other than their true meanings; and melting down everything said or done in a crucible of egotism, by which nothing said or done by another is fairly reducible to its true elements, how impossible the avoidance of strife! Now, in this ignorance of the temper of the other, the British Government were in no degree less profoundly sunk than the Chinese; but there was this difference between the two—that the British having sought the connection, having voluntarily betaken themselves for purposes of their own, to a residence on the Chinese coast; having, unsolicited, established their factories there; and, indeed, having been the recipients of far the greater share of the benefits of the alliance—were the party whom it principally behoved, by much forbearance and a patient study of the peculiar idiosyncracies of the other, to perpetuate a good understanding. But the effort was never seriously made. There were no thoughtful, and well directed attempts to fathom the depths of Chinese society; to master the character of Chinese institutions; or even to attain to a decent knowledge of the language. The imperial edicts, which often gave such dire offence, were almost invariably dislocated and distorted under the process of what was called translation. To take one notorious example. The insolence of the Pekin court and its Emissaries in describing the British as "*outside Barbarians*" was ever regarded with a bubbling up of indignation; but in real truth, neither the Emperor nor his officers ever described us as *Barbarians* at all. The insolence was the insolence of the translator. The word, in the Chinese language, signified, and was meant to signify, a *foreigner*—any one coming from beyond the seas. We refer to this, being of no great moment in itself, simply as an illustration. The plain fact is, that ere the war begun, nothing was known about the Chinese, except that they grew tea; care was there to know nothing more. Had more been known, and had there been any studious effort to turn this fuller knowledge to account, the Roman Eagle would not have been planted in the soil of Ningpo, Chapoo, and Chin-keang-foo. Out of "the sloth of ignorance and cruelty" the horrors of war crept forth, like noisome maggots out of a rotting carcass. Wisdom and humanity might have secured the blessings of peace, which we have obtained, at last, perhaps only for a season, by a bond written in characters of blood. What the strife was has now clearly been seen. Is what we have gained worth so terrible

a payment? As far as human eye can see, assuredly it is not. Into the dim future we cannot penetrate; but there are far-seeing men, who think they perceive, in the filmy distance, blessings, many and great, descending upon the land—the glorious effulgence of Christianity and civilization serenely beaming over all. It is permitted to us, though not to prophesy, to *hope*. But with these vague, struggling perceptions of the future comes little less of fear than of hope. Fearful lessons have been taught by us; and there are bloody instructions, which return to plague the inventor. The milder, more purifying lessons, which we are to teach, are as yet prospective—problematical. The evil done is something certain and positive—not estimating that evil at so many human beings slain, in full life and manhood—at so many families scattered and disgraced—so many hearths desolated—so many dwelling-places burnt, and so many fields devastated—but calculating the amount of human crime, the huge heart of which is still beating, as the life blood circulates through a hundred veins and arteries—the vast sum of mortal wickedness generated by three years of violence and rapine. Let no one think, that when a war is over, the evil of war is at an end. The evil that war does "lives after it;" and that, too, not in wretchedness and desolation—in gaunt famine and squalid poverty—not in the tears of the widow and the wailings of the fatherless; but in war-begotten human crime. Who can calculate the amount of wickedness which every war leaves behind it? The hoisting of a white flag and the signing of a treaty do not wash out the damned spot. Men, who have left their peaceful occupations—who have quitted the workshop of the mechanic, or the field of the agriculturist, to follow the trail of the great war-serpent, to gather the spoils of battle, and, growing fat on the scum of the seething hell-chaldron, to revel in this change from a state of hard and constant labor begetting little, to one of indolence and self-indulgence begetting much—do not easily wax honest again and return peacefully to the loom or the plough. There was not a Chinese city sacked, but that thousands of Chinamen followed close upon the victorious army, like prowling jackalls eager to fasten upon the carcass, which the nobler animal had struck down. These thousands and thousands of Chinamen—the very dregs of the people—have learnt, that there is more to be gained by war, than by peace; and already have we seen indications of an intention to profit by the lesson. Men are apter scholars in vice than in virtue—rare students of the art of crime. Let all this mass of wickedness, called into active vitality by our ravages on the China

coast, be carefully and candidly weighed; let it be borne in mind, that war, which renders men homeless outcasts—which steeps them in poverty and disgrace—turns even good and sober citizens into desperate and lawless bandits; and then let us place the whole amount of positive and present evil as a set-off to the future problematical benefits of Christianity and civilization, and strike the balance in candour and in truth.

And yet we would not be looked upon as sceptics of the good that may, peradventure, arise out of this great war-evil. There is in these times of territorial aggrandisement, so great and so growing a tendency, if not absolutely to justify acts intrinsically unjust, at least to reconcile the public mind to their commission, by setting forth, in prophetic array, the vast benefits, which must result from these acts of Christian robbery, that we should be wanting in our duty, if we were not to say something on the other side. Still we must not be regarded as altogether sceptical and hopeless of future good. We do hope, that out of this permitted evil a merciful God will draw forth plentiful good; and though we might not live to see it, still we should not wholly despair. Viewing the consequences, merely in a political aspect, and with ordinary human sagacity, it would seem as though the disruption of the vast Chinese Empire must, in due course, follow this war; and that not from external attacks—not from encroachments of insidious foreigners—though, in good truth, if there be no encroachments, there must be a wonderful change of British nature—but from intestine struggles and domestic inroads upon the imperial power. The case seems to be clearly this. Before the red-haired foreigners came with unknown fire-ships, with unheard-of ordnance, and a degree of discipline and skill, which the finest Tartar troops—a hereditary band of warriors—had never attained, the Chinese empire slept in security from the assaults of foreign invaders. It was never dreamt, that the few white men, settled down, by sufferance, at the furthermost commercial ports, could, under the pressure of any insults or exactions, call to their aid a magnificent fleet of tall ships, as superior to the best China war-junks as a herd of stately giraffes to one of grovelling swine; and an army of fifteen thousand men equipped at every point, with muniments of war, contrived with an ingenuity to baffle the comprehension of the most cunning Chinese artificers. The Tartar army had been all-sufficient for the military purposes of the state; the Chinese were peaceable, quiet people, not trained to the bearing of arms. It was no contemptible stroke of king-craft, to keep together all the parts of so prodigous an empire, by rendering

the military strength of the nation, a distinct and separate power, of different elements altogether from those which compose the people. There was a prestige of Tartar invincibility, handed down from generation to generation, which made the peaceful Chinamen regard with a certain superstitious awe and veneration, the attributes of the Tartar monarch and his Tartar army. But how stands the case now? The ravages of the outside Barbarians on the coast from Canton to Nankking—their irresistible progress northward, destroying everything as they went—their seizure of Chin-kean-foo—their dreaded advance to Pekin—caused a great internal revolution. The Tartar army was found insufficient for the protection of so vast an empire. Whilst, therefore, the imperial troops were mustering at the capital, and at those principal cities which are to be regarded as the outer defences of the capital, in the provinces militia-bands were forming, and peaceful men were become bearers of arms. Arms once taken up are never laid down again. Certainly there is small chance, view the matter as we may, of the Tartar army ever again constituting the whole military strength of the nation. It has been found, that the empire may be invaded from without—that there is a power, not very remote, to which it is as easy to destroy a city as to break a tea-cup. The prestige of invincibility is gone for ever; the pleasant sleep of security is broken. With this downfall of the Tartar name a new state of things has arisen. The Chinese people will, in sure process of time, become a military people. The provinces will throng with armed men. Those outcasts of our three years' war will swell the number; and the camp-prowlers will again seek pillage; ambitious and discontented spirits will foment small rebellions, and as they feel their strength, will grow in daring, and great rebellions will follow close upon their petty predecessors. Peradventure, in some instances, the aid of the red-haired foreigners will be sought, and, when sought, not always refused. All things conspire, with a fatal and irresistible tendency, to dissolve the vast integrity of the Chinese Empire, as the sun and the rain dissolve the frosts of winter. The huge wings of the Tartar despotism are doomed to a speedy clipping—they cannot much longer overshadow the mighty land.

If we be correct in our surmise of this certain tendency of the present state of things to bring about a disruption of the Chinese Empire into a cluster of smaller principalities, we cannot be far wrong in appending, as a corollary, the very inevitable inference, that this disruption will not be viewed by the British as mere unconcerned lookers-on.

History forbids us to believe, that the British Government will long be contented with what it has got. The "incon-'trollable principle" of Sir Robert Peel, which means nothing but an incontrollable want of principle, will soon be at work again. But further into the future we desire not to look. In closing our article, already overgrown, let us express our earnest hope, that all with ability to extract good out of evil will improve the present opportunity; will do all that can be done to let in upon the Chinese the full flood of Christianity and civilization. Let us express our most earnest hope, that British benevolence will soon be as conspicuous throughout China, as British might. Believing as we do most firmly, that there never was in any age discernible a more abundant growth of philanthropy, than in this present one, we cannot doubt, that the Chinese people will be in the main, no small gainers by their peaceful contact with the British. It is certain that they have very little to lose. All the most nauseous vices and the most deadly diseases of civilization are perfectly familiar to them. We cannot bestow the small-pox upon them, for they have long been acquainted with all its horrors; and *shamshoo* is worse than the brandy-bottle. In peaceful contact, we can communicate little evil; but where the will exists, as a living and moving principle, we may communicate an immensity of good. The Chinese are a people quick to learn; docile and imitative; more tolerant than most Asiatics; and there would not seem to be any great obstacle to the communication of the knowledge which we desire to impart. A wide field opens out before us; let us tread it in a hopeful spirit of earnest philanthropy, never forgetting, that there is an immense sum of positive injury inflicted by us upon the Chinese, weighing down the balance heavily upon the other side. It will be long before that evil-laden scale will rise to a level with the other, which bears the weight of good gifts; but, little by little, it may be made to ascend, until the equipoise is attained, and then, as years roll on, Time, the balance-holder, will, we hope in all earnestness, lighten the burthen of curses, as with profuse hand he heaps up the pile of blessings, until all antagonism is at an end, and the scale of evil kicks the beam.*

* During the passage of this article through the press, the attention of the Indian public has been called, through the local journals, to the very interesting subject of Medical Missions in China, to advance which Dr. McGowan, superintendent of a hospital in Ningpo, has recently visited Calcutta. We hope, in an early number of our *Review*, to be able to give some detailed account of these Missions.

ART. V.—*Report on the State of the Police in the Lower Provinces, for the first six months of* 1842.—*Calcutta,* 1844.

PONDERING with earnest thoughtfulness the condition of the multitudes of British India, and bringing to the study a clear intellect and an uncorrupted heart, who will deny, that a peculiar combination of desolating causes is to be found in secret, but active, operation around the root of their happiness and prosperity? As far as human eye can scan, they appear to lie trembling on the remotest verge of human misery and brutalisation. The ancient and powerful families, which once held sway over Hindustanee Society, scarcely more in virtue of their vast possessions, than by the mighty and mysterious influences peculiar to patriarchal life, have been clean swept away by the English besom, and with them are fled all the various protective principles which marked their relation with the helpless masses, who looked to them for guidance out of the depths of Indian village life. India is a land of tribes. The heads of these ancient and powerful families were chiefs of tribes. The mysterious ties of blood were mingled in the mutual relations of landholder and peasant. The apparently feudal lord was, in reality, the great Patriarch of a tribe or cast, reckoning hundreds of thousands of brethren. Pride and love for their humble devotion, terror and shame at their curses, ever filled the hearts of nobles towards their dependants, and disposed them, by the two most powerful emotions of the soul, to cherish and protect the flock of brethren committed to their charge. This class of venerable persons who held their supremacy in the hearts, as well as over the lives and fortunes of men, are passed away. By a loathsome revolution, which we shall attempt to describe in the following pages, their places have been gradually filled up by miscreant adventurers, who desolate the land, as bears and tigers are seen to prowl amid the ruins of fair marble palaces, and scenes once instinct with the healthful life and activity of happy multitudes.

M. de Tocqueville says, "the more I advanced in the study 'of American Society, the more I perceived, that the equality of 'conditions is the fundamental fact from which all others seem to 'be derived, and the central point at which all my observations 'constantly terminated."

India, in like manner, has her fundamental fact. It is this; viz. the occupation of landed property by evil adventurers, whose relations to the peasantry are, in principle, destitute of the protective elements of patriarchality, and, in practice, notoriously infamous for cruelty, violence, fraud, and every crime. This vitiated and disordered state of the mutual relations between landholder and

peasant it is, which is the distinguishing feature of the condition of the Indian multitudes. Unutterable are the horrors of which it is the parent, for India is a land of peasant tribes, not of manufacturers. The children of the soil live, wholly and solely, by the fruits of the soil. Whatever destroys agricultural efforts, threatens life and brutalizes the condition. The character of a landholder is, therefore, to the Indian peasant, not a matter of curious speculation, but a concernment of life and death—a vital condition of comparative ease and content, or all that life holds of unutterable woe.

Now, in mere personal character, there is no certainty. For one humane and considerate landholder, the peasantry may be scourged by whole hosts of miscreant petty tyrants. In such a land as India, the only security is that derivable from checks. Not checks *so called* by individuals who have little or no interest in creating checks—not empty names 'full of sound and fury and signifying nothing;'—but such checks as are real and living influences, felt in every nerve and fibre of the political and social system of a community—checks not more operative at the official surface, than down in the vast depths of domestic life. Unless some such check prevails, the peasant multitudes must be abandoned like outcasts to the tender mercies of chance, and chance is synonimous with destruction. Now, in patriarchality, there are checks;—love and shame operate to breed protection and cherishment, not by Courts of laws, but by the indestructible authority of the will. These checks have existed from the creation of man. They wear not out like a garment by antiquity and use; on the contrary, they enjoy perennial youth, and freshness, and might. They are stamped with all the characteristics of a divine ordination. And to make war on, and exterminate them from out of the ranks of the political and social influences, by which a community lives, moves, and has its being, is to wage an impious war against the clear and manifest designs of a mighty and protective Providence.

Anterior to the era of British rule in the East, this country, it is true, had been immemorially scourged by foreign invasion, or torn by domestic anarchy and violence. But the least meditation on the history and elements of human societies will make it abundantly evident, that a very broad gulf intervenes between anarchy and annihilation; and that even in the full roar and spring-tide of violent and bloody periods, the communities of the earth are steered onwards, by an unseen hand, through healthful revolutions to regeneration and prosperity. During the era of Muhammedan domination, towns and villages were sacked and burnt, and vast multitudes perished and were blotted from the face

of the earth, by sword, fire, and famine. But gradually a spirit of resistance sprung up in men's hearts, and the homes and properties of countless millions were preserved by the valour and wisdom of their own struggles. This is no speculation. It is a true allusion to a real and living principle of protectivencess, rooted out, in a great measure, from the provinces under British sway, but seen in active operation in Native States. In Oude, for instance, anarchy and violence may be called the law of the principality. Nevertheless, men continue to people the face of the soil. The population is undiminished. Annihilation makes no progress, even in the footsteps of sanguinary feuds and open rapine. Affairs find a real and powerful adjustment by the principle of resistance and self defence; and it may be safely averred, that even the ceaseless struggles, which prevail in that turbulent kingdom, denote a political and social frame of more healthful vigour and activity, than the palsied lethargy of despair, which characterizes the festering and perishing masses under the rule of the British. If national annihilation be indeed attainable by mere human wickedness or human errors, we hesitate not to declare our solemn opinion, that British India is lapsing more visibly towards its gulf than any other community of the earth.

The English in India, under the Circean spell of existing delusions, fondly imagine, that while they themselves are protected, by obvious causes, from the evils of their own misrule, this exemption is shared by the people. A more monstrous error could not possibly exist. It is as monstrous as though a man sheltered under a cottage during a storm, were to declare that the wind, and the rain, and the hail had ceased, because they penetrated not to his place of refuge. The only classes of the people, which the English and their laws protect, are their own native agents, and the devouring vermin which these very agents have generated and fastened on the rural population in swarms that eat into the very heart of Indian existence. And how could it be otherwise? The English know not the race, which by millions and scores of millions lie prostrate in the lap of their dominion. But in such awful concernments as the charge of human life, ignorance is a degree of living and unutterable calamity, not a mere passive and harmless abstraction. It is a real embodiment of evil—a terrible portal, through which the masses of India are being driven daily and hourly, far from every earthly hope, down into the silent, voiceless depths of brutalization; delivered over to the ruthless tortures of villainous law-officers, and a fiendish stipendiary Police, in dungeons whence no articulate cry can reach the upper

air. Through this terrible portal have gradually passed into obscurity and annihilation, the ancient patriarchal chiefs, around whom, in the stormiest eras of Indian History, the stricken multitudes were perpetually enabled to rally and re-unite, in the bonds of a brotherhood only the more strengthened by misfortune, and chastened by suffering. The history of this revolution is involved in a mystery which will probably remain for ever unrevealed. The generation which supplied its victims has passed away, and the descendants of those ancient landholders have been drawn, by destitution, into the very vortex of disorders and crime, created by the miscreant crew, who, by a succession of frauds and conspiracies, destroyed their sires and grandsires. Some desultory notice of this work of destruction is found in the following portion of an unpublished manuscript. If it should be found to involve repetition of what it has been already attempted to describe, we can only plead the enormous importance of every shred and fragment of enquiry to the right understanding of the spirit and operation of those laws and institutions, which the English have established in India, on the model of those of England to all appearances, but in reality in open defiance of every principle which, even in that land of faulty jurisprudence, animates laws and institutions with a protective life and activity:—

"Lord Cornwallis's perpetual settlement of the land-tax
'in Bengal has been greatly abused. But it does not appear
'to be of necessity productive of evil to the condition of the
'great mass of the people. As far as the latter are concerned,
'it signifies little what outward forms of men are entrusted
'with the ownership of the soil. They know themselves
'to be a conquered and prostrate race, at the mercy of a
'powerful band of foreigners, whom destiny has brought
'drifting down in a long series of years, from many thousand
'miles off in the far west, and cast upon these defenceless
'coasts. The distribution of the land is an inevitable lottery
'established by conquest, and as long as those who draw its
'prizes are not villains, the change involves no necessary
'calamity. But unhappily, that plague of evil landholders
'which Lord Cornwallis's measures cannot be shewn to have
'originated, has at length supervened by an instrumentality
'unparalleled in the annals of any other nation or depend-
'ency of the earth; viz. that of its own law-courts and judicial
'machinery! India is a land of the most vast and stupendous
'sublimity; and the very features of its delusions, its disorders,
'and its crimes seem to be cast in the same gigantic mould.

"In one district of Bengal may now be seen about a 'dozen of landholders, among whom the whole of the soil, 'with the exception of a few rent-free tenures, is parcelled 'out. All, save two, are men whose fathers were menials 'and adventurers of the lowest extraction. Now, it is true, 'that during the era of Muhammedan rule in India, large 'portions of land were given to followers, without much regard 'to claims of gentle blood. Nevertheless, of all such grants the 'title-deeds have been carefully preserved, as also those of land 'donations for pious and charitable purposes; viz. the endowment 'of Muhammedan shrines, and mosques, and Hindoo temples, 'hermit's cells, and tanks, and wells for pilgrims. All these 'grants have their original patents guarded like the apple of 'the eye. For to be plundered of them is utter ruin. They 'are often destroyed by the machinations and villainy of the 'powerful landholders, and the record-keepers of the revenue-'collector's office; and then down go the miserable owners by 'little and little into the deep sea of utter destitution, in which 'nine-tenths of the population lie weltering and engulfed. But 'the landholders we are now speaking of hold no such grants. 'Their fathers were menials of the old race of landholders, and on 'the first establishment of the English Courts of law, they contriv-'ed, by leagues, and bribes, and forgeries, and false witnesses, to 'advance successful claims to the estates of their unhappy 'patrons. The details of these revolting private histories are 'not unfrequently marked by circumstances of a far darker 'hue. They are matters of the most complete notoriety in the 'district; and are to be gathered, at all times and from all classes, 'by any enquirer of an authority capable of protecting those 'who reveal such secrets, and who would otherwise be destroy-'ed in revenge.

"The first care of some of these base-born adventurers, after 'gaining possession of landed property, was to harbour colonies 'of roving banditti, and share their plunder. The chief prey 'of these banditti were, and still continue to be, traders in 'country produce, having large and constant dealings with the 'cultivators, whose crops they forestall and monopolize by 'advances of capital for tillage expences. Occasionally the 'village shop-keepers, who derive a profitable trade, such as 'oil-men and liquor-sellers, are marked out for attack. The 'process of plunder is either by secretly cutting through the 'frail hurdles of grass stiffened with bamboo framework and 'fastened with string, of which all the hovels and huts in Bengal 'are built, by undermining the mud floor, and sometimes by an 'entrance effected through the thatch, or else by bands of 'dakoits. Every man of property, or supposed property, is

'surrounded by spies placed by these very landholders; and so 'depraved are the domestic relations in this dark corner of the 'earth, that even wives, sisters, confidential servants, often 'betray their husbands, and brothers, and patrons into the hands 'of the robbers, at the instigation of paramours, or the tempta- 'tions of avarice and revenge. The females of a family may, 'indeed, be asserted to be the chief spies of robbers. They 'alone know the secret site where, in this unprotected land, all 'valuables and money lie buried in the bowels of the earth, or 'among the cavities in the frail thatch. If they have been 'unable to corrupt the females, the robbers, on surrounding a 'dwelling, seize, and dishonour, and torture them, with the most 'frightful cruelty, to extort confessions as to where the secret 'hoards are deposited. The landholders, therefore, who harbour 'these fiendish ruffians, are, to all intents and purposes, robbers 'as well as forgers, which we have previously shown them to be.

"Now, it is a fact pregnant with the darkest suspicion—and 'the most revolting crimes cannot, in nine cases out of ten, get 'more punishment than this bare infamy—that in this same 'district, of which we have been speaking, every landolder's 'estate is to be found swarming with banditti. So that there 'is ample reason to believe, that the practice is most perfectly 'universal, in this district, of landholders employing banditti as 'a fixed source of revenue. A glance at the constitution of 'these banditti, and their outward relations with the mass of 'the peasantry around them, will show that whether we admit, 'or not, the universality of banditti-employment by Indian land- 'holders, one fact is certain; viz., that no check of any descrip- 'tion exists to their wickedness, and that the English Magis- 'trates, and their native Police and law-officers, are merely 'instrumental in adding to their influence, and arming them 'against the people.

"An Indian district is usually divided into some fifteen or 'twenty Police Stations. In each of these minor jurisdictions 'are, of course, embraced so many villages. In each village are 'fragmentary portions of so many tribes or castes employed in 'cultivating or farming the surrounding land. In these tribes or 'castes, the prevailing desire is, to preserve them from the 'pollution caused by the introduction of women of other castes, 'on whose bodies the offspring begotten is a mixed and spurious 'progeny, and, therefore, an outcaste. To keep up the purity of 'the caste, elders appointed by the right of inheritance, and sup- 'ported by the caste at large with the necessary ease and comfort 'for undisturbed leisure, preside at the caste-gatherings and as- 'semblies; and these, according to venerable records, of which 'they have been, from generation to generation, the immemorial

'repositors, expound unto their brethren the due rites and ob-
'servances of the caste, and denounce such delinquents, as the
'seductions of female beauty in other castes have induced to
'violate the rules of their own order, by bringing them to their
'own homes.

"Indian village-life, indeed, is one continued struggle for the
'superstitious preservation of caste-purity and exclusiveness, in
'violation of those mighty impulses of nature, which prompt the
'union of the sexes, without regard to preventional prohibi-
'tions. The consequences may be easily foreseen. Hundreds and
'thousands of outcastes are annually born into the world, in every
'district. Now, for an outcaste there is but one livelihood;—pro-
'fessional robbery. To conceal his position, the outcaste and
'robber, with other outcastes similarly situated, form themselves
'into new castes. To this is either given a new name, or it goes
'by the name of a branch of an established caste. It has thus
'been brought about, that not only certain castes are infamous as
'robbers, but certain reputable and ancient castes, to which no
'suspicion attaches, possess one of these diseased branches self-
'ingrafted on the ancient stock. It is by this social process,
'that in a land where security of life and property is practically
'unknown, whatever is pretended, that the ranks of those
'banditti are supplied, which from year's end to year's end
'pour one uninterrupted flood of terror and devastation into
'the great heart of Indian village-life.

"During the era of Muhammedan rule, these scum and off-
'scourings of village society were prevented from consolidation
'into the pestilential and dangerous embodiments, to which the
'fosterment and patronage of the modern landholders has raised
'them. In those days banditti were to be found, doubtless, in vast
'numbers, and terrible was their scourge. But then, depredation
'was the law of the land, and the reprisals against them were
'proportionately severe. They were constantly slaughtered, mu-
'tilated, impaled alive, by thousands and tens of thousands, and
'the landholder, on whose estates they were found, seized and
'executed. In those days, they never were allowed to remain
'unmolested in the tranquil bosom of village-life, to spread terror
'and demoralization around. Every true man's hand was against
'them—their abode was in impenetrable forests and impregnable
'forts, and a spirit of resistance amongst the peasantry made their
'trade one of danger and uncertainty. * * * * * * * *"

In endeavouring to seize the grand leading features of Indian society, and to cast a line and plummet into the hitherto unfathomed depths of its disorders, it is requisite that we throw open our whole soul for the admission of evidence, and the suggestions of right reason and common

sense. We have now glanced at the broad line of demarcation, which the protective spirit of patriarchality has established between the characters of the ancient landholders, and the vermin which have been generated by the operation of the English Courts of Law, in whom the patriarchal spirit is unknown. We have pointed out how the mysterious bonds of love, of human esteem and terror of infamy, once held together the convulsed and tottering fabric of native Indian society; how the spirit of resistance and self-government shed its saline and seasoning properties, so to speak, into the heart of each tribe, and thus preserved the great whole from destruction, by ensuring the purity of its component elements. Can any man rightly meditate on these suggestions, however unskilfully and hastily thrown together, in moments of precarious leisure, by a foreigner and stranger in the land, and declare them to be mere narrow speculations, void of real life and practical import?

It now remains for us to show, in respect of this portion of our task, viz., the setting forth the real relations between the modern landholders and the peasantry, the great secret of the absolute impunity enjoyed by these bad men;—and impunity which not only screens them from the vengeance of the law proper, were there such a thing in India, but arms them with an irresistible power to multiply and direct every element of crime to their own profit, and the gratification of that illimitable capacity inherent in adventurers divorced from every human tie which can inflict remorse.

In the first place it will be found, that the landholders in every district of Bengal have established a reign of terror not very remotely analogous to that of the Robespierrian era of the French Revolution. Its foundations are the same; viz., an unlimited command of false witnesses, and a tribunal from which is practically banished every check, which can distinguish a Court of law from a butcher's shambles. Against the combined treachery of every agent by whom he is surrounded, what can avail the most angelic character of a solitary English youth of five-and-twenty, isolated in a vast district as large as the three Ridings of Yorkshire? To check, he must first know. To know, he must study native society. To study, he must mix with the natives; for there is not a single book in existence which even professes to inform regarding the mutual relations of the different classes of native society as influenced by British rule. Yes; it is a disgraceful fact, that after half a century's dominion, no such book exists as can afford the least guidance to an earnest and enterprizing Magistrate, placed, by a horrible delusion, at the head of the protective machinery allotted for the security of several

hundreds of thousands of human beings. The population of an Indian district averages one-seventh of the whole population of Ireland. Conceive one-seventh of the Irish people being under one solitary Magistrate—a youth of five-and-twenty, torn from, during the season of boyhood, a land of education, and transplanted into a country where education is unknown.* Conceive this helpless youth, a foreigner, unable to converse readily with the Irish people, so as to learn their necessities, their thoughts, and their feelings. Conceive the inevitable consequence of this, viz. the moral certainty of such a Magistrate's being powerless to do good, but strong to do evil; surrounded by wicked agents, swept together, by worse than chance, out of the dregs and refuse of Irish Society—needy, ruthless, adventurers, or pilfering menials, without any bowels of compassion or mercy, and looking at the peasantry as the lawful prey of all who can rob them, and their agonies as mere excuses for non-payment. Can we doubt what would become of such a magistrate in Ireland?

It has been declared, at the outset of these remarks, that the fundamental fact in respect of the condition of the Indian multitudes, is the vitiated state of their relations with evil landholders, generated by the operation of a shameful revolution. The terror spread by this disorder is maximized by the puppet-state of the Magistrate, who is overwhelmed by the resistless torrent of universal and execrable depravity among his own agents, who, to a man, are leagued to deceive him and rob the peasantry. In fact, it is this state of things, which supports the landholders. The Magistrate has unbounded powers of evil—none for good. No power over the condition of the people equals the Indian Magistrate's. He can blight the whole array of human hopes and joys in a jurisdiction vast as the three Ridings of Yorkshire.

A Governor-General may declare war, and precipitate some thousands of sepoys every now and then into eternity. But thus to perish is merely the fate of war, for the liabilities of which there has been value received. A sense of duty—a conscience void of reproach, gilds with joy and contentment the bitterest hardship of the soldier's life; not to mention the substantial and tangible certainty of his wife and the offspring he has been the means of bringing into the world being safe from the jaws of destitution, in a land where destitution is certain starvation or crime. No: it is difficult to see how a Governor-General, except by a general massacre, which is impossible, or

* This is not the case in Ireland exactly, but the other disabilities precisely tally.

the extraction of more revenue, which is impracticable, has an equal power to desolate the land with that possessed by the Magistrates of India. Let us examine this further.

So demoralized are the domestic relations in India, that any affair which takes a man from his home, threatens his dishonour and plunder by paramours or robbers. If such an assertion be startling, let it be kept in mind, that records of the profoundest depravity of the communities of the earth are to be met with. In the book of books, we read of vast nations and of a whole world being at certain periods under a wickedness absolutely *universal*.

We do not venture to affirm that India has actually arrived at so awful a pitch of depravity. God forbid that we should perpetrate so terrible a slander against her helpless masses, whom we would sacrifice much to be able to lift from out of the dust of their present degradation. But we are not conscious of transgressing the strictest bounds of truth, when we repeat the fact, that nothing but the most vigilant personal guardianship can preserve a native's house from dishonour and plunder. Those in circumstances in the slightest degree raised above the dead level of the general poverty, never fail to procure female slaves to perform all drudgery and toil, which leads their females from their homes, as also to keep a watch over them when the master of the house goes abroad. Now under these circumstances, that going abroad for any time is no inconsiderable matter. It is an affair of life and death. When all that a man holds dear in existence lies exposed within a wigwam made of hurdles, and no night passes without conflagration; when he feels that he is surrounded by scores of other tribes, many of which live by depredation alone, and all of which would exult at his misfortunes; when he knows himself to be watched and his footsteps dogged by the emissaries of his powerful foe the landholder, and knows not at what moment his secrets may not be betrayed to banditti; and that the true and faithful wife and trusty servant of to-day may not impossibly prove his bitterest foe, the moment his back is turned; we venture to affirm that a man's absence from home is a calamity in itself of no common order.

It is the true estimate and instinct of this calamity by the people, that enables such incredible sums to be raised by the villainous native agents in charge of the different Police stations within a district. The slightest threat by these ruffians of sending in a man to the Magistrate will not unfrequently induce him to sell all he is worth, and

even to borrow at 75 per cent., to raise money to bribe himself off.* Examine his situation if he refuses—he is subjected to every indignity, in the first place, to which caste, custom, and social prejudices can render him vulnerable. Time and space would fail were we to enumerate half the horrors to which the atrocious and unchecked cruelties of the native Police subject the population. But laying all these aside, the victim is threatened with the destruction of his crops, and a thousand losses, which nothing but personal superintendence at his home can avert. He has to travel in, under charge of a police-myrmidon, who, unless he be paid, will not allow him to perform the necessities of nature. The distance from his home may be sixty or seventy miles, which he must travel at his own expense, plundered, as he proceeds, by the policeman in charge.—Arrived at the Magistrate's station, days and weeks may elapse before his case be brought up for a hearing. Before even this first stage in his case's progress, he has either been plundered by the native officers of the Magistrate's court, or else subjected to every hardship and indignity, which secret cruelty, impossible to *prove* legally, can inflict.

Unbounded is the power possessed by the Magistrate to inflict this terrible hardship. At all hours the inhabitants of a district are to be seen driven along in herds to the Magistrate's court. What is so revolting in this fact is, the absolute uncertainty in a Magistrate's mind that the men so driven in are justly torn from their homes. As a class, the Police-agents are infamous for every crime. And yet it is from these Agents alone that nine-tenths of the evidence is derived. In England, the Magistrate has a small jurisdiction. His opportunities of personal acquaintance even with the people under his charge are obvious. He is an Englishman, and knows the probabilities of English life and actions, even to the very thought and feelings. If a certain Tom

* The following descriptive passage, which appeared in an excellent local journal, (The *Friend of India*,) just as this sheet was passing through the press, shows the manner in which evidence is collected:—

"As soon as any heavy crimes have been reported, the Darogah repairs to the spot, and his advent is as if the Regent of death had come up from his own place in search of his victims. The Darogah makes the most careful enquiry into the matter of the burglary, or assault, or robbery, or murder; and having also ascertained who are possessed of money in the village, declares, that the matter must go up to the presence (huzoor) thirty, fifty, seventy miles off, and that the most substantial householders must go up with it as witnesses. Then commences the bargaining. Every man who can satisfy him—in native phrase—who can make his "wry mouth straight," is let off, and when the field has been sufficiently reaped, a report is made of the inquest, and some of the poorest wretches are sent up, as accomplices or witnesses, to vindicate the Darogah's public spirit. That which the robbers have spared, the Darogah gleans. Hence there are few objects more dreaded than a visit from this personage; and the inhabitants of the village exercise all their ingenuity to protect themselves from such a visitation."

Brown or Bill Jones is pronounced a suspicious character, and is declared to have been seen hanging about the scene of a robbery for some days previously, why, there is no difficulty in procuring abundant information, from respectable inhabitants, which is tantamount to demonstration. This evidence is made up of facts of which he is able to estimate the probability; and if he is in doubt, the near neighbourhood of all in his jurisdiction, the genial climate, the independence and intelligence of the peasantry, enable him to wander forth on his enquiries with pleasure and certainty. All under him co-operate, less from fear of legal penalties, than by a conventional law of village society, which considers a robber the common foe of mankind.

But in India one Englishman, unassisted by any conventional co-operation, is expected to perform a task which in England would employ fifty Magistrates, with all the inestimable advantages of personal knowledge, experience, an intelligent and moral peasantry, unbounded facilities of intercourse, and possession of the respect and confidence of the people. These are real Magistrates, carrying real protection to the good and terror to the evil. But in India there is no reality in a Magistrate, for there is no average certainty of thought or action by which he can perform his functions. He has a salary of £1200 a year, and beyond the realization of this, he has no human inducement for any effort. For in India there is no public opinion. The native public are despised and unmixed with, and from the eye of his fellow-countrymen at large the Indian Magistrate is screened by the secresy of his routine. Moreover he has no interest in the soil—no estate in the neighbourhood, and can never be secure from removal. The consequences are inevitable. He cares little or nothing for his charge. No perfection of personal character can lift him beyond the tyrannical influences, which conspire to paralyse and render useless his relations with the peasantry. Happy would it be were he no more than useless. He is a puppet, moved only to destroy by a thousand wires pulled by the very dregs of the community, and impelled to evil with all the resistless force and certainty of a law of Nature.

Speaking of the effect of certain disorders in English Parochial affairs, an acute writer of the day has the following remarks :—the Italics are our own. "Parochial Government ' is the very element upon which all other Government in ' England depends; and as long as it is out of order, every thing ' must be out of order,—representation—legislation—police.

'Hence a confused mass of laws, and a flood of vice and crime. 'Hence demagogues, adventurers, theorists, and quacks, the 'tormentors of the public peace; and mobs and combinations, and 'visionary schemes. Let *each portion* of the country be 'thoroughly governed, and the soundness of *the whole* will 'make those evils necessarily vanish. At present all is, as it 'were, chaotic, offering a fertile field to the wild and selfish, 'whilst the wise and good are discouraged and dismayed.

"It is by the principle alone of SELF-GOVERNMENT BY SMALL 'COMMUNITIES that a nation can be brought to enjoy a vigorous 'moral health, and its consequence—real prosperity. It is by 'the same principle alone that the social feelings can be duly 'called into action, and that men, taken in the mass, can be 'noble, generous, intelligent and free. It has been from 'neglect of this principle, that England, with all her advantages, 'has not made greater progress; and it will be only to its 'abandonment and the substitution of a heartless system of '*generalization and mercenaries*, that she can ever owe her decay 'and become fit for despotism. *Put the administration of 'justice throughout the land—the Police*, the Poor Laws, *the 'Roads—into the hands of mere officials placed over extended 'districts, with which they are to have little or no community*— 'take from men of business and of fortune *every thing but* their 'business and their fortunes, and, on the one hand, will be 'created a race of TRADERS IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, and, on the 'other, of selfish, bigotted individuals, with a Government 'relying for its strength on an all-pervading patronage; and 'in the proportion that this is done, evil will arise, and good 'be prevented."

We consider ourselves fortunate to have stumbled on these remarks; for they convey, in a few words, a description of the leading necessities of India, the non-relief of which perpetuates, from year to year, its unutterable desolation. The self-government by small communities, by which, we would add in our own clumsy way, the good instincts of the heart are brought to bear on the work of checking the evil instincts of the heart, through the division of the unwieldy whole into compact fragments ready to fly together into one combined shape of strength and beauty, the more assiduously those fragments are tended and polished into individual perfection —all this is unknown in these dark regions of the earth. Known it once was, doubtless, that mighty principle of social protectiveness, throughout the vast heart of this sublime land, not developed in the peculiar forms belonging to the era of modern civilization; viz., the parochial and municipal

ideas, but in the primeval strength and beauty of the patriarchal idea. Even that immemorial tide of foreign invasion by the fierce mountaineers of Central Asia, whose savage and sterile homes send up their jagged peaks among the rolling clouds, and seem to look down with bleak and cruel eye on the gentle and rich valleys stretching from their feet, for hundreds and hundreds of miles far away to the illimitable Ocean—valleys embroidered along the full length of their ashy bosoms, so to speak, with the flashing and wavy tracery of molten silver, inscribed by the mazy torrents of mighty rivers, was powerless to destroy the patriarchal influences of Indian society. Indeed, the ancient families in which they were preserved in perennial strength and operation, and thence shed forth in innumerable circles of light and heat throughout the land, were protected by the Muhammedan invaders, for their own purposes. Their powerful secret influence was employed to reunite the terror-stricken multitudes, and to pour the oil of their venerated presence on the troubled masses scattered by the sword. In fact, the Muhammedans themselves were under the spell of Patriarchality. In the heart of their bleak mountain wildernesses, that social principle, in a somewhat modified shape, was their own, and they knew no other. Possessed of the fertile valleys which had lured them, like eagles, from their rocky homes, they at once were made sensible, by their own irrepressible instincts, that to destroy the shepherd was only to sacrifice the flock, without exacting from it the wealth, in pursuit of which they had made such desperate and stupendous efforts.

Thus it was, that, under the Muhammedans, certain patriarchal and feudal tendernesses—far more than are generally acknowledged—still continued to embalm the perished nationality of India, (if perished it ever was,) and kept down the generation of the swarms of adventurers which, under the rule of the British, have been hatched into a noisome life and activity, in myriads that penetrate into and devour the most secret fibres, not of political, but of social and domestic existence. Politically speaking, nothing can, perhaps, be more exquisitely adapted, be it by chance or design, to destroy rebellion and insurrection, than the existing class of landed proprietors in Bengal. Shorn of the talisman of English protection, this class would, probably in a few months, perish and lapse away into its pristine inert form of inorganic putridity, crushed by an indignant and outraged peasantry. But it deeply behoves England to beware, lest she blast for ever, with suicidal hand, the growth of India's

prosperity in the slavish fear of injuring its hidden roots by the extirpation of the tangled underwood. Wise and vigilant examination, not the coarse hand of violence, is required. The cheering rays of public scrutiny would at once invigorate the sap and fibres of the now sickly and stunted tree, and wither up those poisonous weeds which can exist only in the deep shades and mephitic vapours of secresy. We feel, that we are betrayed into constant repetitions on this theme of noxious landholders; but as sure as the experience of a score of years passed on the soil can be believed to have become insensibly tinged with the least reflection of the real hue of Indian affairs;—nay, even as surely as the relation between cause and effect continues to exist in human affairs, so surely is that the class, which demands the chief watchfulness of the Government—not because it may encourage disaffection in the masses of the people, for its interests are diametrically opposed to such a course; but because its origin is foul and its character infamous.

Fearlessly and honestly analyzed, it will be found, that in no civilized country of the earth, or dependency of any such country, does there exist a spirit of such utter disregard to the rights and happiness of such stupendous masses of our fellow men, as that which marks the principles and processes of the present Government of India. But no analysis is even attempted. Exposure of evil is the prevailing terror of Anglo-Indian Government—if by such name the crazy mass of delusions can be called, over which an inexperienced Governor and his secret Council preside, under circumstances subversive of all means of which Government, properly so called, is the end. Hence it is, that not one single book is to be found in existence descriptive of the real relations now subsisting between India's handful of English rulers and the vast multitudes of the children of the soil, which people her enormous districts. It is plainly the interest of *no* Englishman in India to write such a book. His whole livelihood, his interests and his passions proceed on a diametrically opposite set of motives to those requisite for the production of such a book. Those motives, too, which obstruct its production, operate from a period of the tenderest youth—before that of boyhood has passed away. In the season of mature manhood they are inextricably interwoven with all his thoughts, habits, and feelings; and as age steals upon him, they form themselves into an indurated mass of bigotries and prejudices, which no healthful meditation can melt to tenderness for the rights of

his fellow-men. Inconceivably noxious to all development of high-souled thought and action are the Anglo-Indian's environments. We allude chiefly to the small privileged class within which is exclusively confined employment in every post of responsibility and emolument. Of this class the members come out to India as mere schoolboys,—ignorant, inexperienced, unenquiring and helpless. As for an enlightened independence of thought, they can have none. Such a quality of mind comes of study and experience of the world. Of this they bring none to India—there they can acquire none. Their object is, to gain wealth. If this object were attainable only by a knowledge of the people, then would their youthful energies flow in a healthful channel, and their minds become imbued with higher and holier aspirations. But such is not the case. Wealth comes of promotion to certain posts of emolument, the attainment of which is utterly independent of all the ennobling motives of human conduct. The only road to promotion is through an established routine. If this routine be worthless, what becomes of those who travel it—who dare not quit its track for a moment, without sacrificing every hope and passion which India's shores have been sought for the sole purpose of gratifying? To question, therefore, the tendencies of this routine is never thought of; or, if thought of by the irresistible impulses of ingenuous youth, the act is soon felt to be so monstrous, so discordant with the whole tone and tenour of the habits of the class to which they belong, that it is soon abandoned as perilous, and grows insensibly to be considered quixotic and even mischievous. In fact, any questioning or analytical habits of mind may be said, in India, to be considered as low and unfashionable; and he, who cannot strangle such monstrous propensities, is laughed at as a visionary, and met with a scorn and hatred in exact proportion to his talents and power of exposure.

Now, were the persons employed in administering the local affairs of India, men of settled habits of mind, filled with vivid pictures and perceptions of men and things, furnished by mature age and experience of the world, this dead level and uniformity of mental subservience and paralyzation could not probably be brought about. It is the vacuity of mind, characteristic of boyhood, which enables evil and worthless habits of thought to enter in, and once established, there to be imprisoned for life by the motives of passion and interest. We have often thought the writings of that great and good man, the late Bishop Heber, a forcible illustration of the powers of a mature mind, chastened by high

and benevolent aspirations, and refined by exquisite culture and familiarity with life's best experiences and influences, on the mighty materials of Indian knowledge. Those materials under his master-hand once promised to start into some definite form of embodiment, instinct with life and practical benefit for the unhappy multitudes of this sublime land. His Indian writings abound, certainly, with local inaccuracies; but through these little extravagancies there gleams the divine spirit of a wise and good man, brooding, with the most earnest benevolence of purpose, over the condition of stricken India. And his book stands almost alone. Its whole tone and spirit distinguishes it from the insufferable trash which is dignified with the title of Works on India.

This is not a mere assertion. We again invite the attention of all earnest men to this important fact of the absence of all books which can lay claim to set forth the condition of the multitudes of the children of India's soil as influenced by English rule. For ourselves, we hesitate not to declare our impression, that so discreditable a fact is nothing more than the reflection of the real nature and tendencies of the existing system, by which the English sent to India, far beyond the reach of the public opinion which animates the public virtue of rulers in their native land, are now to be seen conducting the relations between England and her sublime, but stricken, Eastern dependency.

There is one individual, however, whose attempts to emancipate himself from the social tyranny of a selfish class deserve the most honorable mention. Casting off the slough of Indian temptations, he has tried fearlessly and truthfully to sound, with line and plummet, the dark and unfathomed depths of Indian misrule. After a period of furlough to his native land—perhaps before that period—he appears to have addressed himself with a regenerated will and untiring energy to an exposure which his bitterest enemy cannot charge with unworthy motives. He seems to have meditated in his heart, instead of barely acknowledging with gross material perception, the appalling fact of this most sublime and venerable land immemorially and mysteriously scourged for her bloody idolatries—after a series of revolutions caused by the successive inroads of the fierce Asiatic mountaineers—having at length lapsed into the possession of the islanders of Europe. Appalling fact; because, buried away as is their victor, far from those mighty impulses which quicken international virtue in the far West, he seemed to perceive, that the brute feelings of rapacity and

despotic dominion could not fail to gain the ascendant, and poison the springs of England's relations with her helpless prey.

He seemed—this one man, this Frederick Shore—to have discovered, as no earnest man can fail to discover, that the utter prostration of a hundred millions of his fellow-men under the yoke of a few thousands, surrounded by every temptation to misrule, was a matter of painful augury, and that the terrible disorders which his own limited experience had gathered knowledge of, were, in fact, but fragmentary portions of one vast whole of calamity, prevailing, with perfect uniformity, from one end of India to the other. From this fact he appears to have risen to a consideration of the parent cause by which, what he felt to be a fact to-day, he felt had been a fact for a long series of years, extending back to the earliest period of history of the English in India, and which had its perpetuation firmly established in the future for countless generations to come, unless the springs of administration could be cleared of the noxious spirit and tendency which blocked up and contaminated their channel and their waters. For who and what were these rulers? They were certainly denizens of a portion of the globe distinguished by the mighty spirit of modern civilization. But even from this civilization, rapacity and lust of wealth, so far from being banished, form, perhaps, its most prominent characteristics. They were indeed the apostles of the inviolability of human rights. They had the principles of international righteousness, if not in their heart, at least on their tongues. They had abolished slavery throughout the remotest boundaries of their far-stretched dominions. They were zealous in the cause of the oppressed Greeks and Germanized Italians. They strongly reprobated the illiberal despotism that presses down its yoke on the necks of the unfortunate Spaniards; and they sighed and declaimed over the torn and mangled carcass of Poland's perished nationality. They certainly were all this, and much more than this. But still, the English in India were foreigners,—boy-foreigners, drifted from the furthermost ends of the earth, professedly ignorant, if not of English life, yet, certainly, of Indian life, with all its strange and mysterious influences of political, social, and domestic activity. Foreigners, too, they were among whom, in the heart even of their own native land, the adjustment of human rights was still a problem convulsing the whole frame of society, and exhibiting forms of misery unknown even to the most crouching and terror-stricken communities of Asia. Wealth appeared to be the apple of discord. Hideous were the scenes occurring daily and hourly in the

ghastly scramble. Would not the same spirit creep into English conduct abroad?—Was it not already there? The frail checks which allow the fabric of English society to sway and bend without falling to pieces, taken away from the fabric of foreign dominion, what could that dominion become, but a mass of violence and disorder? Outward forms, and names, and decencies, and regularities of the time and place, and legislative enactments, and official Gazettes, and volumes of Regulations, and one invariable routine,—all these might be thickly plastered over the front of the edifice; but inwardly, it would not be the less a sepulchre for being painted,—a sepulchre filled with dead men's bones, and perished human rights, and defunct joys and happinesses.

These human rights and joys, with all the rest of the equipage of hopes and tendernesses, which form the glory of mundane existence, strange enough, seem, for the first time, to have animated the writings of an English servant of the Indian Government. This true and earnest Saxon would seem to have meditated, and not wholly in vain, on Man as he is—as his high and glorious destinies proclaim him to be—even though his form be dark, his lips thick, his hair woolly—even though dispersed and weakened by social disorders, his political bulwarks are torn down and trampled on by invaders.

"Man," says Mr. Carlyle, not altogether quaintly and fancifully, "is deep hidden under that strange garment (of flesh); amid 'sounds and colours and forms, as it were swathed in and 'inextricably over-shrouded. Yet it is sky-woven and worthy 'of a god. Stands he not thereby in the centre of immensities, 'in the conflux of eternities? He feels power has been given 'him to know and believe;—nay, does not the spirit of love, free 'in its celestial, primeval brightness, even here, though but for 'moments, look through? Well said St. Chrysostom with his 'lips of gold, the true Shekinah is man; where else is the God's 'presence manifested, not to our eyes only, but to our hearts, 'as in our fellow-man?"

But with all the qualifications of earnestness and honesty of purpose, the style of Mr. Shore's writings is so deficient in spirit and originality—in vivid graphic delineation—in all that sparkle and freshness which can captivate and charm the listless reader already sunk in the Circean spells of a self-interested bigotry, that while they contain abundant material for the thoughtful student, they are little likely to interest the general reader. Still we may, not altogether uselessly, make a few brief extracts from his writings, though we cannot, in our narrow limits, as we could desire, clear up some few

obscurities discernible in the views of the author, nor guard the reader of the "Notes" against certain erroneous impressions, which the perversion of some portions of the work, in violation of the general spirit of the whole, is calculated to produce.

In his introduction to the "Notes on Indian affairs," Mr. Shore says: "The facts and opinions contained in the following 'papers are the result of more than fifteen years' actual 'residence in India, chiefly in the North-western Provinces of 'the Bengal Presidency; during which I have held various 'situations in the Police, Revenue, and Judicial departments, 'and have been in habits of close communication, both private 'and official, with the people of the country of all classes."

Further on, he remarks: "One object has been earnestly 'kept in view in these letters,—to simplify the several points 'which are discussed, and to avoid, as much as possible, the 'technicalities and local peculiarities which render Indian 'affairs so intricate and mysterious to the English reader. 'As an illustration, I beg to advert to the attempt to describe 'the Ryotwar system in No. 18. The mystification in which 'it has been enveloped, has rendered it almost incompre-'hensible to those who have only read the official produc-'tions on the subject, and have not practically inquired for 'themselves; and the reasons for this mystification were 'simply, that the real principle was too unjust to be broadly 'stated."

From these introductory remarks we learn, that during fifteen years Mr. Shore filled some of the highest and most responsible posts in the country, and was possessed of ample opportunities of forming a correct judgment on the affairs of which he treats. Also, that a mystery and intricacy envelope those affairs from the apprehension of an English reader, and that the cause of this mystification is to be found, not in the inherent difficulty of the matter, but in a desire to conceal an unjust principle of action. Again in vol. 1, p. 232 we read as follows: "Great were the hopes 'which were entertained for the liberal and enlightened policy 'which has been all along *professed* by the present ministers of 'England. The attention of all connected with India has long 'been directed, with intense anxiety, to the future plans of Go-'vernment which are anticipated. The veil is at length withdrawn, 'and what appears? A miserable, temporizing, popularity-seeking 'plan *to mystify* the people of England and to help to secure their 'own places, by the sacrifice and the ruin of India. I do not 'deny ministers the justice of having brought forward many 'good measures; but there can be little doubt of *the motives* which 'have influenced their decision on the affairs of this country." At

Page 234 we find this passage: "I would urge upon our rulers to 'consider the awful state of India at this present moment. Let 'them not trust to official reports and returns, but seek their 'knowledge from those who mix with the people. The cup of 'misery for the inhabitants of the Upper Provinces, is now nearly 'full. Groves of trees, the pride and ornament of the villages for 'ages, are being cut down; property of every description, even 'to the agricultural cattle and implements, has already been sold; 'estates without number are attached for sale, while no purchasers 'are to be found: land is every where thrown out of cultivation; and 'the people are now thinking of selling their children, to save them 'from starvation, and to satisfy the undiminished demands of their 'rapacious task-masters; while crime, the natural result of such a 'state of things, is increasing ten-fold. This is a picture which 'enquiry will prove not to be exaggerated. God great, that 'those who have the power, may check the evils before it be too 'late. These warnings may be disregarded; but those who neg-'lect them will, ere long, have cause to rue it. The burdens of 'the people are already insupportable. They will rise *en masse* 'against those who attempt to impose any additional weight, &c." It is further remarked, that even common humanity to their servants should rouse the Government to apply some remedy, as the former must inevitably fall the first victims to the vengeance of the people; and Lord W. Bentinck, the Governor-General, is called on to exhibit "that independence of mind and firmness, for 'which qualities he bears so high a character, by bodly telling the 'British ministers what horrors they are entailing on India."

After adverting to the crimes of violence and rapacity perpetrated by the English on the first establishment of their supremacy in India, Mr. Shore adds in a note, "See Mills's account of 'Omichund, and other points similar to what are supposed above. 'However Mills's opinions and deductions may be disapproved of, 'for facts, he is, I believe, undoubted authority." Chancing to turn over a volume of Mills's History in search of the matter alluded to, we met with the following passage bearing on the infamous corruption of the English ministry in regard to India, about a century and a half ago; and another on the secresy, which we have so often deprecated. They are worth quoting, to shew that however rapid the strides, which civilization may have made along the dusty roads of human intercourse during the interval occurring between 1693 and 1832, the integrity of the English ministry cannot be said to have suffered much peril from its meteor-like volocity, but rather to have travelled in an easy garden-chair round and round the picturesque old temple and pleasure-grounds of gold and patronage—the only distinction

discernible between antiquated and modern ministerial virtue being the abstinence of the latter from an actual fingering of the gold of corruption, and its somewhat more copious adornment, of late years, with outward professions, by which they

> ——— under fair pretence of friendly ends,
> And well-placed words of glozing courtesy,
> Baited with reasons not unplausible,
> Win them into the easy-hearted man (John Bull)
> And hug him into snares.

"Meanwhile the Company," says Mr. Mills, "did not neglect 'the usual corrupt methods of obtaining favours at home. It 'appeared, that they had distributed large sums of money to men 'in power, before obtaining their charter. The House of Com- 'mons were, at the present period, disposed to enquire into such 'transactions. They ordered the books of the Company to be 'examined; when it appeared, that it had been the practice, and 'even habit, of the Company to give bribes to great men; that 'previous to the revolution, their annual expense under that head 'had scarcely ever exceeded £1,200; that since the revolution it 'had gradually increased; and that, in the year 1693, it had 'amounted to nearly £90,000. The Duke of Leeds, who was 'charged with having received a bribe of £5,000, was impeached 'by the Commons. But the principal witness against him was 'sent out of the way, and it was not till nine days after it was de- 'manded by the lords, that a proclamation was issued to stop his 'flight. Great men were concerned in smothering the enquiry; 'Parliament was prorogued; and the scene was here permitted to 'close."—Vol. I. Page 115. The other passage, in respect of the secresy cherished by the Company, runs thus—we have not time to select a stronger one, but such abound: "The Company 'laboured under the most pressing embarrassments, though their 'pecuniary difficulties, through the whole course of their history, '*have been allowed as little as possible to meet the public eye.* What 'we happen to be told of the situation at this time of the Presi- 'dency at Surat, affords a lively idea of the financial distresses 'in which they were involved." As said before, these points of agreement between the historian—(and he no common historian) of former generations, and the Official of the present day, shew, that no real principles of amelioration have yet found their way into the Company's rule in India.

We would fain linger for a further space over the writings of Mr. Shore on Indian affairs. For these are the more admirable and precious in the eyes of an earnest student of India's condition, that they have been achieved in defiance of those class influences which, except in this illustrious instance, have sufficed to keep down and strangle all knowledge of India's unutterable

sufferings. But feeling that there are many into whose minds these writings, truthful expositions though they be even of the present state of things, will not carry conviction; for there are many, whose hearts and intellects are closed alike against the entrance of all truth which does not come in the set shape of *cases;* which does not present an array of names, and places, and dates; we must cease from these mere general illustrations; and, that we may not be supposed, by the unknowing, to write in vague, general terms, as mere idle theorisers, or as factious opponents of the existing state of things, alleging the growth of mighty evils, in the real world neither seen nor felt, we proceed briefly to fix upon all our statements the stamp of officiality. In a measure, this may be an unnecessary proceeding; for there are some, who, so far from esteeming the facts which we have recited, as startling and incredible asseverations, will look upon them as mere obvious truths, so well known and attested, that at this day there is no need to bring them forward, pompously and with the air of a discoverer. But we write for the unknowing, not less than for the knowing; and we feel, that there are many, if not in *this* country, at least in our own, who will disbelieve much that has been said, on the subject of cruel and corrupt police-officers, rapacious extortionate land-holders, and villagers ground down to the utmost state of degradation, as practical, living illustrations of "how 'much men bear and die not." And it is for them mainly, that we now proceed briefly to illustrate the God's truth which we have written above. Once in every six months, somewhat afterdate it must be acknowledged, but still at fixed periodical intervals, a civilian, high in office, bearing the title of "Su-'perintendent of Police in the Lower Provinces," has been, now for some time past, in the habit of sending forth Reports of the state of the Police in all the districts under his superintendance. In any one of these Reports, the enquirer may find abundant proof of the veracity of our statements. We take the last that has been issued—because it is the last. It will answer our purpose, as well as any other—First, then, as regards the alleged inefficiency and corruption of the Native Police. We will make our extracts, in order as we find them; and the first we have marked relates to the district of SHAHABAD. It is a mere ordinary case of corrupt concealment of crime by Native Police officials;—such cases are plenty as blackberries:—

"I do not consider the Returns satisfactory; as regards the murders, the Police seem to have failed in very many cases in tracing out the perpetrators of the crime where they might, I think, with care and vigilance, have succeeded, and in one instance the accused parties escaped, solely owing to the

corrupt misconduct of a Jemadar acting directly under the orders of the Magistrate, who reported, that the girl murdered had fallen into a well, when subsequent examination proved, that she had been strangled."

The next, which is taken from the report on the state of SYLHET, shows, that not only are the guilty screened, but that the innocent are charged knowingly with the commission of crime, and foul attempts made to extort perjury from unhappy villagers:—

"Although the number of cases in the 2d class is small, being 1 simple dacoity, 1 burglary with wounding, and 1 affray with homicide arising from disputed possession of land, yet, I regret to say, that the perpetrators of the dacoity had not been detected. *The Darogah sent in 5 persons, but it was proved that he had used means to extort confessions from, and procure compulsory evidence against, them, and they were released.* In the burglary the single person concerned was punished, and in the affray, in which 15 persons were reported as concerned, 8 were sent in, 5 released and 3 committed to the Sessions, where the case was pending."

Next we have from TIRHOOT another foul case of corruption—a number of Police Burkundauzes clearly proved, in a case of inhuman murder, to have been accessories after the fact. The Superintendent sets down, in general terms, bringing forward this particular case in illustration, that, for a small sum of money, the subordinate officers of Police will actively engage in the work of concealing the most horrible crimes:—

"In the murders nine persons were said to have been concerned, and seven were arrested;—in one case the party had been convicted by the Nazamut Adawlut, two were awaiting their trial before the Sessions Court, and the investigations as respected four were yet pending before the Magistrate. The Sessions Judge has since referred the proceedings regarding the two committed to the Superior Court for sentence, and the four who were before the Magistrate, have been released from the want of evidence, the failure to convict them having been entirely owing to the misconduct of *three Police Burkundauzes, who were charged as accessaries after the fact.* Suspicion of some foul play fell on the defendants in consequence of their having, without any reason, filled up a well which they had just dug for the irrigation of their fields, and the Police Officers were sent with orders to dig out the well, which they reported as giving no cause for suspicion. The Mohurrer, however, having gone on the same day to a village near, learnt that a woman who appeared to be travelling, had stopped for the night at the prisoners' cattle shed, and that they had murdered her for the sake of her ornaments and thrown the corpse into the well, which they had then filled up. He immediately proceeded to the spot, and had the well dug out to the bottom. The effluvia left no doubt as to a corpse having been deposited there, and a quantity of long hair was also found, but the body had been removed, and no trace of it could be discovered, nor could all the subsequent endeavours of the Magistrate procure any clue to the identity of the woman. *I have mentioned this case to show how the subordinate Officers of the Police, being without proper control, will, in the most serious cases, allow their duty to be set aside for a small sum of*

The following extract, though at first sight it may appear to contain no very great atrocity, is worthy to be pondered on, as illustrative of the enormous power of the Police, and the awe with which they are regarded by the villagers. There is nothing which a Police official may not wring from these unhappy industrial classes. The abject peasant knows well enough that to resist the tyranny and extortion of the Police, in these little matters, is to bring upon himself tyranny and extortion far more difficult to endure. It is better to pay a small tribute of fish or other petty commodity, than to be dragged before the Magistrate, as a witness, or, peradventure, as a criminal, in a case of which he knows nothing:—

"One Mohurrer had been dismissed for demanding from a vendor of fish a considerable quantity of fish without payment. This practise of levying contribution from all vendors of food who may have occasion to expose their commodities for sale, or to pass near to the Thannahs, is very prevalent, and this was accidentally brought to notice from the fisherman having got drunk and abused the Mohurrer publicly. Rewards had been bestowed on one Thannadar and three Burkundauzes for activity in particular cases."

This payment of small tribute to Police Officers is found ever to be the safest plan. See what the result of refusal may be! A murder is committed; the real offender is, perhaps, well-known; but he has murdered to some purpose, and out of the proceeds of the spoil, he can afford to pay his hush-money down. The offence must be charged upon some-body, and evidence must be got up. There are, doubtless, some obnoxious parties near at hand—some who, peradventure, have resisted the extortionate demands of these Police harpies,—on whom to charge the offence, and from whom to extort evidence. The thing is as easy as lying; an unfortunate budlee is marked out, to expiate the offences of a real offender, who, in the mean time, is quietly making himself scarce, or perhaps actually sheltered beneath the protective wings of the Police. We have now before us a letter from an intelligent and zealous Magistrate, one of the few really earnest men engaged in this disheartening work of counteracting, as far as in them lies, the atrocious rascality of the native Police, in which the writer says, "I have reported 'my jail as being full of budlees; and I believe, that every jail 'in the country is alike." But anonymous testimony it is no part of our intention to give; else might we produce a mass of it —anonymous testimony we mean, as far as the public is concerned; for in our repositories this evidence bears names, which, were we at liberty to use them, would carry as much weight of officiality, even as that of the doughty "Superintendent" himself. Yet what need to resort to any evidence, which unbelieving men might question, when we have published official documents

before us. Let this case, briefly recorded, under the head of RAJSHAYE, be pondered on :—

"Two Darogahs and one Mohurrer had been dismissed by my orders in cases which occurred during the previous six months, *one for extorting confessions in a case of murder implicating an innocent person*, another for falsifying a report in a case of dacoity, and the third for neglecting to investigate a charge of murder."

Or this (under the head of PURNEAH) which is of the same stamp :—

"The dacoity with wounding was committed by a mixed party of Budduks and Keechucks from the Morung, led by Fuqeera, Jamadar of the Kecchuks. *The Darogah sent in on false and got-up evidence five persons, whom he detained at the Thannah contrary to law. Until he had made up his case, he never attempted to institute a search after the real offenders. This man's brother was dismissed only two years ago, for the very same offence in a similar dacoity in this district.*"

With one more case from this Report of the Superintendent we must close our string of official evidence against the Police. The case is one of unexampled monstrosity; notorious enough in Bengal; but of so convincing a character, that we desire it should be read in all parts of the world. The horrid event occurred in the Moorshedabad district, and is thus officially narrated by the Superintendent of Police. Comment needs it none from us :—

"One of the cases here entered, is that dreadful case of torture by Bholanauth Gungolee Darogah and others, the Police Officers of Thannah Mirzapore, to extort a confession from one Ramdoolub Raie, of a *dacoity which had never been committed*, in which, from the consequences of the horrid treatment which he received and the subsequent detention at the Thannah to evade detection, *the toes and fingers of the poor victim rotted off*, and he is left a cripple and a pensioner on the bounty of the Government for life. The fingers and toes of the man were first tied together, and wedges being driven between them to the greatest extent of tension, he was laid out on his back in the sun; *this not producing the desired effect, his hands and feet were dipped into boiling water, then the ligatures were unloosened and bandages dipped in oil, tied round the fingers of both hands and the toes of the left foot, and lighted*, and this not forcing him to confess, he was, as if to prevent any hope of his recovery, detained several days at the Thannah, without any remedies being applied, and when brought in by the orders of the Magistrate, to whose knowledge the case had been brought, his hands and feet were in a state of mortification, and ultimately his fingers and toes rotted off. This is, perhaps, an extreme case of torture, and I am happy to say, that all the Police Officers, though not the others concerned, have been severely punished. *But acts of torture by Bansdollah and other brutal and indecent means are of frequent, too frequent occurrence by the Police; and what can be said of that system of total want of check and control which could admit of a Darogah with other Police Officers, adopting such measures towards a party falsely charged, to his knowledge, of being engaged in a dacoity, with any hope of non-detection and escape?* Before the poor victim was sent in he was *compelled* to sign a paper, stating that his hands and feet had been injured

by severe binding without the knowledge of the Darogah. Only the cases of oppression and petty assault which have been carried through, have been entered under the miscellaneous heading, and in these 105 persons were brought in, 30 released, 50 punished, and 17 remained."

After this, need we say one word more regarding the atrocities of the Police? Not one. Let us turn aside then, to catch such glimpses as we can, through this Police Report, of the character of the native land-holders. Firstly, let us see their ascendancy over this villainous constabulary force:—

"One Darogah, one Jemadar and two Burkundazes have been removed from the Police during the six months. The Magistrates of this District and of Chumparun have a difficult task to keep *their Police Officers from collision in cases where the Rajahs of Hutwah or Betteah are concerned, as by their influence or money they try to get the ascendancy.* The Rajah of Hutwah is the least troublesome, by far, of the two; but the disputes between these two opulent Zemindars have a serious effect on the state of the two Districts."—[*Sarun.*]

Here is another characteristic sketch, with the Superintendent's opinion generally of the whole tribe of Zemindars. Verily, it unfolds a most enchanting state of rural society! "Subornation of perjury" is a favorite trick among these respectable native gentlemen, who keep the Police so obsequiously in their pay. With the Zemindars and the Police on one side and the peasantry on the other, there is likely to be an equal contest indeed!—

"In the fifth is entered one case of coining, which was a false charge got up by the influence of Oomesh Chunder Raie, commonly known by the name of Mootee Baboo, and his brother Bhugwan Raie, against one Dasoo Praunmanick of Santipore, to whom the first was deeply indebted, and to whom he also owed a grudge *for not making up two cases of illegal imprisonment* pending before the Magistrate, in both of which the Baboo and his brother were subsequently punished. The person who made the charge, has been convicted of perjury and punished; but the instigators, whose Mooktyar took a prominent part in the proceedings, *being respectable Zemindars,* have not been touched, and are received amongst their friends just the same as usual. *In fact, from the Rajah, down to the lowest Talooqdar, with very few honorable exceptions, no Zemindar in the Lower Provinces, would hesitate at subornation of perjury to procure his own ends. It is one of their modes of attack and defence, to which, apparently, they attach no moral delinquency.*"—[*Nuddeah.*]

In the next extract, we are expressly told, that the land-holders are "engaged and interested in the concealment of 'crime." This is a fact, which in India is so well known and admitted, that even the most conscientious Zemindar will not boast, that he is an exception to the rule. It is sometimes pleaded, that the difficulty of obtaining justice—the delay and inconvenience occasioned by the remote situations of the Courts, are so great, that he is actually driven to these shifts. But what are we to think of the state of society, when the least vicious

of the Zemindars unhesitatingly acknowledge their frequent resort to subornation of the Police, and concealment of crime?—

"Proper information is not given in this District of the occurrence of crimes of all grades against property. *The Landholders and others are engaged and interested in the concealment of them*, and the people are in too great awe of the principal gangs, to attempt to give notice of such crimes, and thus incur their anger: none of the returns, therefore, either in the 2d or 3d class, are to be really depended on."—[*Purneah.*]

We wish that there were nothing worse than this. Acts of positive oppression, of cruelty, of rapacity, of vast unendurable outrage, are committed every day by the landholders upon the luckless labourers on their estates. The annexed extract from Mr. Dampier's Report shows, in the strongest colours, the extent of daring crime, to which the bad passions of the Zemindars, strengthened by a sense of their immunity from all controul by the Police—nay of their protection by that body when in the actual commission of crime—hurry on these licentious tyrants. The ryots are not very easily moved to acts of open rebellion. They must have suffered fearfully before they resort to the violence, which is described below:—

"The second class is composed of one dacoit and two cases of attack at night, and plunder of property. The dacoity was committed by the same party of Keechuks, who perpetrated the same offence at Naraingunge. They were tried for both the offences at Dacca. One of the cases of attack at night was of a most serious nature. A body, stated at no less than 800 Ferazees, the raieuts of one Joynarain Ghose, collected together, attacked his bareh, plundered it of every thing, and carried off his brother Muddun Narain Ghose. They were not instigated by a desire of plunder, *but of revenge for the oppression and extortion practised on them by this Zemindar*, and if a tenth part of what they, after their conviction, stated to me in a petition, extenuating their conduct, was true, I am only surprised that a much more serious and general disturbance did not occur. I directed the Magistrate to inquire into the facts alleged, but after the disturbance, the people named by the prisoners as witnesses of the truth of their statements, declined saying much, for fear of being thought implicated in that offence. I have no doubt, however, of the general truth of the statements, *and the Zemindars appear to have done every thing which could degrade these men, their religion and their females.* The Magistrate arrested 117 on this charge, and made over subsequent to the half year 106 for trial before the Sessions, of whom 22 were sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment with labor in irons. In such a tumult at night it is almost impossible to recognise distinctly the parties engaged. This outrage shows the combination existing amongst this sect:—they assembled from all quarters most suddenly and secretly, and after the attack dispersed in the same manner. The Magistrate must keep a strict watch, not only over these people, *but also over their Zemindars, particularly if Hindoos, as the latter are very apt to resent the non-payment of these men of poojah expenses*, &c., which they consider encouraging idolatry, by very gross ill-treatment. In fact, the Ferazees consider the payment of rent at all, especially to an infidel, as opposed to the word of God; *and where a*

Zemindar cares not for his raiyats or for any thing beyond extorting all he can from them by any means, a reaction on the part of a fanatical and ill-treated body of men must be expected. In the other case 27 persons were arrested, 2 released and 25 awaiting a reference to the Nizamut."—[*Bachergunge.*]

Need we go on—need we further multiply proofs? Not at least in our present article, which we must now hurry to a close. Our object has been little more than to break ground; to prepare the way for our enquiries into the secret depths of the misery of India's rural population. If we have cleared away any opposing rubbish, this our pioneer-essay has not been written in vain. The subject is one of the mightiest significance; and we feel, in our hearts, that an earnest enquiry, even through so worthless a medium as that of our infant Review, into the nature and causes of the acknowledged evil, will not be without some remedial efficacy—remote, slow in its operations; but not less certainly tending to a cure. Ignorance is the first symptom to be combated;—ignorance, not in the obscure recesses of village-life; but ignorance in high places;—ignorance not among the poor and oppressed, whose cause we are now articulately pleading; but ignorance among the rulers of the land, to whom these helpless sufferers turn imploringly, but hopelessly, for redress. If we can, with earnest endeavour and after much toil, clear away but some small portion of this vast jungle of ignorance, we shall, let the effort cost what it may, in due season, reap our reward.

ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence relative to Sindh*—1838—1843. *Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London,* 1843.

2. *Correspondence relative to Sindh* [*supplementary to the Papers presented to Parliament in* 1843.] *London,* 1844.

3. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol.* 72—*No.* 3, *Session. No.* 3. *London,* 1844.

4. *Personal observations on Sindh; the manners and customs of its inhabitants, &c., with a sketch of its History, a narrative of recent events, &c., by T. Postans, M. R. A. S., Bt. Captain, Bombay Army, and late assistant to the political Agent in Sindh and Beloochistan. London,* 1843.

WRITING on the 9th day of February, 1812, Sir James Mackintosh made this entry in his journal:—"A Hindu 'merchant, named Derryana, under the mask of friendship, 'had been continually alarming the Sindh Government, 'against the English Mission. On being reproved, he said

'that though some of his reports respecting their immediate 'designs might not be quite correct, yet this tribe never 'began as friends without ending as enemies, by seizing the 'country which they entered with most amicable professions." "A shrewd dog!" exclaimed Mackintosh; yet little dreamt he the full extent of the dog's shrewdness.

Some thirty-two years after this strange journal-entry was made—on the 22d of April 1844—one of those magic fire-ships, the first sight of which has ever struck awe into the hearts of a barbarian people, was beating its way up the river Hooghly; and on the evening of that same 22d of April, the Ameers of Sindh disembarked from the British fire-ship, a crew of hopeless and miserable captives, at a ghat near the city of Calcutta.

The outward history of the fall from its high estate of this wretched Talpoor family is, in all its main features, so familiar to the general mind of our readers, that it would be unprofitable to exhaust their patience, by demanding from them a reconsideration of all these details. Indeed, the question which we propose to ourselves to discuss—the question of the justice of the measures, by which the Sindh Ameers have been reduced to their present state of captivity and degradation—has also, we are conscious, been entered into fully and understandingly. By the Press, and by Parliament, has it been discussed, and so much has been said, that we scarcely hope, writing at this after-date, to throw much new light on the subject. But what has hitherto been written and said, exists but in scattered fragments; different points have been considered by different writers at different times; and however able these commentaries may be in themselves, and however complete a view of the whole question they might, in a collected state, present to us, we have, at present nothing that can be regarded as a single comprehensive view of the whole justice-question. To repair, in a manner, after some unsatisfactory way of our own, this obvious deficiency, is what we are now endeavouring to achieve.

As far as we can make out, the arguments—or quasi-arguments—which are put forth, in defence of the appropriation of Sindh, not without much over-weening confidence and dogmatism and some scattering of unserviceable Billingsgate, amount just to thus much:—The Ameers of Sindh were traitors; they violated treaties; they insulted and offended the British Government; and, therefore, it was right that they should be driven into captivity. This is the direct

defence of the measures, based, we presume, upon certain vague principles of justice, to the extent that crime demands punishment, and that treason is rightly visited with confiscation. Then there is the indirect or collateral defence.—The *ex post facto* justification—not alleging, that the thing was positively right in itself, but that it is likely to turn out all for the best. The plea is founded on the assumption, that the Ameers were inhuman tyrants; usurpers with no real title to the sovereignty of the country; that the people were intensely wretched; and that, under the British rule, this country, fertile as Egypt, is likely soon to become a region of the blest. Then there is a third party, calling the Prime Minister of England chief, which says, the thing may have been very bad, but that owing to an incontrollable principle, or, as we have before said, an incontrollable no-principle at work, the result was in no way avoidable. These we believe, are the three lines of defence, which have been severally followed. Let us take a survey of them.

The Sindh Ameers it is said, violated treaties—It would seem as though the British Government claimed to itself the exclusive right of breaking through engagements. If the violation of existing covenants ever involved, *ipso facto*, a loss of territory, the British Government in the East would not now possess a rood of land between the Burhampooter and the Indus. When that cunning Hindoo merchant said so truthfully, thirty years ago, that the British had never entered a foreign country as friends, without in due course of time, making a seizure of it, and that Sindh was therefore, doomed to be seized, the treaty existing between the Ameers and the British Government, ratified in 1809, contained but four simple articles—indeed, we may say but *three*; for as the first declared "eternal friendship," the second declaring, that "enmity shall never appear," may be looked upon as a mere redundancy. The "mutual despatch of Vakeels" was the second stipulation; and in the third it was set forth, that "the 'Government of Sindh will not allow the establishment of 'the tribe of the French in Sindh." This very simple treaty seems to have answered all purposes for eleven years. In 1820, another treaty, almost as simple as its predecessor, was ratified;—"eternal friendship" and "mutual despatch of 'Vakeels"—an engagement on the part of the Ameers to restrain the depredations of the Khoosas and others inclined to make inroads on the British dominions; and this time, not merely "the tribe of the French," to be shut out of Sindh, but a pledge not to permit "any European or American to settle in their

dominions." This treaty seems to have been sufficient, up to the year 1832, when the British Government began to "re-
" quest the use of the river Indus." Separate commercial treaties, opening the Indus for the transport of merchandise, but expressly prohibitory of the conveyance of military stores, were then entered into with the rulers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore; and in both, the two contracting parties bound themselves "never
' to look with an eye of covetousness on the possessions of each
' other." Thus affairs remained till the beginning of 1838, when Runjeet Singh having put himself in an attitude of hostility, and played, almost for the last time, the part of the big bully, the Ameers were fain to avail themselves of the mediatory powers of the British, and in consideration of the service thus rendered, to allow the presence of an accredited British Agent in Sindh. Accordingly, Colonel Pottinger proceeded to Hyderabad.

So far, so well. Up to this time, all had been fair and honest. But a few months later in the year, that unhappy tripartite treaty between Shah-Soojah, Runjeet Singh and the British Government—the source, Heaven only knows of how much injustice and how much suffering—was entered into, in a most evil hour. From that hour of the 26th day of June, 1838, the Ameers may date their ruin. From that hour, they virtually ceased to exist as independent rulers. The fourth article of the treaty ran in these words: "Regarding Shikarpore and the
' territory of Sindh lying on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah
' will agree to abide by what may be settled as right and proper,
' in conformity with the happy relations of friendship subsisting
' between the British Government and the" ——Ameers of Sindh?—no,—'the Maharajah.' The Ameers of Sindh were, from this time forth, to be treated as mere nonentities—weaklings to be turned to the best possible account. The treaty having been duly signed, the Secretary with the Governor-General (the ill-fated William Hay McNaghten), as soon as other more important affairs would allow him, despatched to the Sindh Resident a copy of the said treaty, and another document of a very remarkable character, which stands No. IX, in the first of the collections at the head of our article. We invite the especial attention of the reader to certain passages of this letter, clearly showing that from the very hour in which the elevation of Shah-Soojah from the dust of Loodheanah was determined upon, the Ameers of Sindh became the victims of the British Government:—

"You will perceive, that by one of the articles of the treaty recently concluded, the British Government engages to arbitrate the claim of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk upon Shikarpore and the territories of Sinde generally, and pro-

poses, at the same time, to bring to a final settlement the claims of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, as connected with the Shah, and with the territories along the course of the Indus, which were formerly included in the dominions of the Affghan Kingdom. The Governor-General has not yet determined the amount which the Ameers may be fairly called upon to pay, and it should not therefore immediately be named: but the minimum may certainly be taken at 20 lacks of rupees.

His Lordship will endeavour to prevail upon Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to reduce the claim which he has on the Ameers, to a reasonable amount; and he trusts, that you will have no difficulty in convincing them of the magnitude of the benefits they will derive from securing the undisturbed possession of the territories they now hold, and obtaining immunity for all future claims on this account by a moderate pecuniary sacrifice.

* * * * * * *

Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk will probably arrive, with his own army, and the direct support of British troops, at Shikarpore, about the middle of November next, in progress to take possession of the throne of Affghanistan. The Governor-General is averse from contemplating such a result as refusal on the part of the Ameers to enter into such a composition with His Majesty as the British Government may deem just and reasonable; but it may be proper to apprise them of the *probable consequences of their not coming cordially into the general views of his Lordship at a crisis so important;* and you are authorized to tell them, that his Lordship must regard the demonstration of such a spirit as rendering it indispensably necessary to the success of the enterprise which it is the object of the tripartite Treaty to accomplish, that temporary occupation *should be taken of Shikarpore, and of as much of the country adjacent as may be required* to afford a secure base to the intended military operations.

His Lordship is further unwilling to contemplate the contingency of offensive operations being undertaken against the Ameers by the Shah, after he shall have established, by the support of the British Power, his authority in Affghanistan, for the realization of what he may deem his just claims. But the Ameers must be made sensible, that if they should now deprive themselves of the advantage of his Lordship's mediation, with a view to effect an immediate favourable compromise, the British Government will be precluded from offering opposition to any measures for the assertion of those claims, which the Shah may eventually determine to adopt."

Is it possible to read the above, without an inward acknowledgment, let the utterance be what it may, that it was determined from the first to sacrifice the Ameers at the altar of that unjust and disastrous policy, which has done more to lower the British character in the eyes of all civilised nations, than aught which is set down against it in the prolific page of the historian? We had, at that time, nothing to allege against the Ameers. They had violated no treaties. They had shown no unwillingness to listen to our reasonable requests. They had thrown open the Indus, for purposes of commerce; they had admitted the presence of a British resident at the Courts of Sindh. The only offence of the Ameers was—their weakness. Because they were weak, it was resolved to punish them. The combined power of the British Government, Runjeet Singh, and Shah Soojah

was clearly most irresistible. In the face of so irresistible a power the Ameers of Sindh, being weak and miserable, had no rights—no, not the shadow of rights. It would have been an impertinence in them to have pretended to any. Even treaties were to be disregarded. This great tripartite affair seems to have dissolved all lesser obligations. The Ameers, as we have shewn, though not unconscious of the danger, had, perhaps in generosity—more probably in fear—consented to open the Indus for purposes of trade; but had stipulated, that no Military stores should be permitted to pass along the river; and the British Government had bound itself by treaty never to use the river for such purposes. But no sooner was this scheme for the erection of "a friendly power" in Affghanistan fairly under way, than all the inconvenient bonds of the existing treaty were snapped asunder, as coolly as Samson snapped the withes of the Philistines—"Whilst the present exigency lasts, you may apprise the Ameers, that the article of the treaty with them, prohibitory of using the Indus for the conveyance of stores must *necessarily be suspended*, during the course of operations undertaken for the permanent establishment of security to *all those who are parties to the treaty*." The Ameers of Sindh were not parties to the treaty; but because the British Government entered into a treaty with Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah, the operation of a previous treaty with the Ameers of Sindh "must *necessarily be suspended*."—And this is British faith!

We must pause here for a little while to make an observation, which we desire the reader to bear in mind, as he pursues, in our company, this enquiry into the justice of the spoliation of the Ameers. In this letter, from the Secretary with the Governor-General to the Resident in Sindh, we not only see that the British Government had pledged itself to support certain *claims*, as they are called, of Shah-Soojah upon the Sindh Ameers, but had actually declared their intention to violate an existing treaty. Now, what we desire the reader to keep steadily in view is, the utter disregard of the obligations of treaties manifest in all the dealings of the British Government with the Ameers of Sindh. It will at once be perceived, even by the most unreflecting, that there is a difference between the conduct, in this respect, of the two contracting, or rather should we say, the two contending parties; but the difference was not the difference between honesty and dishonesty—between good faith and treachery—but simply, between strength and weakness. The British Government violated treaties; but violated them as the strong man breaks his bonds, escaping in the very face, in bold defiance, of his enemies—openly, audaciously.—The Ameers of

Sindh violated treaties; but their treachery was the treachery of the weak, not bursting its bonds in the very face of its enemies, but secretly escaping out of them, and flying, as it were, in the still of night. It is well for the strong to accuse the weak of subterfuges and evasions—to charge meanness and dishonesty upon the party, who are driven to these straits; but is it, we ask, less perfidious to violate treaties as a bully, than to violate them as a sneak? Is the man, who knocks you down on the high road and rifles you of all you possess, an honester man, than the insidious rascal who mixes with the crowd and picks your pocket?—Not a bit of it. Now, in this case of the British Government and the Ameers of Sindh, the former being strong, violated treaties openly and menacingly; the language employed was the language of the bully. It was no more than this; "It is convenient to do it; and therefore I purpose to 'do it. Demur, and it will be the worse for you." The Ameers of Sindh were weak; they could not, in open defiance, declare *their* intention of setting aside the obligations of existing treaties; and, therefore, when, in imitation of the British, they thought fit to depart from their obligations, they were driven to resort to subterfuges and evasions. Let this fact be clearly borne in mind, as we proceed with our enquiries. The British, it has been seen, were the first to perpetrate a breach of good faith. They taught the Ameers of Sindh, that treaties were to be regarded, only so long as it was convenient to regard them. What wonder that these instructions "returned to plague 'the inventor?"

It was very soon after the British Government had determined thus openly to violate an existing treaty, not only by conveying military stores, but a large body of troops through the country of the Ameers, that the treachery of these unfortunate Talpoor rulers began to present itself most invitingly as a pretext for any subsequent proceedings. Much has been attempted to be made of an allegation, that the Ameers were caught intriguing with the Court of Persia. It is very evident, that the Governor-General was extremely desirous to prove, that such was actually the case. He grasped, with avidity, at every vague indication of such an intention on the part of the Ameers; but the perceptions of the Residents in Sindh were not quite so acute, as at Simlah it seemed desirable that they should be. An *Ureeza* to the "king 'of kings" was, indeed, intercepted; but it only bore the signature of one Ameer, and was a mere high-flown complimentary effusion addressed to him as Defender of the Faith. "I do 'not myself," said Colonel Pottinger, in a letter, dated August 13th, 1838, "ascribe *any immediate political object to this Ureeza.* I

'feel almost certain, that it proceeds solely from the bigotry of 'Sheeaism, of which intolerable sect, all the Ameers, with the 'exception of Sobdar, are rigid followers."—On receipt of this not very encouraging letter, the Simlah Secretary, determined to make the most of it, wrote to the Sindh Resident, acknowledged receipt also of the enclosure "being a translation of a letter from '*the* Ameer of Sindh to the Shah of Persia"—spoke of this letter as "a tender of allegiance to that Sovereign," and then proceeded to communicate instructions for the guidance of the Sindh Resident. The following extracts will show how eagerly a pretext for destroying the authority of the Ameers was sought —how fully prepared was the Simlah Council, without any reasonable pretext, to crush the Ameers, as soon as convenient:—

"It seems open to you to decide upon proclaiming, as soon as a force from Bombay may enable you to do so with effect, that an act of hostility and bad faith having been committed toward the British Government, the share in the Government of Sinde, which has been held by the guilty party, shall be transferred to the more faithful members of the family; and it may be thought right to accompany this transfer with a condition, that as a security for the future, a British subsidiary force shall be maintained in Sinde; or, secondly the maintenance of this force may be required without the adoption of an act so rigorous as that of deposition, or, thirdly, it may be thought expedient, upon submission, and the tender by the Ameer of such amends as may be in his power, to point out to him that no better reparation can be given than by exertions to give effect to the Treaty formed for the restoration of Shah Shoojah, by a cordial adoption of its terms, and by exertions on every side to facilitate the success of the coming expedition, the party or parties to the breach of faith now commented upon being required to contribute much more largely than the other Ameer or Ameers, to the pecuniary composition to be paid to Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk."

The fact is, as we have already observed, that from the hour the tripartité treaty was signed, the independence of the Ameers was at an end. The British Government had deter mined not only to enforce certain claims preferred by the Suddozye Prince, who for some thirty years had been a wretched pensioner at Loodhianah, and, in order to establish the authority of this man, whose restoration was to be attended with these happy results to the Ameers, to convey Military stores and to march an Army through the Sindh country—measures most unpalatable in themselves—but to construe any unwillingness on the part of the Ameers to cut their own throats into an act of direct hostility, to be signally punished. "He (the Go-'vernor-General)," wrote the Simlah Secretary, on the 20th of September, "deems it hardly necessary to remind you that 'in the important crisis at which we are arrived, we cannot per-'mit our enemies to occupy the seat of power; the interests at 'stake are too great to admit of hesitation in our proceedings;

'and not only they who have shown a disposition to favour our 'adversaries, *but they who display an unwillingness to aid us* 'in the just and necessary undertaking in which we are engaged, must be displaced and give way to others on whose friendship and co-operation we may be able implicitly to rely." "The 'just and necessary policy!"

Earth is sick
And Heaven is weary of the hollow words
Which States and Kingdoms utter when they talk
Of truth and justice—

The wolf, in the fable, did not shew greater cleverness in the discovery of a pretext for devouring the lamb, than the British Government has shown in all its dealings with the Ameers. A measure most unpalatable in itself was determined upon; the means, by which it was resolved to carry out this measure, were equally unpalatable; and yet, the unhappy Ameers are told that if they make any wry faces, they must be treated as enemies and stripped of their territories. Their opinions were never asked, their wishes were never consulted; they were simply told, that the British Government were determined to follow a certain course, and that if the Ameers demurred to it, they should immediately be chastised. Colonel Pottinger, who softened everything down as far as he consistently could,* told the Ameers what would be the consequence of asserting a will of their own. 'The Ameers," he said in a Memorandum issued from the Sindh Residency on the 27th of September, "must likewise perfectly 'understand, that the measures described in this Memorandum 'are not open to further consideration, but have been *finally* 'resolved on, and that *any hesitation on their part*, or that of 'any other power, to comply with what is asked of them, must 'be deemed to be a refusal, and *immediate steps taken to remedy* 'it; which it is obvious can only be done by calling in 'additional troops, which are all ready both in the Bengal and 'Bombay territories." This is what Lord Teignmouth would have called the "dragooning plan." It was not in the nature of things, that the measures of the British Government should have been viewed favorably by the Ameers. There was a sort of sickly effort made by the Resident to persuade them, that it was all for their good; but Pottinger himself knew, none better, how desperately hollow were his words. "The Governor-General," he says in the *Memorandum*, which we have above

* For example; he told the Ameers, that he was "directed to intimate to them *the wish of the Governor-General*, that that part of the article of the treaty which prohibits Military stores coming by the Indus, should be, during the present emergency, suspended." It was something more than a wish. The Governor-General had declared that it "*must* be suspended."

quoted "confidently hopes, that the Ameers of Sindh will see *the magnitude of the benefit, which they will derive* by being secured by the payment of a moderate sum of money from all future claims, either as to the tribute payable to the Monarchs of Cabool, or the undoubted pretensions of the latter to Shikarpore." Pottinger, we repeat, was perfectly conscious, that this attempt to extort money from the Ameers, by reviving the long dormant claims of Shah-Soojah, the exile of thirty years, was utterly unjustifiable. In a letter to the Secretary with the Governor-General, he says: "The question of a money payment by the Ameers of Sindh to Shah Shooja-ool Moolk is, in my humble opinion, rendered *very puzzling*, by two releases written in Korans and sealed and signed by his Majesty, which they have produced. Their argument now is, that they are sure the Governor-General of India does not intend to make them pay again for what they have already bought, and obtained, in the most binding form, a receipt in full." We have already shown, that one of the measures which the Ameers were called upon to relish, on pain of chastisement as enemies to the British Government, was a direct violation of an existing treaty. We now see, that the other was so utterly unjustifiable, that the Sindh Resident was bound, in common honesty, to expose its discreditable character—and this was the beginning.

We have gone thus fully into these initial transactions, because we consider it of primal importance that in estimating the criminality of the Ameers, it should be distinctly seen and remembered, that they had nothing whatever, from the very first, to expect from British justice and good faith. Captain Postans, a most respectable authority—one, too, who sympathises with the Ameers in their misfortunes, and withholds not the expression of his sympathy, speaks of their "childish distrust," and seems to wonder, that they did not place implicit reliance in our national good faith. We cannot say, that there appears to us anything very surprising in this. They had seen but a very poor sample of British justice and good faith. They thought, that the British were over-reaching them; and, in turn, they resorted to evasions and subterfuges, and double-dealing—the treachery, in short, of the weak. "The conduct," says Captain Postans, "of the Sindh durbar, on this occasion, was flagrantly bad, if viewed after the promises they had so profusely given of friendship and assistance. The truth is, as we shall have occasion to mention, they disliked, from the first, our making a road through their territories, and only did not deny it at once when demanded, from the fear of incurring our displeasure. An open avowal would have been more

'honest, but the character of the Sindh court rendered it 'impracticable. It is doubtful if they were instigated by any 'other power to behave so badly. Shah Soojah was no friend 'of the Sindh chiefs; and this, coupled with fear and suspicion, 'appear to have been the principal incentives to the extra-'ordinary conduct pursued." We have the misfortune to differ from Captain Postans, on more than one point involved in the above extract. The "fear of incurring our displeasure" was a *certainty* of incurring our displeasure. The British Government had declared not only that they who thwarted its schemes, but that they who did not come willingly into them, should be treated as enemies, What wonder, then, that the weak state of Sindh did not openly deny what was asked, when the sword of utter annihilation was hanging by a hair over-head. It was not the "character of the Sindh court," which rendered "the open avowal" impracticable; but the character of universal humanity. The "extraordinary conduct" was the most natural in the world. The Ameers were *weak*. In that one word, we find the clue to all their proceedings. They could not defy the power of the British; they could not violate treaties with a high hand. The course they pursued was the course, which nature teaches to all its children from man down to the lower animals—namely, to oppose superior craft to superior strength, and thus to equalise the contest.

The conduct of the Ameers, during the progress of the Army of the Indus through their territories, was unquestionably characterised by much evasiveness and double-dealing; but, as we have attempted to show, this double-dealing was but the natural and inevitable manifestation of the struggle between strength and weakness. For this conduct, it was at one time contemplated to make an immediate attack upon the country of the Ameers; but subsequently it was deemed expedient to tie them down by such treaties, as would cause them virtually to surrender into our hands the independence, in which, by the treaties, they were verbally guaranteed. The movement of the British troops through the Sindh country was, in due course, accomplished, without any very serious rupture, and at the same time separate treaties were entered into with the Khyrpore and Hyderabad Ameers. By these, the Ameers most reluctantly consented to allow a British force to be stationed in their country, for purposes, as it is called, of protection. "The British Government engages to protect the Principality and Territory of Khyrpory."—"The British Government takes upon itself the protection of the territories now possessed by the Ameers of Hyderabad." The Ameers knew well enough what

sort of protection this would be; but they had nothing to do but to submit; and the treaties were duly ratified. The establishment of a British force in Sindh was not much more palatable than the necessity of paying for the same; and as the matter of the "money-payment" to Sha-Soojah—in every view of the case a most iniquitous demand—was still to be enforced, the Ameers began to apprehened that their coffers would soon be drained to the dregs. They groaned a little, and they writhed a little;—but they bore it.

And now affairs, for some time at least, wore a most favorable aspect. The Ameers settled down into a sort of contentedness, and behaved fairly and honestly enough. Captain Postans, who is well competent to speak of the state of our political relations with the Ameers, from the commencement of the year 1840 to the autumn of 1842, thus describes the tenour of events:—

"The victorious operations of the British army in Caubul ending in the return of a portion to India, at the beginning of 1840, were considered so satisfactory, and promised such future advantages, that the policy of our government was particularly directed to peaceable relations with the Sindhian Amirs, with a view to reconcile them as much as possible to the conditions which their own want of faith and folly had brought upon them, and which, though light, were yet galling,—particularly money payments. They were strictly held as independent princes; every possible respect being paid to their rights and prejudices as such. The Resident at the court of Hyderabad, Major Outram, (an officer admirably adapted to succeed Sir Henry Pottinger, and equally liberal in his views) using the most indefatigable exertions to secure all the commercial advantages promised in the opening of the Indus toll-free, and facilities to trade, which our new position in Sindh so well enabled us to afford; at the same time that every effort was made to smooth the jealousy of the Amirs at our presence, so long contended against, and the suspicions constantly arising in the minds of the chiefs and interested parties about them, that we were only seeking for aggressive excuses under the cloak of friendly relations. By that talent, patience, and high bearing which particularly distinguished the British representatives at the courts of India, and who have hitherto been selected for such high responsibilities by the discrimination of the great statesmen usually at the head of the Indian executive, these objects, the difficulty of which can be only understood by those who have had the opportunity of experiencing them, were fully obtained. The Amirs and their restless feudatories became gradually convinced of our honour and integrity: they found, the closer they were brought in contact with us, that their rights were held as sacred, and the slightest encroachment, even by our own people, was instantly corrected. A most satisfactory state of tranquillity prevailed throughout the country: our steamers, of which we had a small flotilla, were allowed to navigate the river, not only unimpeded, but with every assistance; the Amirs themselves occasionally enjoying a trip by these novel *Jumptis*, and the merchant or traveller, whether British subject or otherwise, traversed the Sindhian territories unmolested, and with the best feeling from every quarter, not excepting the Biluchis, as particularly evinced by our troops. If losses occurred by plunder or theft in the territories of the Amirs, in the property of individuals claiming

British protection, such were immediately made good; and, in short, matters were thus progressing admirably, and would eventually have terminated in the realisation of the objects sought for, which were inducing a feeling of confidence in us, and obtaining, by slow, but certain, steps, a better system of government in Sindh, to which even the Biluchis would ultimately have acceded, when affairs in the north-west took a sudden, but decidedly hostile turn, first evinced in the breaking out of a serious rebellion at Kilat, at the end of 1840, and affairs in Sindh became totally subservient to the active warlike preparations immediately necessary to the security of our position beyond it. During the violence of the Brahois of Kilat, which increased rapidly, and ended in the murder of the British Officer who placed himself in their power, relying on their good faith, and events which succeeded that rebellion, large bodies of our troops were pushed through the Sindhian territories in every direction *without the slightest interruption on the part of the Amirs, who, on the contrary, rendered us all the cordial assistance in their power, by furnishing guides and supplies. Had the conduct of these chiefs been otherwise, our interest would have suffered severely,* but in justice to them it must be recorded, that they fully made up, on this occasion, for their former hollow professions and want of faith; by a cordial co-operation. Up to August 1841, matters remained in a very untranquil state at Kilat, and beyond the passes generally; but on the settlement of affairs at the former, a new arrangement was made, which gave the whole political control of Sindh and the Kilat territories (jointly) to one authority (Major Outram), whose presence could not, therefore, be fixed at the Hyderabad court; but this did not make any apparent difference in the demeanour of that durbar, which appeared to keep quite aloof from troubles, gradually, but perceptibly, thickening in the north-west, and remained quiet observers of all that was passing. Restless chiefs of the Brahoi tribes were suspected of holding communications with the Amirs, which had for their object the discomfiture of the British; but if such ever took place, they were kept quiet. The Upper Sindh or Khyrpúr family became disturbed with internal dissensions; and intrigues at Mir Rústum's court constantly called for interposition to prevent the old prince's possessions from falling a prey to the parties about him. Mir Alli Múrad, who nearly up to this period had kept at a studied distance from British connection, and remained aloof from all parties, now suddenly adopted another tone, and claimed the interference and good offices of our government to settle the points in dispute between him and his brother Mir Rústum, which principally appertained to boundaries and possession of lands. The decision was given in the former's favour, and he became at once a very warm adherent, foreseeing, that his interests would certainly prosper by such a line of policy. Núr Mahomed, the senior Mir, died in 1841, and the succession of his two sons to their father's possessions and place in the government was arranged without any difficulty, though their uncle, Nasir Khan, but for the presence of the British representative, and the rule which contained all appeals in him, would probably have asserted the old established claim to his not admitting the equal participation in power of his nephews. During the same year, the transfer of the interest of the Hyderabad Amirs in the city of Shikarpur, and adjoining lands forming the Moghulli district to the British government, was agitated, in consequence of the idle delays in the cash payments of their tribute by the Amirs, giving rise to discussion, and thus opening the door to a breach of amicable feeling, in case of the British Government considering itself obliged to demand these payments punctually, according to the letter of the treaty. The shares, therefore, of three Amirs at Hyderabed, in the city of Shikarpur, amounting to two lacs (20,000.), divided between Mir

Nasir Khan, and the two sons of the late Núr Mahomed, were to be transferred to the British government, in lieu of an equal amount of the tribute or subsidy according to value ascertained. This measure was dictated by the kind consideration of the late Governor-General of India, in order to prevent the slightest cause of quarrel with chiefs who, he well knew would, by their suspicious, short-sighted views, constantly lay themselves open to be visited for breach of their agreements, if we were in the least degree inclined to insist upon their fulfilment; and was also considered to be highly conducive to a better system of government on the part of the chief of the country, by offering an asylum to their oppressed subjects, and thus forcing the durbar, by example, to a more liberal policy. Shikarpúr being, moreover, of the greatest importance commercially, as before explained, and capable of becoming, under our management, of the highest value to the trade of Sindh and countries beyond it. Every preliminary negotiation connected with this measnre, which, on suggestion, was cordially seconded by the Amirs themselves, progressed satisfactorily, until towards its period of conclusion they, as usual took the alarm, and used such subterfuge to evade their promises, that it was not considered advisable to insist upon them, particularly at a time when affairs at Candahar and Caubúl assumed so fearful an aspect as to direct all attention to those quarters, Sindhian matters becoming again completely subservient. The chiefs were left, as usual, full possession of all their rights; and beyond the usual delays in the payment of the subsidy, there was no ostensible reason to complain of their conduct, at a period though, it should be remembered, when *if they had shown hostile feelings they were powerful to do us material injury, if not to have crushed the few troops which the urgent calls for forces above the passes permitted us to keep in Sindh.* Yet, beyond the usual petty intrigues, which are essential elements of Eas.er courts, it is not yet publicly announced, that the Amirs of Sindh flew from their engagements at a time, moreover, when all India was anxiously looked to as likely to catch the spark of rebellion, and strike a blow when it was thought we were too weak to ward it off. There seems, indeed, to be every reason for concluding, that after the last treaty of 1839, the Amirs had given up all idea of opposing our power, which they contemplated as irresistible; and being in the position of independent princes, with a guarantee for the cessation of all future tribute to the Caubul throne, they probably began to look upon the amount of subsidy (though they detested cash payments) as trifling compared to the advantages possessed. To the British government it was obviously an enormous additional expense in troops and money, holding a country like Sindh for prospective benefits only. The steam flotilla maintained on the Indus, might cost nearly one half of the subsidy alone, and a native regiment in garrison would consume the other half; whereas in Sindh we had seldom less than six, with artillery and a European corps, and constant contingent expenses of all departments, whether civil or military."

On the 1st of October 1842, those huge Affghanistan disasters having been repaired, as far as military successes could repair them, by the gallantry of the forces under Generals Pollock and Nott, the Governor-General of India (then Lord Ellenborough) issued a Proclamation, withdrawing the troops to the hither side of the Indus, and, after a somewhat eccentric exposure of the views of his Predecessor's Central-Asian Policy, leaving the Affghans to enjoy the fruits of the anarchy engendered by "their crimes." The general tenour of this strange Pro-

clamation was supposed to be of a pacific character. Indeed his Lordship actually pronounced, that there was Peace in Asia, and ordered the important fact to be inscribed upon a commemoratory medal. The Governor-General had, before leaving England, announced, in the presence of the Court of Directors and Her Majesty's Ministers, that it would be his duty, as it would be his inclination, strenuously to cultivate the arts of Peace—And now here was the happy time near at hand, when "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning hooks"—when "nation shall not lift up its sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more"—Alas! how were we disappointed! It was soon too fatally apparent, that the Governor-General's hatred of war was confined to the wars made by other men. War was only detestable so long as it chanced not to be of home-manufacture. The Proclamation of the 1st of October declared nothing more than a cessation of Auklandite hostilities; for whilst the Governor-General was inditing the sentences of this very manifesto, declaratory of the injustice and impolicy of the disastrous war against the independence of Affghanistan, he was hatching another to the full as unjustifiable, and determining upon a course of conduct to be pursued towards the Ameers of Sindh, no less cruel and oppressive than that which had been pursued towards Dost Mahomed Khan. On the 28th of September, he wrote to Sir Charles Napier, who had, by this time, appeared on the stage as chief Military and Political Officer in Sindh, instructing him to pick a quarrel with the Ameers, with as little delay as possible:—

Simla, September 28, 1842.

"Your first political duty will be, to hear all that Major Outram, the other Political Agent, may have to allege against the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore, tending to prove the intention, on the part of any of them, to act hostilely against the British army.

That they may have had hostile feelings there can be no doubt. It would be impossible to believe that they could entertain friendly feelings; but we should not be justified in inflicting punishment upon the thoughts."

The intent of the above is sufficiently clear. Presuming—not because they had injured us, for it has been shown that in the midst of our difficulties they might have crushed us, and did not; but because we had injured them—that the Ameers could not very well "entertain friendly feelings" towards the British, the Governor-General instructed Sir Charles Napier to find some pretext for "inflicting punishment" upon them. In other words, the injustice which we *had* done to the Ameers was to be taken as our grounds for the commission of further injustice. It is impossible, says the Governor-General, that they should entertain friendly feelings

towards us. Why was this impossible? Simply because we had injured them. And yet, because we had injured them, and they are, therefore, supposed to be unfriendly, they are to be chastised again for their unfriendliness. We prick these Ameers, and then punish them for bleeding. And this is called British justice!

But the real cause of this chastisement of the Ameers consisted in the chastisement which the British had received from the Affghans. It was deemed expedient, at this stage of the great political journey, to show, that the British could beat some one; and so it was determined to beat the Ameers of Sindh. It is true, that two victorious armies had marched upon Caubul through the Eastern and Western countries of Affghanistan and carried every thing before them; but it was deemed expedient immediately to withdraw those armies; and the scurrying home through the passes might look, or by many be conceived to look, like a virtual acknowledgment of inability to occupy the country, and therefore in some measure, an acknowledgment of defeat. To remedy this evil, it was determined to show, that the British Army could hold Sindh. A few more victories were required to re-establish our reputation; and the Governor-General resolved, that the Ameers, who, a few months before, had spared our Army, when they might have annihilated it, should be the victims of this generous policy. This is no mere conjecture on our part. The fact is fully established under the hand of the Governor-General himself:—

"I have adopted every measure which could have the effect of giving the appearance of triumph to the return of the armies from Cabool; but still it was a retirement from an advanced position, and it was the first retirement ever rendered necessary to a British army.

"I was deeply sensible of the impression which the reverses at Cabool had produced upon the minds of native princes, of the native population, and of our own troops. I knew that all that had taken place since, and all I had said and done, although it must have much diminished, could not have obliterated, that impression, and restored to our government, and to our Army, the place they had before held in the opinion of India.

"To have added to retirement to the Sutledj, retirement from the Lower Indus; to have abandoned every part of the advanced position we had taken up in 1839; to have withdrawn from Kurachee and Sukkur amidst the insults, and exposed, as we should have been, to the attacks of the Beloochees upon our rear guard; to have practically abandoned, as we should thereby have done, all the benefits which we might expect ultimately to derive from the commercial treaties concluded in 1839 (for it was idle to imagine after what had passed, that without the presence of force, those treaties would be observed); to have abandoned also all the great prospective advantages which may be expected to be derived from substituting the Indus for the Ganges, as the line of military communication between England and the north-west provinces, and to have left open to the ambition of the Sikhs, or of an European power, that route of which we had demonstrated the practicability and the importance; to have done all these things, without positive

instructions from you or without some overpowering necessity, would have been, in my opinion, contrary to my duty, because inconsistent with our national interests and the national honour.

"Such a measure would have confirmed the most exaggerated accounts which had been circulated of our disasters. It would have been humiliating to the army.

"There was no overpowering necessity for retirement. There is no difficulty in holding the positions of Kurachee and Sukkur. The first is, during the largest portion of the year, accessible in a few days from Bombay; the latter is, during the whole year, accessible in less than three weeks from Ferozepore. We can, besides, command the river by our steam-vessels, if we have a sufficient number of them well adapted to the navigation."

Here we see the real history of this war in Sindh. Every thing else was a mere after-thought. The Governor-General talks vaguely about "the misinterpretations placed upon some 'provisions of the commercial treaty, and the various violations 'of its letter and its spirit;" but there had been no violation of any treaty committed by the Ameers, of a magnitude to match with that authoritative setting aside of the compact of 1832, which we have seen was insisted upon by the British Government. Again: we ask of our readers to look well into this struggle between strength and weakness. The strong man forces upon the weaker a covenant of his own invention; no matter how inequitable it is, the weaker one must accord his consent. The treaty is duly ratified. In process of time, the strong man finds it convenient to set aside some portion of this treaty; he sets it aside, accordingly, with a bluster, and calls it a *suspension* of the article thus violated. The weaker one, in his turn, perhaps in self-defence, finds it necessary to disregard some of the obligations of the treaty; he does so, with the aid of subterfuges and evasions, for he can not bluster like the strong man; and immediately, the latter, who has never hesitated to "suspend" any article of the treaty—a treaty, be it remembered, of his own dictation, and one, therefore to which he is doubly bound to adhere—explodes, with virtuous indignation at the bad faith, the treachery of the weakling; and immediately begins to chastise him. Now, we wish the reader never to lose sight of the relative positions of the two parties. A man who, in his own words, prompted by his own inclinations, registers an oath and straightway violates the self-imposed sacred obligation, commits a crime of far greater magnitude, than that recorded against him, who violates an oath, wrung from him by the application of a loaded pistol to his temples. Now, the treaties, which the Governor-General vaguely declares were violated "in spirit and in letter," were wrung from the Ameers at the point of the bayonet—acceded to under fear of utter annihilation. They could not follow the

example of the British. When our Government found a treaty inconvenient or insufficient—when they desired to escape from its trammels, or conceived that something more might be safely demanded, they immediately drew up a new treaty, and prepared to force it upon the Ameers. This was the treachery of the strong. The British Government dictated the treaties; set them aside, when they were found to be inconvenient; and then dictated new treaties. Now, we ask again, whether in these transactions there was a greater degree of good faith, than in the proceedings of the Ameers, who, being weak, evaded the treaties which were forced upon them. Viewed by the clear light of genuine morality, the evasions of the Ameers indicated less of bad faith, than the dragooning violations of the British. But no sooner was it determined to find a pretext for subjugating the Ameers, in order that we might remove the "impression which the reverses of Cabool had 'produced upon the minds of native princes," than the old cry of treachery was raised; and whilst the Governor-General was instructing Sir Charles Napier to bring to light every indication of bad faith that could possibly be discerned in the conduct of the Ameers he was preparing to set aside all the obligations of the treaty then existing, by forcing, at the point of the bayonet, upon these wretched Talpoor rulers, a new and obnoxious treaty; and in the meantime, actually depriving them, without a treaty, of a portion of the country, the integrity of which had been guaranteed to them. Sir Charles Napier told the Ameers towards the close of 1842, that he was come to live in their country "to take care, that all the English people observe the treaty between the Governor-General and their Highnesses the Ameers of Sindh, whom God prosper and make happy;" and, in a month or two afterwards, we find him proclaiming, "The Governor-General of India has ordered me to take possession of the districts of Subzulkote and Bhoong-bara," adding:—

"It is hereby also made known, that if the Ameers collect any revenue in advance, after the 1st January, 1843, or shall impose any new tax upon the ryots of the above-named districts, the said Ameers shall be amerced to that *amount in arranging the new Treaty*, and this amercement shall be enforced to a larger amount than the Ameers may have so levied upon the people of the said districts."

Was this acting in good faith? The Ameers wanted no new treaty; they considered the old one something more than oppressive enough; but now, a new treaty, still more oppressive—still more unendurable, was to be forced upon them, at the point of the bayonet. It was at this time, (December 1842)

that Sir Charles Napier, who had come to live in Sindh to see that the treaty of 1839 was regarded by the British, began to write those extraordinary letters to the Ameers which have called forth the severe animadversions of all right-thinking men. Sir Charles is a sort of military Cobbett; and his letters to these unhappy Talpoor princes are in true *Political Register* style. There are unquestionably apparent in the published *Blue Books* some important omissions. We require to see something more than we have yet seen of the instructions sent to Sir Charles Napier; but as far as we can determine by the letters of the General, his instructions were, to violate the treaty of 1839; to dictate to the Ameers a new and most offensive one; and upon any indication of resistance, to seize boldly upon their territories —"If they (the Ameers,)" wrote Sir C. Napier to Meer Ali Morad (his protegé,) on the 14th of January, "resist the arms 'of the Company in war, and if a shot be fired by them at the 'troops under my command, then *I have orders to take all their* 'estates in the name of the Company."—The orders were most fully obeyed. The Ameers, who had learnt a lesson from the British, began to collect troops They knew, that when the British Government began to treat, they always took care to have a strong force at hand to give weight to their arguments. The Ameers knew that they had nothing to gain by receiving all the propositions of the British in a meek and quiet spirit; the Company Behaudoor had gone on, from year to year, growing more exacting, more iniquitous in its demands; and the Ameers, naturally enough, began to think, that if they were to follow the dragooning plan too, they might obtain somewhat easier terms. Accordingly, both the Upper and Lower Sindh Ameers began to collect troops and bluster. They obviously had no intention of commencing hostilities: but Sir Charles Napier was determined to disperse their troops, and with this end in view, proceeded, by forced marches, to Hyderabad. "Not-'withstanding their blustering, I do not believe they intend to 'commence hostilities," wrote Major Outram on the 8th of February, "it being their usual practise to make a show of 'intending hostilities to get the better terms; besides, had they 'really intended to proceed to extremities, they would certainly 'have removed their women from Hyderabad, which it does 'not appear that they have made any preparation for doing."— Captain Postans makes a similar remark:—"There can scarcely 'be a greater proof of the Ameers themselves not intending to 'proceed to extremities, and being driven by their Biluchis to 'opposition, than the fact of their leaving all their property at 'Hyderabad, as also their families, which they would otherwise

'have certainly removed to their places of refuge, in the 'fastnesses of the Biluchi mountains to the westward, had their 'faith in the desert strong-holds been weakened by the destruc- 'tion of Emaumghur, and also surrendering themselves to the 'British General, the moment their troops were defeated." There was clearly no treacherous intent—What followed is well known—so well, that we need not enter into the details of military occurrences. Sir Charles Napier continued to advance. Major Outram implored—protested,—in vain. The Biluchis were not be restrained. The Residency was attacked; and the battle of Meeanee was fought. What Napier's opinions were, may be gathered from the annexed extract from a letter written a week before the engagement.—We see here, in every sentence, the one prominent argument of the strong man, that to be weak is to be criminal:—

"I have no power to discuss former treaties; but I will state to Lord Ellenborough all the Ameers say, because it is fair to them; but I am sure, that we should not tell them so now, because they would build interminable discussions thereon; but I will at once send Lord Ellenborough a copy of what passed; for though I do not think he will alter an iota, he may incline to show them favour in the Roree district affair.

Tell the Ameers that their plea of not being able to control their armed Beloochees, *is sufficient excuse to any other Government to overturn theirs.*

Roostum's plea of being sent to Ali Moorad by me, is a shallow affair; because, in the first place, he sent a secret message (by Moyadeen, I believe Brown told me), to say he was, to all intents, a prisoner in Khyrpore, and that he had tried to send away his family, and was obliged to bring them back after they were on their road, and he would escape and come to my camp. Brown knows all this matter. The messenger said, he (Roostum) would do whatever I advised. My answer was, "Take your brother's advice; go to him, and either stay with him, or I will escort you to my camp." His flying from his brother's camp proves, that he was not a prisoner; his not flying to mine proves either his duplicity, or his imbecility; I believe the latter; but *imbecility is not a legitimate excuse for rulers.* I have only to deal with his acts; he played you the same trick; he even now stands out; he cannot say Ali Moorad still influences him. I believe he did at first, but does not now; and I am half inclined now to doubt the fact, though I did not do so at first; but, as I said, the intrigues of these people are nothing to me; only I will not let his cunning attempt to cast his conduct upon my advice, pass. He went contrary to my advice, and now wants to make out, that he acted by it. I send you a copy of my letter.

Any *petition* the Ameers like to send to the Supreme Government it is my duty to forward, and I shall do so with pleasure."

The sufficient excuse to overturn their Government was found; and the Government was overturned. The Ameers were defeated in battle; and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. We grieve to add, that the treatment they received was not all that might have been expected from a generous British soldier. With all their weaknesses—and they were many—these fallen Princes should

have been treated, if not with respect, at least with some degree of forbearance. It was not necessary to insult them; assuredly, it was not dignified—nor decorous. Would that the letter No. 87, in the second *Blue Book*, written just one month after the great victory of Meeanee, had never, never been penned! All the glory, which that lustrous achievement sheds upon the name of Napier, cannot brighten that one dark spot.

A Proclamation was issued, and the country of the Ameers was declared to be British soil. The Talpoor Rulers have paid the penalty of their weakness; and the question, which now remains to answer is, whether, in thus stripping them of their territory the British Government has dealt righteously or unrighteously with these unhappy princes. Their crime was weakness—weakness, which in vain struggled to cope with such strength as ours. Briefly recapitulated, the case is this: From the very hour that the "tripartite treaty" was drawn out by the Simlah Council, the Sindh Ameers became our victims; their independence was gone for ever. Old treaties were to be set aside, as useless lumber; new treaties to be dictated at the point of the bayonet, again to be superseded, on the same dragooning plan, by others more oppressive and unendurable. The Ameers could not dictate treaties to the British, nor set them authoritatively aside; and therefore, when they found the burthen heavy—a burthen, be it ever remembered, lashed by a strong hand to their unwilling back—they betook themselves to shifts and evasions, all the natural subterfuges of the weak. At last, when these wretched princes found the British Government still rising in its demands—presenting another new treaty, far more intolerable than its predecessor, they betook themselves to another form of stratagem, and staightway collected an army. They thought, that as the British General treated with an army at his back, it would be better for them to do the same. They did so—and they lost their kingdom. The treachery of the strong man was triumphant; the treachery of the weak resulted in misery and disgrace. Who is the greater criminal? Truth has but one answer; for never, as the suffering Meer Sobdar articulated from his Bombay prison, "from the time when the British first became masters of India, up to the present time was such disgrace, oppression and tyranny experienced."

And now, having shown that the difference between the bad faith of the British Government and the bad faith of the Sindh Ameers being simply and solely the difference between strength and weakness, the justification, on the grounds of treachery—justly punishable treachery—cannot be adopted for a moment, by one candid, unprejudiced mind, let us some-

what more briefly consider the second plea, set forth by the defenders of the spoliatory policy of the present Indian Government. The Ameers, it is said, having been tyrants and usurpers; having cruelly oppressed the people and sacrificed the country to their own insatiate selfishness; having been interested in perpetuating the worst possible form of Government, and resolute to perpetuate it; being, in short, as elegantly phrased by Sir Charles Napier, "thorough villains;" merit no sort of sympathy in their misfortunes; but rather, on the other hand, their downfal ought be regarded with delighted satisfaction by every real friend of humanity. All the argument here discernible amounts to this—The Government of the Talpoor princes was vicious, and was destructive of the people. British Government, it is said, is less vicious and is protective of the people. Therefore, it is right that the former should be replaced by the latter: and that the Ameers of Sindh should now be vegetating, in their pleasant retreat at Dum-Dum. It will not take us very long to examine and expose all this.

With regard to what has been said on the subject of the want of nationality in the Talpoor rule, and the personal character of the Ameers themselves, as we believe that no reasonable man, not saturated and sodden with the slosh of party, can have ever conceived, for one single moment, either that the absence of Sindhian blood from the veins of the Ameers,* or any personal repulsiveness of character, could invalidate their right to the sovereignty of the country, which they had long held without disputation, we may leave these ingenious gentlemen to their own discoveries and the study of English history. The superiority of British rule is a matter often boasted of by the British themselves; but the people are not at all times the best judges in their own case; and perhaps it may be said, that British testimony, on such a point, goes for nothing. We have, in a previous article, remarked, that "somehow or other, the dis-
'covery of the hatefulness of the existing Government is always
'contemporaneous with our intention to bestow the blessing of
'British rule on our neighbors;" and it is unquestionable, that we infer somewhat too hastily, that a people, who lack printed Regulations, forms and technicalities of law, and all the intricate machinery of the Company's law-courts, must necessarily be in a very degraded and miserable condition—ground down to the dust and barbarously oppressed by lawless rulers.

* How much English blood has flowed in the veins of the sovereigns of England since the reigns of Elizabeth—how much British blood since the reign of Anne? How much Hindostanee blood is there in the Court of Directors and the Governor-General.

Now, we believe all this to be the veriest delusion. A few tyrants are better than many; and we confess, it does not appear to us so very obvious a truth, that by multiplying the number of petty tyrants—by filling every nook and corner of the country with oppressors, wielding the most terrible instrument of persecution—law in lawless hands—we shall much better the condition of the people. We have held possession of Bengal now for nearly a century; what the condition of the rural population is, at this present day, we have already demonstrated; and that not in obscure and incoherent conjectures, but in a recital of clear, unquestionable facts. Is it conceivable, that the people of Sindh, under the rule of the Talpoor princes, were more demonstrably wretched, than the people of Bengal, under the regulation-government of the Company? If despotism must flourish, let the iron-rod be wielded by a few, not by many despots. Let tyranny abide in its palaced home, not in every miserable hamlet. The Talpoor princes may have been tyrants; but were they worse tyrants than our Bengalee Zumeendars—worse than our Bengalee Police-officers? Lawlessness is bad; but Law is worse—a terrible instrument, indeed, for evil—where the executive is utterly vicious and corrupt. Regulations are but a plaited crown of thorns, wringing blood to mingle with the brow-sweat of the wretched laborer. Far better for him that there should be no law, than that law should be employed by a swarm of petty official tyrants, as a stupendous instrument of oppression. With a clear insight into the abject misery of the people of Hindoostan, under the *protective* Zumeendar-and-Darogah government of the British, we cannot fail to look upon this boast of the blessings, which must necessarily accrue to Sindh from its transfer to the Company as, at best, a monstrous delusion. It is probable, that the country now being in a sort of transition-state—the princely tyranny of the Ameers at an end, and the more galling yoke of a hydra-headed petty despotism not yet fully imposed, the people may be sensible of a change for the better; but we cannot conceive any more intolerable curse that could be in store for Sindh, than its internal assimilation to a province of Hindoostan. Let the Company's system of domestic government once come into full operation; and the people will discover what they have gained by the downfal of the Talpoor dynasty.

The utter wretchedness of the people of Sindh, under the Talpoor rule, is one of those things, which are often asserted, but never sufficiently proved. In no accounts, which we have seen does it appear that the people were discontented. They were very poor, and very degraded; but their necessities being

few, they have ever been above actual want. They lived in a very primitive state; and knowing nothing beyond, they sighed for nothing beyond. The earth brought forth its fruits in sufficient abundance for all the requirements of human nature; and let it not be supposed, that a more ample development of the resources of the country would necessarily be a blessing to the people. Poverty is protection. To possess nothing is to be free from oppression. The livers from hand to mouth escape much of wrong, which descends on those just a little above this state of actual destitution. It is doubtful whether the cultivation of the country, up to its highest possible perfection-state, would in reality enrich the people. It would increase our revenue, and it would fatten, with corruption, a depraved crew of native officials. But unless a very different system of internal administration from that which has so long desolated Hindoostan is introduced into the Sindh Provinces, we see no reason to believe, that though the banks of the Indus should present to the enamoured eye the fairest scenes of flourishing cultivation, and the tax-gatherer, at some remote period, pour a stream of wealth into the Company's over-flowing Treasury, the people of Sindh will, in reality, be a happier people than under the rule of the Ameers. Let us take a glance at the character of this Talpoor rule. It was not altogether wanting in that Patriarchality, of which we have spoken in a former article. There was in it some sort of protectiveness. It was a simple despotism; and as such, presented, at least, something as a set off against tyranny and exaction. The people indeed were reconciled to the oppression of the Ameers. But it is one thing to be oppressed by a sovereign Prince, and another by a Police Darogah sprung from the very dregs of the people. The former protects, whilst he oppresses; exaction is, indeed, part of his government, and there is something endurable in the harshest demands of a monarch; for there is a sort of "right divine" in them. But in the tyranny of a petty Officer, who, being of the people, knows far better how to tyrannise—whose instruments of torture are cunningly contrived to wring the most delicate fibres of domestic life, there is not one redeeming trait, not one sustaining consolation. Now, of this tyranny of the Ameers, of which we have heard so much, let us now see the worst. Capt. Postans, whose book on Sindh we have already quoted, delivers himself on this subject, with much candour and intelligence:—

"The government of Sindh was of course a perfectly despotic one, no subject, of whatever rank or calling, daring to assume a right, in opposition to the supreme will of their rulers, the Amirs; and the result of this condition was, of course, impoverishment to the territory, misery to the poor, favouritism towards the unworthy, with ignorance, fear,

and oppression to all. If an artisan worked cunningly and well, his labour was seized, by order of an admiring prince; if a banker amassed wealth, it was speedily found, that the royal coffers were becoming low, and the man of wealth was commanded to replenish them; if the farmer's lands were fruitful, he was compelled to support the military retainers of the court; and thus was every species of energy crushed by the selfish and short-sighted character of the government. But Sindh differed little in this from all others, governed, as all semi-barbarous countries are, by despotism; and many of the evils under which the people laboured were as much the effects of their geographical position and vicinity to the desert, as to the oppressions of the Amirs. From this remark it must be clearly understood, that the idea intended to be given is simply, that although exaction was common, the best interests of commerce neglected, Sindhian artisans oppressed to pay for the wares of the foreign merchant, and agriculture sacrificed to sport, yet that the government of the Amirs of Sindh was not in these respects worse than might be expected from their limited views; while in many respects there was a total absence of the fierce, violent and brutal cruelty often exercised by the despot princes of the East, whether Mahomedan or Hindu. It must be also observed, that in the condition of semi-barbarous ignorance, in which the Sindhian population is, acts, which to a civilised and enlightened people, existing under a free government, would appear oppressive and terrible to the last degree, had no such terrors for the subjects trained and inured (they and their fathers) to a despotic rule; while among feudal systems, in all countries, as in Sindh, a warm attachment is ever found to exist between the serf and his lord, between the military retainer and his prince; a link, which though sometimes felt to be an iron one, would gall more in the breaking than in the wearing,—a fact which association and habit can scarcely fail to produce. A free people suddenly cursed with a change of masters and the oppressions of a conqueror, as the Hindus were by the violence of the Moslems, cannot be insensible to the tyranny so exercised; but a people accustomed, from generation to generation, to the same system, are easily reconciled to those instances of harshness which at particular periods press somewhat heavily on either their interests, or their tranquillity."

The Government of Sindh, under the Talpoors, was, unquestionably, a rude sort of Government. The despotism was a naked despotism; differing from more civilized Governments, not in the extent, but in the greater openness and directness, of its oppressions. It is simply the difference between hand-labour and machinery. A rude barbarian Government, desiderating the property of its subjects, seizes it with a strong hand; a civilized Government invents an intricate machinery of fiscal and judicial law, and trips its subjects by Act of Parliament. The direct strong-handed oppression is, probably, the less galling of the two; it is speedier in its operations, and less acutely felt in the depths of human society. The slower torture is the more unendurable. Now, granted that the Sindhian artisan did not toil for himself; that the Sindhian cultivator did not labor for himself—do British artisans and British cultivators toil and labor for themselves? Do not suffering and oppression—an incalculable amount—exist beneath

the so-called "perfection of human reason?" There is in the legal machinery itself, however intricate, nothing really protective of human happiness, even among a people accustomed to it from their birth. We are slow, therefore to receive as an axiom the justificatory assumption, that the substitution of a civilized for a barbarous Government must necessarily be a blessing to a rude people. At all events, no ingenuity can justify an otherwise indefensible act of aggrandisement, on the ground, that the rule of the Ameers was oppressive and tyrannical, whilst British rule is mild, and merciful, and laden with human blessings. Would that we could see any great amount of happiness in store for the wretched people! Far be it from us to say, that British rule may not, in time, become a blessing. If we were not hopeful of better things—if we saw before us nothing but dreary stagnation—if we believed that the evils, of which we have endeavored to give some intelligible exposition, were irremediable evils—evils inextricably and eternally interwoven with the whole fabric of Hindostani Society, we should not have launched this Review into being. Despair begets indolence. We are active, only because we are hopeful. But to be hopeful is not to be presumptuous; and looking at the present condition of the people of Hindostan, we cannot but regard those much-vaunted blessings, which are to be conferred on the people of Sindh, as things somewhat remote and problematical. It will be time for us to talk, with assurance, of bettering the condition of Sindh, when we have done something towards the amelioration of the condition of Hindostan. At present, the most that we can do is, to conjecture and to hope.

But one other vain show of defence remains to be noticed; and that one is, the "great and incontrollable principle," which, expounded by Sir Robert Peel, frightened the nation from its propriety, and caused even distant India to send back an echo of the alarum-note. On the occasion of that debate in the Lower house, on Lord Ashley's motion, the issue of which was precisely what any reasonable man, cognisant of the all-sufficiency of party, must have anticipated, the Minister—we presume, being somewhat hard driven for something of a justificatory character to assert in reply to the condemnations which had been passed on the Sindh robbery—betook himself to a principle; and having plunged boldly in, without considering the effects of his rashness, soon found himself out of his depth. Principles in the hands of a man of detail, are the veriest edge-tools; and are apt to cut the fingers to the bone. Sir Robert obviously cut his fingers; and was surprised to find the tools so sharp. This incontrollable principle must

have been asserted—for Peel is not a man to fly to principles so long as he has anything else to help him—in default of something better, and must clearly be taken, as an acknowledgment, on the part of the Minister, that the case was desperately bad. Coming from a man, who never deals with principles when he can help it, the following is strangely rash:—

"I have had occasion to express my opinions freely with respect to the policy of Lord Auckland as to the expedition to, and invasion of, Affghanistan—but so far as motive is concerned—I do not believe that any man ever administered important public functions with a greater desire to promote the interests of his country, or with greater devotion to its welfare. Independently of this, there is another ground for making allowances for the conduct of Lord Auckland or Lord Ellenborough, acting under the circumstances under which all Governors-General of British India are always placed. We may in this House lay down what positions we please, with respect to the propriety of observing in our Indian policy the same rules and principles which are observed between European States;—we may pass Acts of Parliament interdicting the Governor-General from extending our Indian territories by conquest; but I am afraid there is some great principle at work wherever civilization and refinement come in contact with barbarism, which makes it impossible to apply the rules observed amongst more advanced nations; more especially when civilization and refinement come in contact with barbarism in an immensely extended country. I doubt whether it be possible, if you wish to increase the security of your Indian empire, that you can rigidly adopt the principle with respect to the nominally independent and small states in India, which is adopted in Europe. Take the case of Affghanistan. Assuming that it had been necessary, for the maintenance and security of the Indian empire, to counteract the designs of Persia or of Russia in respect to Affghanistan, and that Scinde—a country nominally independent—was interposed between you and Affghanistan; would it have been possible for the Governor-General of India to have acted upon those principles which would, under almost similar circumstances, have been observed and acted upon in Europe? Would it have been possible for him to have said, "Unless the inhabitants of Scinde do voluntarily consent to give to me a free passage through their territory, unless I gain that permission, I will look on and see Persia and Russia making rapid strides into Affghanistan, for what ulterior purposes they please, but I am determined not to stir; I will not consent to pass through Scinde, because it is an independent state, without the free assent of the powers of that country?" Could such a policy be acted upon in India? Consider how many small independent states, you would have to deal with in that respect, and how complicated would be your operations in order to retain your domination in that vast territory. And what would you be ultimately compelled to do, to protect your own territory? You would not, perhaps, effect that protection by taking forcible possession of those states which offered obstacles in your way, but by other equally effectual means; by placing your resident at each of their courts, and by subsidizing their troops, and thereby obtaining an effectual political sway over them. Whatever may be the principle which may regulate the conduct of civilized nations when coming in contact with each other, I am afraid that when civilization and barbarism come into contact, there is some incontrollable principle of a very different description, which demands a different course of conduct to be pursued."—*Hansard's Debates.*

Now the incontrollable principle here laid down, is simply this;

that where strength and weakness come into contact, strength must swallow up weakness, and weakness submit quietly to be swallowed. That, in fact, it too often happens so, is a deplorable and humiliating truth; but that any Statesman in this nineteenth century should speak of it, not as something ineffably degrading to civilization and refinement—not as something to be regarded with national shame and contrition; but as a great justificatory principle, would be utterly astounding and unintelligible, upon any other view of the case, than that the Minister had no clear perception of what he was talking about. Peel is not a Machiavelli; and it is only fair, therefore, to surmise, that thus endeavoring to expound great principles, he floundered somewhat out of his depth, and unwittingly uttered great wickedness. To allege the sinful impulses of humanity—whether individual or national—in justification of great crimes, is so clearly monstrous, that much need not be said in exposition of the monstrosity. That the Prime Minister of England should knowingly declare, in sober, serious Parliamentary language, what Fielding, in bitter irony, expounded in the opening chapters of Jonathan Wild—the drift of which is, that the gibbet and the laurel-wreath are made from the same tree, both of them the growth of that great principle of acquisitiveness which sends little men to Newgate and great ones to the House of Lords—is far beyond the bounds of credibility, and, therefore, not to be combated, as the declaration of a man really meaning what he knowingly utters. But we may briefly note, that if this principle be admitted, it must at once absolve our barbarian enemies from all their obligations. If it be deliberately set down, that civilized England in its dealings with barbarous states, such as Sindh, is bound by none of the ordinary rules of justice, and honesty, and good faith, it is clear, that the British Government, by that very declaration, places itself beyond the law, and voluntarily consents to be treated as a pirate or a wild beast. If we go among a barbarous people, declaring ourselves absolved from all our obligations, simply because they are barbarous, it is obvious, that they in turn, are loosened from all their obligations, and may treat us as the common enemies of mankind—universal pests to be placed beyond the law of humanity—the devouring Ishmaels of the world. We cannot claim to ourselves the privilege of

> ——— —— that mystery of iniquity
> Which from its victim demands every virtue
> And brings it none—

No; having abandoned the law, we must consent to be dealt with without law; and never, never more indulge in vaporings about the treachery and barbarity of our enemies. As soon

as we declare our immunity from all the obligations of national law, we are fair marks for every species of treachery and barbarity; and thus admitting the incontrollable principle, what becomes of all the rest? Our wars in Asia are reduced to mere contests between brute beasts; and we place ourselves in the unenviable position of a party that cannot, by any possibility, be right. The abandonment of the law emanating from us—all the evil engendered by that abandonment, on our, or the other, side—all that is done and suffered by ourselves—all that is done and suffered by our enemies, must be laid as a mighty heap of crime and suffering at our own doors. The barbarity of our enemies becomes merely defensive barbarity; and, doing or suffering, we are responsible for the whole. Viewed through the medium of the incontrollable principle, the Sindh robbery is more than ever without justification—it is nothing but a mighty act of unparalleled wrong, emanating from an abandonment, upon principle, of all the obligations of national law and common humanity. To this would Sir Robert Peel's principle reduce the Sindh question, and prove to the world, that when civilization and barbarism come in contact, civilization is the more barbarous of the two.

*** It would appear from certain statements which we have seen in the public journals, since this article was written, that our anticipations of the evils likely to arise from the transfer of Sindh to the protection of the British Government, are in a fair way to be speedily realised. Making every allowance for a not impossible party-bias in the writings of these Sindh correspondents, it would still appear, that the introduction of new systems of taxation is severely felt by the people; and that there is every probability of their soon beginning to sigh for the old, and more endurable forms of Talpoor exaction. We have dreaded, from the very first hour in which Sindh became a province of Hindostan, lest an over-anxiety, on the part of the executive Government, to prove the fertility of the country and the cheering prospect of its rapidly affording, not only due compensation, but ample remuneration for all that the conquest has cost, should give birth to an unjust and impolitic imposition of taxes—mischievous at any time, but especially so at the outset of a new career of Government, when it is above all things desirable to encourage, not to crush, the industrial energies of the people. We fear that our apprehensions were not altogether unfounded. Recent accounts from Sindh speak of "ill-timed and irritating schemes of taxation;" "newly created imposts and restrictions;" and when it is added to this that no great care is shown in the selection of agents to carry out a work of extreme delicacy and difficulty—one requiring no small amount of knowledge, experience, tact, temper, and benevolence—making every allowance for a slight infusion of prejudice and party-spirit, we cannot but tremble for the consequences of this untimely application of the revenue-screw.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE MASSACRE AT BENARES.

THE last sheet of the second article, in our present number, had only just gone to Press, when we received a copy of a little work, published by Mr. Murray, under the title of *Vizier Ali Khan, or the Massacre at Benares, a chapter in British Indian History.* The author's name is not on the title-page; but we learn from the dedication (to Mount-Stuart Elphinstone) that we are indebted for this "chapter" to Mr. J. F. Davis, who has recently been appointed Governor of Hong-Kong. As this highly respected and able gentleman is the son of Mr. Davis, the Benares Judge and Magistrate, whose gallant defence of himself and family against the fierce attacks of Vizier Ali and his followers, we have endeavoured to chronicle at pages 76-77, we need scarcely add, that when attempting in our own slight way, this interesting passage of Indian History, we should have been truly glad of the assistance which Mr. Davis is so competent to afford us. Our own account of the Benares Massacre was compiled from cotemporary narratives; but it would appear, that in one or two instances, we have been misled by these old records. We willingly acknowledge Mr. Davis' authority in all that relates to his father's proceedings; but we must demur to one or two passages in the history of the deposition of Vizier Ali. For example, at *page* 3 it is said, "It was ascertained at length, on indubitable evidence, that Asoph-ud-Dowlah, who had no sons of his own, had purchased his (Vizier Ali's) mother, the wife of a fraush, or menial servant, a short time previous to the birth of Vizier Ali, and adopted the child as his own." This is obviously an error. Asoph-ud-Dowlah purchased the child, after its birth, having had no previous knowledge of the pregnancy of the woman (vide the evidence of Tehzeen Ali.) Again, Mr. Davis, alluding to this Tehzeen Ali (or Zehzeen Ali, as he calls him) says, "The particulars communicated by the minister Zehzeen Ali Khan, the secret adherent, the rightful claims of Saadut Ali were very unfavorable." Now, Tehzeen Ali was not the minister; but the eunuch, who was principal witness to the spuriousness of Vizier Ali's origin, and who purchased the child for the Nabob. The minister, who was the secret adherent of Saadut Ali, and who communicated the particulars

alluded to, was Tuffoozool Hussein Khan—a very different sort of person. Having thus set Mr. Davis right, on these two points, as a little bit of critical retaliation for having unwittingly exposed an error of our own, we must proceed to allow him to set us right upon other matters. It appears, that we were in error when we stated, that Mr. Davis's father killed two of his assailants, with the celebrated spear, which is still, we are told, "regarded with some veneration in the family." Our authority for the statement, was a narrative of the massacre, originally published in the *Asiatic Mirror*; and subsequently republished, as the most authentic version of the affair, in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, for the year 1799. On this point, however, we willingly defer to Mr. Davis's authority. His account of the famous attack and defence is one of unquestionable authenticity, and we have much pleasure in transferring it to our pages:—

"Mr. Davis, whose house was not much more than a quarter of a mile distant, in returning from his morning ride on an elephant, had passed Vizier Ali and his whole train, as they were proceeding towards Mr. Cherry's house, but their business was not with him *yet!*—he providentially escaped, to be the instrument of saving many others. To him the train did not appear more numerous, nor in any respect different from what he had often observed of them, except that they moved in rather closer order than usual. On reaching home, however, he found the cutwal, or head of the police, who stated, that he had ascertained the fact of Vizier Ali having sent emissaries into the neighbouring districts to summon armed men, and that some mischief might be apprehended from his present visit to Mr. Cherry.

Mr. Davis immediately despatched a hasty note to Mr. Cherry, and being anxious for the return of his messenger, kept a look out in that direction; when presently he observed Vizier Ali and his train returning with much more haste than usual; and that some of the horse, instead of keeping the road, crossed into his grounds, and began firing at a sentry, stationed about fifty yards from the house, whom they shot down. There was now no time to lose. Mrs. Davis was told to repair, with her two children,* and their attendants, to the terrace on the top of the house, while he himself ran for his fire-arms, which were below; but observing, on his way down, that an armed horseman was already in the doorway, he bethought him of a pike, or spear, which he had upstairs, and of the narrow staircase leading to the roof, which he considered defensible with such a weapon. The pike was one of those used by running footmen in India. It was of iron, plated with silver, in rings, to give a firmer grasp, rather more than six feet in length, and had a long triangular blade of more than twenty inches, with sharp edges.

Finding, when on the terrace, that the lowness of the parapet wall exposed them all to view, and that they were fired at by the insurgents from below, Mrs. Davis was directed, with her two female servants and the children, to sit down near the centre of the terrace, while Mr. Davis took his station on one knee at the trap-door of the stair, waiting for the expected attack. The perpendicular height of the stair was considerable, winding round a central stem. It was of a peculiar construction, supported by four wooden posts, open on all sides, and so narrow as to allow only a single armed man to

* Of whom the writer of this was one.

ascend at a time. It opened at once to the terrace, exactly like a hatchway on board ship, having a light cover of painted canvas stretched on a wooden frame. This opening he allowed to remain uncovered, that he might see what approached from below.

In a few minutes, hearing an assailant coming up, he prepared to receive him. When full in view, and within reach of his drawn sword, the ruffian stopped, seeing Mr. Davis on his guard, and addressed him abusively. The only reply was – "The troops are coming from camp;" and at the same time a lunge with the pike, which wounded him in the arm.* The enemy disappeared, and Mr. Davis resumed his former position, when presently he observed the room below filled with Vizier Ali's people, and heard some of them coming up the stairs. At the first who appeared, he again drove his spear, which the assailant avoided by warily withdrawing his person; but Mr. Davis, being, by the action, fully exposed to view from below, was fired at by the assassins. The spear, by striking the wall, gave the assailant on the stairs an opportunity of seizing the blade end with both his hands; but the blade being triangular, with sharp edges, Mr. Davis freed it in an instant, by dropping the iron shaft on the edge of the hatchway, and applying his whole weight to the extremity, as to a lever. The force with which it was jerked out of the enemy's gripe cut his hands very severely, as was subsequently observed from their bloody prints being left on the *breakfast table-cloth* below, where he had staunched them. There was blood likewise on the stairs, and some dropped about the floors of the rooms.

Though the present assailant disappeared like his predecessor, the repeated firing from below was discouraging, and Mr. Davis now thought it necessary to draw the hatch on, leaving such an opening at the edge as still admitted of his observing what was going on below. He saw them for some time looking inquisitively up, but not altogether liking the reception that there awaited them, one of the number went out to the verandah of the room, to see if they could get at Mr. Davis from the outside, while no further attempt was made on the staircase.

They presently withdrew in a body from the room, and were heard breaking the furniture and glass wall-shades. To this a silence and dreadful suspense succeeded; for though Mr. Davis could not quit his post for a moment to look out, the two women assured him the insurgents still surrounded the house, and it was a natural suggestion, that they might be preparing the means of ascent on the outside. At length one of the women, venturing to look over the parapet wall, was shot through the arm by one of many who appeared like a guard stationed to prevent escape.

They could now only remain where they were, casting anxious looks for the cavalry from General Erskine's camp, which, though Mr. Davis doubted not would hasten to his relief, he knew could not arrive for some time, not more than an hour having yet elapsed since the attack began. He maintained, however, that they must be at hand, for the sake of encouraging those whom he had to protect.

In about half an hour from this time, he again heard the noise of many persons ascending the stair in haste, and when by the sound they seemed near the top, he suddenly threw aside the cover, and was on the point of driving the spear into the head of the foremost, when most fortunately he recognised the white beard and withered face of an old native servant. The poor fellow, thinking himself endangered by this unexpected reception, roared out who he was, and that he had saved the piece of plate which he held up towards Mr. Davis, adding that Vizier Ali's force had all

* This proved to be Issut Ali.

retired Others behind in like manner held up different articles they had brought with them, to confirm his assertion; but Mr. Davis still hesitated for a moment to let them come up, for fear of treachery, not knowing but that they might have been tempted to save their own lives, by consenting to be the means of putting him off his guard.

Presently, however, seeing the native officer of his police, and some sepoys, with their muskets, enter the room, whose presence with their arms was alone sufficient to convince him that the enemy had retired, Mr. Davis gladly admitted this reinforcement to his post; and at length finding, on a muster, that he had fifteen men, with their firelocks, bayonets, and fifteen rounds each, besides the cutwal with some of his police, he considered the danger as over; for though intelligence was now brought from the town by a police peon, that Vizier Ali intended to renew his attack on the house, Mr. Davis had already found the roof of it perfectly defensible, and that those opposed to him understood better how to assassinate than to fight.

He posted the soldiers, and instructed them as to the best mode of defence in case of attack. and they seemed steady and attentive to his directions. The sound of Vizier Ali's drum was presently heard from the town, and parties could be distinguished in motion about the suburbs, where some places belonging to Europeans were on fire. Intelligence was brought in, that numbers of the inhabitants were joining the insurgents, but none of them yet approached the house.

About eleven o'clock, an advanced party of cavalry appearing in view, every fear was dispelled from this little garrison. Major Pigot and Captain Shubrick, by whom it was brought on with admirable celerity, proceeded first over the bridge to Mr. Cherry's house. After finding all was over, they next galloped to Mr. Davis's assistance. They there agreed, that until the infantry arrived, this small force would be best occupied by taking post in front of the house, within view of which, towards the town, great numbers were now beginning to assemble.

Whether these were mere spectators, or collected for a hostile purpose, remained uncertain, until some of the nearest of them began setting fire to a building attached to the police department. General Erskine, who by this time had joined with the remainder of the cavalry, sent out a few troopers to drive off these depredators, and one of the men, unfortunately falling from his horse, was set upon and left for dead by a party of the armed multitude, who by this proceeding evinced, that they were of Vizier Ali's party. The cavalry were soon after fired at by some who, emboldened by their success over the trooper, came near enough for their shot to reach the verandah; and had not the column of infantry at this juncture come up, the party there assembled might have been much annoyed by the assailants.

The troops, while forming in line, were some of them wounded by matchlocks or musket shot from a wood in their front, where Vizier Ali was said to be in person; but on the first fire from a field-piece, he and his adherents withdrew towards Mahdoo Doss's garden, where it was thought a desperate resistance might be expected. General Erskine, with the utmost promptitude, pursued in column, leaving Davis a guard of a company of men; and, from the verandah, where most of the European inhabitants were now assembled, they could see the smoke and hear the report of the firing which in due time succeeded.

At the first interval of breathing time, the astonished assembly of English inhabitants of the neighbourhood felt and acknowledged, that the hour and half, during which Mr. Davis single-handed had kept the assassins at bay in

their fruitless attack, had been the means of enabling some to conceal themselves, and others to take refuge in General Erskine's camp. The unfortunate victims to Vizier Ali's barbarous treachery, among the British, were five in number; for in addition to Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, and Mr. Evans, they had met Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, on their way to the attack on the judge and magistrate's house, and cut him to pieces; while Mr. Hill, a European, who had a shop in the city, was also put to death. Some of the English made the best of their way to the camp, and others, especially those with families, concealed themselves as they could, and must probably have been discovered and massacred, if the attention of the insurgents had not been occupied by Mr. Davis's defence. One large party retired into a tall field of maize, or Indian corn, and were completely hidden for the time, though but a short distance from the residence of one of their number."

We may take this opportunity of correcting an error at page 78 of the article on LORD TEIGNMOUTH. Following the biographer, we have stated that Vizier Ali died in Fort William. He was removed from Fort William, and died at Vellore. This was, we believe, the only historical statement in Lord Teignmouth's book, which we took without investigating its accuracy.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE following note, which originally appeared at the end of our second number, is now transferred to its present more appropriate place:

In the article above named, we stated that the notorious Vizier Ali died in rigorous confinement in Fort William; but in a subsequent notice of Mr. Davis's account of the *Massacre at Benares*, we stated, on the authority of that gentleman, that we had been led into an error by Lord Teignmouth, for that Vizier Ali had died at Veilore. This was confidently stated by Mr. Davis, (to whose authority on such a point we felt inclined to bow) and repeated by the *Asiatic Journal*. Some discussion on the subject has since arisen, and it has been established, beyond all question, that Vizier Ali died in Fort William in May, 1817; and was buried in the Mahomedan Burial Ground (called the Cassiya Bagaun) near the Circular Road; Mr. Blacquiere, one of our present Police Magistrates, having attended at the obsequies, with a constabulary force, to keep the peace. We owe an apology to Lord Teignmouth for having thrown discredit upon his statement.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Stocqueler's "Hand-Book for India."

This is the second Hand-Book for India that has been published within the last three years. It is certainly the bulkier, and we incline to think that it is the better one of the two. But when the Indus really is substituted for the Ganges, as the common line of communication between England and the North of India, it is very probable, that Mr. Parbury, who takes his readers down the Sutlej and the Indus, and thence home by Bombay, will turn the tables upon Mr. Stocqueler. In the mean time, however, the work now before us will keep its advanced position; and there is little doubt, that it will find its way into the hands, if not of old Indians, who have not much to learn from Mr. Stocqueler's book, (though, indeed, we are not sure that the generality of people do not derive more pleasure from reading what they know, than what they do not know, already) into the hands of every one of the numerous young writers, cadets and assistant-surgeons—not to mention that far more interesting tribe of passengers to India, the fair spinster-crew, of which every ship brings a goodly portion to India in the cold weather. Indeed, it is probable, that, in process of time, the Hand-Book will form, as it ought, a necessary portion of every outfit, and find its way into every outfitter's list. Our ingenious friend H. M. P., than whom no man had ever less vanity, used to narrate in his own humorous way, how his volume of printed Poems (and immortality has been promised ere now by grave Reviewers to many worse ones)—used sometimes to figure in the Auction-catalogues, among "*a lot of Sundries*"—"a tinder-box, Parker's poems, and a shaving brush." Now, we can see no reason, why in the outfitters' lists, we should not hence-forward read,

A leather case, containing blacking and brushes;
A box of Seidlitz Powders;
Stocqueler's Hand-Book;
Tobacco to give to the sailors.

This would, we speak it seriously, be just the sort of popularity, which we should covet for such a work. Writers of Hand-Books naturally aim at a Portmanteau, not at a Drawing-room table, or a Book-shelf reputation; and as Mr. Stocqueler seems well inclined to reciprocate favors in the advertising line, we have no doubt, that the outfitters will in turn recommend and advertise his Hand-Book. Indeed, we think it might well be substituted for many of those articles, which are often inserted in the list, to meet impossible wants, and which go to India and come back precisely in the same state, in which they set out. The *Hand-Book* is really an useful article—a valuable compendium of information, compiled, perhaps, somewhat too hastily, and, therefore, on the whole, not free from inaccuracies—but nevertheless a safe, and sufficiently instructive book to put into the hands of a griffin. Mr. Stocqueler has not, in this volume, aimed at making for himself a literary reputa-

tion; ambitious writing would be clearly out of place in such a work as this. Mr. Stocqueler has striven only to be useful; and as an useful, and, in some respects, an interesting publication, we have much pleasure in recommending the Hand-Book to our readers. The work is not one, which affords much facility for quotation; but we may afford room for a few extracts, though we have neither time nor space to comment on them:—

"THE INLAND TRADE of India comprehends the intercourse between one portion of the British dominions and another; the trade of the latter with the tributary and independent states of Hindostan, and the commerce along a land frontier of 2,000 miles in length. Scinde, Cabul, the Punjab, the states of Nepaul and Burmah, can obtain few foreign or tropical productions but through their commercial connection with us. Corn, cotton, oil-producing plants, and sugar, are the principal articles of this inland trade. Rice, which is grown in such vast abundance up to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and the millet and pulses cultivated beyond those limits, are chiefly consumed upon the spot. The cotton plant, which is of almost universal production in India, from Ceylon to the Himalaya Mountains, furnishes material for a prodigious variety of fabrics; and the sugar-cane, which, for the most part, is grown in the valley of the Ganges, supplies a sugar which is consumed in very considerable quantities in the form of sweetmeats. Besides these main articles, there are a great number of others, such as indigo, salt, opium, silk, tobacco, saltpetre, oils, and oil-skins, drugs, hides, lime, timber, &c., which are objects of the inland trade. These various commodities are paid for by the productions of the coasts, such as spices, teak timber, sandal-wood and coarse piece goods; in the productions of foreign tropical countries of Asia, and in the produce and manufactures of Europe and China. The tropical or foreign commodities which are obtained in exchange for the Indian produce, consist of the areca-nut, spices, metals—iron, zinc, tin, copper, and lead—woollens and cottons. The extent of the inland trade, in other words, the amount of home manufacture and home consumption, it is extremely difficult to ascertain. The odious tax which formerly existed, under the denomination of transit-duty, and which furnished a clue to the computation, has been abolished, and nothing now remains to check the spirit of industry, and bring forth the choicest fruits of the generous soil of India, but the government monopoly of the manufacture and sale of salt, and the culture of the poppy, for conversion into opium for the China market. There is no doubt, however, that, in proportion as facilities for the transport of goods from one part of the vast country to another are augmented, and the charges of trade thereby lessened, an additional impulse will be given to enterprise. At present, excepting the rivers Ganges, Berampooter, Jumna, Gunduk, Casi, Gagra, Goomtee, Soane, Betwah, Chumbul, Taptee, Nerbuddah, Mahe, Sabrematta, Godavery, Krishna, Cavery, the Indus, and the Irrawaddy, the greater part of which, by the way, are only suited to canal-navigation, few effective channels of inter-communication exist. There are not many good carriage-roads in any part of India; the bridges are generally small, and few in number, though the rivers or streams over which they are thrown, are very numerous; the ferries are rude, unsafe, and by no means numerous. The carriage of the inland trade is as imperfect, slow and expensive as the ground over which it traverses is rough and impracticable. Uncouth and primitive carts, drawn by oxen, the strength of eight of which animals is only equivalent to that of a good English cart-horse: pack-bullocks, camels, pack-horses (in the north-west), small horses and jackasses (in the

hills), comprise the means of land transport; and on the rivers, large boats, of a burthen varying from 15 to 150 tons, with rude and coarse sails, oars, and track-ropes (when wind and tide are adverse), constitute the ordinary craft. On the Ganges, iron steamers, the property of the government and of private associations, ply between Calcutta and Allahabad; but the rate of freight is so high, and so large a proportion of the space appropriated to cargo is occupied by baggage and special supplies for the Europeans in the interior, that they can scarcely be included in an enumeration of the river trading-vessels."

"THE POLICE IN INDIA is probably the worst preventive or detective establishment of any in the world. The activity and zeal of magistrates and superintendents are almost entirely neutralized by the apathy, cowardice, and corruption of the *posse comitatus*. The force is sufficiently large, consisting, as it does, of thousands of thannadars, chokeedars, burkundauzes, pykes, &c. &c., with all the grades of rank and pay that can stimulate activity and preserve discipline, and armed well enough to encounter any number of brigands, and suppress any popular mutinies; but the inherent defects in the native character, minimize the utility of the officers, and render them, in many parts of the country, more of a curse than a blessing to the myriads of the poorer orders. Bound by the ties of caste, apprehensive of the vengeance of a culprit's relatives, greedy of the *douceurs* which can be wrung from an offender, or a reluctant witness, unmindful of truth, constitutionally indolent, and secure, by distance, from the immediate *surveillance* of their superiors, they volunteer no steps that militate against their individual interests, and execute no imposed duty with independence, integrity, or alacrity. Thus, the difficulty experienced by the judges in administering the law, is materially enhanced, and the people pay a heavy tax for the maintenance of an institution with which, under present circumstances, they could, with rare exceptions, most easily dispense. But one remedy for this state of things appears to exist; and that is, the employment of some hundreds of Europeans as inspectors and superintendents of police in all the districts. Well-disciplined and intelligent soldiers would be the fittest persons for this description of office, which would, at the same time, be a reward for good conduct, and a motive for the enlistment of young men from the respectable classes now struggling for existence in England. At the presidencies there are a few European constables and bailiffs, and their great efficiency supplies an unanswerable argument in favour of the extension of such description of control to every town and populous village in the country."

"ANGLO INDIAN MORALITY.—The important question of general morals, which, in a disquisition on the social states, should not be wholly overlooked, may be justly decided in favour of an Indian residence over a London one, as regards a young man just entering into life in search of his own subsistence. In our Oriental cities there are none of those lures and haunts which prove so attractive and fatal to the young Londoner. His Indian contemporary almost *must* spend his evenings in a decorous manner, for not only would he soon become marked if he frequented such scenes of debauchery as there are, which are of the very lowest description, and where common soldiers, sailors, and the absolute blackguards of the place resort; but there is not that field for "lark" which tempts the London spruce apprentice, and youths of higher degree, to take to the streets in search of such adventures. Drinking, too, is a practice not at at all encouraged or countenanced in the Anglo-Indian community. It used to be so; but its pernicious day has long gone by, and the very, very few who are still victims to its

brutifying power, are looked upon with mingled pity and contempt by all other classes of their fellow-citizens, and are morally mischievous, not from any bad influence which their vice can exercise over their own countrymen, but from the degree to which their sad propensity risks the degradation of the English character in the eyes of the native community, among all but the dregs of whom (and even among them the crime is rare, compared to its spread among our own lower orders) drunkenness is looked upon with detestation and disgust. On the whole, whatever bugbear-born apprehension fond parents may entertain of sending their junior offspring to India, on account of fever, liver, cholera, sun-strokes, and Thugs, we may conscientiously assure them, that, whether in the Company's service, or the mercantile or miscellaneous line of adventure, their morals are in infinitely less danger of contamination than they are in life in England; and other portions of this work, relating to the climate, and to the constitutional effect which it has upon foreign residents, will be sufficient, we think, to calm the fears of maternal hearts upon that score, and to convince them, that Englishmen can live long, comfortably, and respectably in India, unless their own impropriety shall nullify their advantages."

Col. Davidson's Travels.

Colonel Davidson is an amusing, sprightly traveller—somewhat eccentric withal—and they, who look into his book for amusement, will not be disappointed. The gallant Colonel tells us, that ponderosity is the most striking characterstic of his body; as levity, unquestionably, is of his mind. Though he weighs nineteen stone, he sends forth his airy trifles as deftly as any lighter man; and is assuredly not heavy in print. A good deal of the amusement to be derived from these two volumes, consists in the little personal traits which every here and there present themselves, letting us into the secret of some of the gallant Colonel's weaknesses. Among these not the least is a strong predilection for the good things of life in general, and of tomata-sauce in particular. For our own parts, though not presuming to set up our judgment, on such a point, against the gallant gourmand's, we think that the merits of this same tomata-sauce are somewhat unduly appreciated. We say this, not without some misgivings; for there may be a state of tomata-sauce perfectibility, to which our *artistes* have never attained—yet still attainable under the supervision of so thorough a savant as Colonel Davidson. It is undeniable, that the information on Anglo-Indian Gastronomy to be found in these two amusing volumes, is of an extremely valuable character. Under this conviction we proceed to enrich our pages with a few extracts:—

The Colonel recommends the Sauce.

"Persons, if they even be afflicted with chronic liver, will get hungry after abstinence; so I ordered a clean, snowy table-cloth to be neatly doubled up over the end of my bed, and sat down contented and happy to a most delicious cold sirloin of roast beef, with which, a little dry bread, and a glass of water from a neighbouring well, I made a most comfortable meal. I used my favourite condiment, tomata-sauce, with my beef. To all who are ignorant of this delicious vegetable, I may venture to recommend its sauce, as being at once wholesome and savoury—try it, after my receipt, and you will acknowledge my superiority to Kitchener. Eat it with beef,

mutton, fowl, fish, pilau, curry, stews, grills: eat it with everything but cranberry tart, or apple pie, and you will, I pledge my simplicity, swear by the cours gastronomique, that it is the autocrat of all the sauces; It is the glory of the gourmand, and would create an appetite "under the ribs of death!"—[*Vol. I. pp.* 12-13.]

The Colonel officiates as chef de cuisine.

"We dressed and sat down to dinner. The *rotis* had disappeared; wine had been drunk all round; but instead of the lively chat, there arose a dull expectant hum. It was evident, that the feelings of the party were highly excited. Eyes were constantly directed to the door of the tent, facing the *batterie de cuisine*, where it was well known that I had been exercising my skill. At last, when patience was nearly exhausted, the servants, with unusual stateliness and solemnity of manner, bore in a huge saucepan, in which I had carefully prepared a rich bread sauce. The conversation wholly ceased—the partridges were rapidly dismembered. "Shall I send you any of the sauce?"—"Thank you, most certainly!" It was liberally dispensed to all; and, as I had expected, one joyous universal burst of delight and surprise resounded through the dark grove. They felt that they were sitting in the presence of a master mind. "Capital! most capital! Never in England ate anything half so delicious! Superb! superb, indeed!" In fact it was—what in the Scotch kirk they designate—"a harmonious call!" My spirit was soothed: it was clear that my talent had not been wasted on insensates. Happy, thrice happy is he, who can thus command the sincere praise, by increasing the honest enjoyments of his fellow-creatures!

Amongst a certain class of people, I have been told that gastronomy is despised. But, good souls, do they love their potatoes raw; their mutton chops smoked and tough; their cutlets stringy; their soups tasteless and cold; their beefsteaks thin, greasy, and cindered? No—no! the deuce a bit. They relish everything well dressed and delicious; yet thinking to blind the world by hypocrisy, they pretend that it is low and sensual to care for such things! Gentle reader, may you never be unawares surprised into the company of such knaves! Let your hearts expand, and your tongue delight, in showing how gloriously the earth is decked with goodly fruits of various flavours; how splendidly it is ornamented with gorgeous flowers of every hue and fragrance. Nature is all joyous, and inciting to joy. Bleak and barren indeed must that spot be, where the eye of a sound-hearted and skilful gastronomist cannot discover matter for thankfulness! For him does sad and solitary Ascension gather together her luscious and indescribable turtle; for him the dark rocks and arid plains of the dry Deccan produce their purple grapes, and cunning, but goodly bustard; for him burning Bundlecund its wonderful rock pigeon, and ortolan inimitable; the Jumna, most ancient of rivers, its large rich kala banse, and tasty crabs; for him yields the long and marshy Teraee her elegant florican; the mighty Gunga its melting mâhâseer; the Goomtee its exquisite mullet. And shall he not eat and delight in her fruits? Shall he not revel in her flowers? Shall he not gratefully and sedulously prepare the bounteous gifts, so as to obtain the highest possible regale?

"Anything the raw-skate worshippers may say to the contrary notwithstanding, I am no advocate for excess, but for temperate social enjoyment. Let the ass eat its thistles, and the swallow its flies, *au naturel*; you and I, reader, know better."—[*Vol. II. pp.* 240-242.]

The Colonel is on Short Commons.

"*March* 18th.—Marched before sunrise, and about nine, arrived at and crossed the Mohun nuddee, not two feet deep, encamping on the west bank,

in a beautiful grove of young sissoo trees, whose delicate green leaves and snowy blossoms were unfolding their verdant beauties. Found our breakfast tent pitched, but the kitchen and *artistes* in the rear; so we got up a breakfast on such articles as had been despatched yesterday. At first we were a little distressed for chairs, but they came dropping in one by one. To be sure, there was little or nothing to eat; but a delicate brisket of corned gynee, or dwarf beef, cold roast and boiled gram-fed mutton, exquisite bread, and delicious butter; rich sweet cow's milk in abundance; green tea, salt, pepper, and sugar; currant and apricot jellies. *People were a little out of spirits at these short commons:* but for my own part, I reminded them that it was the duty of sportsmen and soldiers to bear privations and sufferings with a good grace. The example I had so cheerfully set was soon followed, and long faces were at a discount."—[*Vol. II. pp.* 294-295.]

The Colonel loses his bread-sauce.

"Arnold and Waugh had sallied out at four, and before dinner returned with seven delicious fat teal; and well was it for us that we had some appui—"a green spot," on which to repose in the second course, for the floricans, although tender as ever, were decidedly fishy.

The increasing, rancorous, and most bitter jealousy of the Khansaman, had reached such "bad eminence," by the well-merited encomia which day by day regaled my ears, that in his blind and idiot fury, he actually denied me the butter that I required! In one word—for I am unwilling to enlist the passions, when my cause ought to command the judgment of my readers—there was no bread sauce!!

On remonstrating, the reply was, "I not got. and how must give? Every day he make it me trouble for butter! Where can I get? Suppose give perwanneh, then I get! "Pon my honour, not got!" And the same evening, believe me, gentle reader, if there be truths in Ude! there was a pat large enough to have sufficed, placed on table after the second course, to be eaten with cheese! As the eastern barbarians say, "what need I say more?" Gastronomic ignorance could hardly go further!"—[*Vol. II. p.* 338]

The Colonel encounters a wag.

"Riding past this (Baboo's) Ghat one morning, I heard a loud call in my rear, and turning round, discovered that a Bengalee book-hawker wished to enjoy my conversation. He ran up quite breathless, and opening his wallet. took out a little octavo half-bound-in-Russia volume, which he placed in my hands with an air of triumphant satisfaction. "Lo, Sahib! Lo!" Take it sir—take it! I took and opened the book, and the first glance displayed an old fat lady in a chair. Its title was, "Wade on Corpulency." I had never before seen, although I had heard of, the work. I saw another similar etching, and at last laughed heartily, "What do you want for this? How much?" "You know best, sir." "No, I don't. What is its value?" "You ought to be best judge of that, sir," said the niggur laughing in my face. I immediately looked round, to ascertain whether he had not been directed by some wag to bring it me as a joke, but I could not see any one."—[*Vol. II. page* 211]

This fellow ought to have received a rupee on the spot.

SANDERS AND CONES, TYPS., NO. 4, TANK-SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

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ART. I.—1. *History of Astronomy. With an Appendix, containing a View of the principal elements of the Indian Astronomy as contained in the Surya Siddhanta. (Library of Useful Knowledge.) London: Baldwin and Cradock.*

2. *The Use of the Siddhantas in the Work of Native Education. By Lancelot Wilkinson, Esq., Bombay C. S.—Ass. Res. at Bhopal, (Calcutta Asiatic Society's Journal),* 1834.

THE history of science is itself a science; and one of the most interesting and important of them all. To trace the stream of discovery from its lofty well-head, to follow its various windings, mark its frequent disappearances, its rapids and its stagnancies, is a work at once of the greatest interest, the greatest importance, and the greatest difficulty. The *interest* of the investigation is derived from our very nature and constitution as members of the great human brotherhood; in virtue of which nothing that belongs to man ought to be indifferent to man; and least of all that which has engrossed the attention and measured the enjoyment of the most gifted of our race. The *importance* of the study chiefly depends upon the fact that experience is our grand guide in philosophy; and therefore it is in a great measure by a knowledge of what has been accomplished by our predecessors, and of the methods by which it has been accomplished, that we are to be guided in the direction of our own observations. The *difficulty* of tracing distinctly the progress of science will be well exemplified in the course of our present article, which we purpose to devote mainly to an examination of the antiquity of the Hindu Astronomy. But while the subject we have undertaken is confessedly a difficult one, we shall endeavour as far as possible to encounter the difficulty ourselves, and by divesting the subject in a great measure of technicalities, to render it accessible and even attractive, to the general reader. In fact, we shall advance very little that is original, but shall be well contented if we can so

place the matter in an attractive light before our readers, as to inspire some of them with an interest in a subject from which they have probably been repelled by the technicalities that have hitherto adhered to it.

That the Hindus have amongst them a considerable amount of astronomical knowledge, is a fact which is rendered unquestionable by their power of calculating the eclipses of the sun and moon with very considerable accuracy. That for a long period they have made no advancement, but have rather retrograded in their knowledge of the principles of the science, seems almost equally certain. It therefore follows, that the science of astronomy must have been cultivated among them at an early period; and the question is as to the actual remoteness of that period. As no formal records exist of the progress of discovery among them, the determination of the important question of the antiquity of their astronomical systems must depend almost exclusively on internal evidence furnished by the systems themselves. It must, therefore, be our first course to furnish a short sketch of the form in which their systems present themselves to us at the present day.

The astronomical works of the Hindus are of two classes, viz., astronomical tables and systematic treatises. Of the former class, four sets are known to the astronomers of Europe. The first was brought from Siam by M. La Loubere, in 1687. For some time, the tables were not intelligible to any of the European astronomers, but were at last satisfactorily explained by Cassini, one of the most illustrious astronomers of his age. Though brought immediately from Siam, they are of strictly Hindu origin; for they are constructed for a meridian 18° 15′ to the westward of Siam. This meridian will very nearly coincide with the Hindu meridian of Lanka,* and also with that of Benares: and thus no doubt can exist as to the Intra-Gangetic origin of the Siamese tables.† The second set of tables was sent from Chrishnabouram, in the Carnatic, by the Jesuit Missionary, Du Champ, about 1750. They were thoroughly understood by Du Champ himself, who illustrated them by a set of examples and rules, which render them easily intelligible to one who is acquainted with the details of European

* It is not exactly ascertained what is meant by the meridian of Lanka. This, as is well known, is the name usually given to the island of Ceylon. But the accuracy of the Indian tables is far too great to admit of the supposition of so much vagueness as would be implied in speaking of the meridian of a large island. The most probable supposition seems to be that the first meridian was that which bisected Ceylon.

† May not the fact of the Siamese possessing and making use of the Hindu Astronomical tables indicate something in regard to the intercourse that subsisted at an early period between India and the Eastern Peninsula?

astronomy. The third set were sent by Patouillet, another Jesuit, and are generally known as the Narsapur tables. The fourth and most important set, because both the most complete, and professedly the most ancient, were taken to Europe by M. Le Gentil, who came to India for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, in 1769. These are known to the scientific world as the Tirvalore tables; from a small town so called on the Coromandel coast. It becomes a question of great importance as well as considerable difficulty, to determine the period at which the Tirvalore tables were constructed; as, notwithstanding considerable discrepancies between the different sets, the principles of the whole are the same; at all events it is with them that we have chiefly to do, (except in so far as the others may illustrate or explain them) as they profess to be more ancient, by a very long period, than any of the others. It will, however, be needful for us, first of all, in order that the matter may be thoroughly intelligible, to give a general idea of the mode in which such a question as the present may be determined.

If a human artist had been entrusted with the construction of the universe, it is probable that he would have made all the planets revolve round the sun, in equal periods or years, consisting of a definite number of days. Had this been the actual structure of the solar system, the calculations of astronomy would have been destitute of all interest, as of all difficulty. If the place of any planet on any day, and also the length of the common year, were known, the places of each planet for any other day would be ascertained by the simplest arithmetical operation.

But the ways of Him who made the world are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts. He has made no two of the planets perform their revolutions in the same period. Their revolutions are indeed regular, but the regularity is a regularity of irregularities. And it is thus that astronomy becomes useful to mankind, not only for the exercise of their talents, but also as the basis of chronology;—thus it is that the heavenly bodies subserve one of the great purposes for which they were appointed by their great Creator, to be "for signs and for seasons, for days and for years." As this is a point, a clear apprehension of which is essential to a right understanding of the whole subject, we shall illustrate it still further by a simple comparison. Suppose a common clock made with only one hand, which shall traverse the dial in an hour. Such a clock would indicate how much time had passed at any given moment from the last hour, but it would give us no means of

ascertaining how many hours had passed from any given hour. But the addition of a hand, as in our ordinary household clocks, which traverses the dial in 12 or 24 hours, supplies this information. Another hand, in some clocks, shews the day of the month, and another might be added to shew the month of the year, and another still to indicate the number of years elapsed from any given era. Now the kind of clock that we have first described,—an ordinary clock with the hour hand taken off—would fitly represent a system in which all the planets should perform their revolutions in an equal number of days. In such a system the position of any planet at any time would tell us how long time had elapsed since the planets were at any point that might be assumed as the first point of their orbit; but it would afford us no means of ascertaining the number of complete revolutions that the planets had made, or, in other words, how many years had elapsed, since any given era. But in the actual universe we have a different system altogether. At no two periods during an enormously long period, certainly a much longer period than has elapsed since the creation, have the relative positions of all the planets been the same. Just as in an ordinary clock the relative positions of the two hands are the same only after intervals of 12 hours, and in a clock that has a hand for indicating the days of the month, the relative positions of the three hands will be the same only after intervals of a month's duration. Yea, in a clock with only two hands, and each of them traversing the dial in a moderate period, the interval of what we may call relative coincidence might be very long. If, for example, the minute hand remaining as it is, the hour hand were made by a change in the works to traverse in a period that was not a multiple of the period of the other, as for example in 12 hours and a minute ;—then suppose the hands to be together at 12 o'clock. After 12 hours the minute-hand will have made 12 complete revolutions, and will have returned to the place whence it set out. But the hour hand meanwhile has not completed its revolution, by one minute. After other 12 complete revolutions of the minute hand, the hour hand will be two minutes from 12 o'clock. Thus at each successive return of the minute hand to 12 o'clock it would be further and further from the other, and they would not co-incide at that point of the dial, until the hour hand having accomplished 720 complete revolutions, the minute hand should have accomplished 8652. Now any two of the heavenly bodies may be represented by such a clock as this last, for no one of them revolves in a period which is an exact multiple of the period of any other. Hence, precisely as in our supposed clock we can ascer-

tain the number of hours elapsed since the period of the coincidence of the hands, by merely knowing the distance between the hands at any return of one of them to 12 o'clock, so by knowing the relative positions of even two of the heavenly bodies at a given time we can calculate how many revolutions they have made since any other period when their relative positions were known.

If then we knew with perfect accuracy the elements of the orbits of several of the planets, and if we knew their precise position on a certain day,—their position both relatively with regard to each other, and absolutely with regard to their places among the fixed stars—we could ascertain with precision what that day was. Now here is exactly what constitutes the difficulty in the case before us. It is evident that, if, from knowing the positions of certain planets at an unknown time, we can ascertain that time by calculation, it must be equally possible and equally easy to calculate the position of the planets for a given known time. The problem—"Given the elements 'of the orbits of the planets and their position at a certain 'unknown time, to ascertain that time"—is just the converse of the problem,—"Given the elements of the orbits of the planets, 'to ascertain their position at a certain known time." Either problem is equally easy of solution. From this it must be evident to all, that we cannot safely judge of the actual age of a set of astronomical tables from the mere dates for which they furnish astronomical facts: for these facts may, for aught we know, have been not ascertained by observation, but by calculation. Our anxiety to make every step as clear as possible, must be our apology for introducing an illustrative instance of what, to very many, requires no illustration at all. Every one knows that the Nautical Almanac, published by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of Great Britain, gives the position of the sun and moon and the planets for every day of the year; and every one also knows, that these positions are by the very nature of the case, calculated and not observed positions, inasmuch as the very ends of its publication require it to be in the hands of those who use it at the time when the positions are observed; and in order to this it is always published some years in advance. And if the elements of the orbits and the periods of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies were known with perfect precision, the Nautical Almanac might be published for a hundred or a thousand years in advance. In like manner, if all records of observations were utterly lost, we might still calculate almanacs for a hundred or a thousand years past. Now if the elements, on which the calculations of these Almanacs were based, were ascertained with perfect accuracy, it would be

impossible for any one to discover from internal evidence, whether the Almanacs had been composed by prospective calculations *before* their nominal dates, by actual observations recorded *at* these dates, or by retrospective calculations *after* the nominal dates. If, however, any of the elements of the calculations had been erroneous, then the calculations would gradually diverge from the truth, and an inspection of the Almanacs, and a comparison of them either with more accurate calculations or with independent observations, would probably shew the period at which they had been calculated. It will thus be seen, that the possibility of ascertaining the age of a set of astronomical tables depends upon their deviations from perfect accuracy. With these somewhat diffuse explanations, which, however, we trust will greatly assist us in the sequel, we must now revert to the history of the Hindu Astronomical tables.

The tables of Tirvalore were brought to Europe, as we have stated, by M. LeGentil, who presented an account of them, and of the Brahmanical Astronomy, to the French Academy, in 1773. About that time, M. Bailly, a man of great ingenuity, was labouring very zealously for the support of a theory in regard to a people, that he supposed many centuries ago to have inhabited the Northern regions of the great Asiatic Continent, and whose language, manners, and philosophy he supposed to be, as it were, the parent stems of the languages, manners, and philosophy of all the nations of Asia, and mediately of all the nations of the world. Hitherto he had derived support for this theory, chiefly from the science of philology, the most accommodating certainly of all the sciences, and one who seems never to deny her aid to any theorist, who has to maintain a hypothesis in regard to the antiquities of nations! No matter how directly the various hypotheses be opposed to each other, philology, if only canvassed aright, will most complyingly give her suffrage in favor of them all. In these circumstances Le Gentil's account of the Hindu Astronomy seemed to coincide amazingly with Bailly's views. Here was a people possessing a record of astronomical observations made and recorded forty-seven centuries ago; observations indicating any thing rather than an infancy of astronomical science—observations which could not be taken by the people amongst whom they are preserved at this day, and the precepts connected with which, for the calculation of eclipses, are said not to be understood by any of those who daily use them. They must then have derived their records from an extraneous source, and what could that source be, save the great hyperborean nation, long since extinct, who must, therefore, have possessed a science in a state of great advancement? To one who had a

theory to maintain, and who had hitherto been constrained to support it on the easily obtained and comparatively valueless foundation of philology, a much less plausible discovery than that of Le Gentil must have been invaluable. We may well conceive, that the man who has been launched forth on the stormy billows on a single plank, would not feel more relief when he found himself left above water-mark on a lofty cliff, than the theorist who found himself transferred as by a bound from the unstable element of philology, to the immoveable strong-hold of astronomy—astronomy based on observation, and reared in accordance with "mathematics, which cannot lie." We should, however, do Bailly great wrong if we left it to be supposed, that he paid attention to the Hindu astronomy, merely from the confirmation which it seemed, on the first blush of it, to afford to his favorite hypothesis. Few men in his day—and it was the day of La Place, and La Grange, and De Lambre, and D'Alembert, amongst his own countrymen—were, theory and hypothesis apart, better able to analyse a system of astronomy than was Bailly. In fact we believe, that had he had no such theory to support at all, he would still have given his mind to the important subject, and would probably have turned it to better account than he has done. Bailly set forth his views, in regard to the Hindu astronomy, in 1775, just two years after the publication of Le Gentil's Memoir, in a general history of ancient astronomy.* They were afterwards set forth at great length and with great clearness in a separate work devoted expressly to the subject, and the best known of all Bailly's works, his History of the Indian astronomy.† The subject is also dwelt upon, in his letters to M. Voltaire‡ on the ancient history of Asia, and was in fact the idol of his worship, the engrossing idea of his soul, or, to use a phrase far more expressive than dignified, the hobby from which he never dismounted.

The Indian astronomy of Bailly was reviewed by Professor Playfair, in a very excellent paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in 1790, and published in their Transactions for that year.§ Playfair professes himself a convert to Bailly's opinion in regard to the antiquity of the Hindu Astronomy—and while he does not implicity follow Bailly in his estimate of

* Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, depuis son origine, jusqu'à l'etablissement de l' ecole d' Alexandrie.—Par M. Bailly, &c. Paris, 1775.

† Histoire de l' Astronomie Indienne et Orientale. Ouvrage que peut servir de suite à l' Histoire de l' Astronomie Ancienne.— Par M. Bailly, &c. Paris 1787.

‡ Of this work we possess only an English translation, and are not aware of the date of its original publication.

§ Reprinted in Playfair's Works, vol. iii. Edinburgh, 1822.

the relative value of the various arguments by which that antiquity is supported, he agrees with him in the conclusion as to the construction of the Tirvalore tables from actual observations made and recorded 4800 years ago. "The fact is (says he), 'that notwithstanding the most profound respect for the learning 'and abilities of the author of the *Astronomie Indienne*, I entered 'on the study of that work, not without a portion of the scepti- 'cism, which whatever is new and extraordinary in science ought 'to excite, and set about verifying the calculations and examining 'the reasonings in it with the most scrupulous attention. The 'result was an entire conviction of the accuracy of the one and 'of the solidity of the other."—No one can even dip into the writings of Playfair without being convinced of his extraordinary powers as a Mathematician; but those who have studied them most rigorously will be most inclined to doubt the value of his great name as a voucher for the soundness of a theory like that of Bailly. Lord Bacon has remarked, that some minds are so constituted as to be peculiarly apt to perceive coincidences between things that are dissimilar, while others are as apt to fasten upon distinctions and differences between things that upon the whole resemble each other. Now we may be permitted in regard to Playfair to make the remark, that his mind had a tendency towards the former peculiarity. There was something, despite his profundity and rigidity as a geometer, that we cannot help calling poetical, in the constitution of his mind; in virtue of which we should suppose him more likely to be struck and captivated with a remarkable coincidence, than with a discrepancy, that would have struck a more common mind much more forcibly than would the coincidence. He would have been much more pleased, we believe, to construct a system himself, or to confirm a system constructed by another, than to expose and destroy a system already constructed. They who are acquainted with the history of science will not be disposed to undervalue the effect of these mental peculiarities in influencing the decision of such a man as Playfair, in regard to a subject, whose settlement must depend not upon rigid demonstration, but upon the balancing of coincidences on the one side and discrepancies on the other. We are not altogether sure either, whether the Professor's Geological theory might not influence his mind in a way somewhat similar to that in which we have no doubt Bailly's ethnological theory biassed his judgment.

Thus, however, the matter seems to have stood, till, in 1799, Mr. Bentley laid before the Asiatic Society, and published in vol. vi. of the Asiatic Researches, a paper on "the Antiquity of the 'Surya Siddhanta, and the formation of the astronomical cycles

'therein contained." In this paper Mr. Bentley strongly opposed the antiquity of the Hindu Astronomy, and the reality of the observations on which it professes to have been founded. Mr. Bentley's paper was attacked in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1802, and he published a reply in vol. viii. of the Asiatic Researches, which was reviewed at length in the *Edinburgh Review*, for 1807.

We are not sure of the date of the first publication of the *Système du Monde* of La Place. The copy now before us is of the 4th edition, published in 1813. Allowing about three years for the sale of each edition, a period which we should suppose much too short, we should have the first edition published in 1799, the year in which Mr. Bentley's memoir appeared. We may suppose, therefore, that La Place had not seen that memoir when his own work was published. In the fifth book he gives a very rapid sketch of the history of astronomy, and states his opinion as decidedly unfavorable to the claims of the Hindu Astronomy. And this is all the more remarkable, because it is by the application of his grand discovery in regard to the mutual actions of the planets upon each other, that Bailly and Playfair make out their most striking coincidences.

In 1817, De Lambre published his history of ancient astronomy,* a work that will ever be the grand storehouse from which all future writers on the history of this branch of science must draw their facts. He enters at length on the discussion of the question, and decides the controversy in favor of Mr. Bentley against his brother Academician and Professor Playfair.

In 1825, Bentley published his "Historical view of the 'Hindu Astronomy, from the earliest dawn of that science in 'India to the present time." In the preface to this work he defends his view of the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta against the attack of the *Edinburgh Review*—and quotes the testimony of Dr. Maskelyne, given in a conversation with a mutual friend, in favor of his own views. It had been generally supposed that the articles in the *Edinburgh Review* were written by Professor Playfair, who was well known to be in the habit of contributing scientific papers to the Review at the period. Mr. Bentley states in his preface, that he had taken means to ascertain this point—"I sent Mr. Playfair (says he) 'a copy of my paper on the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, 'to open his eyes as to the foundation of M. Bailly's mistake; 'and after the review on it came out, it being industriously 'fathered on Mr. Playfair, I directed inquiry to be made at

* Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, Paris, 1817

'Edinburgh, through some of Mr. Playfair's most intimate friends, 'to ascertain from himself if he was the author of the Review. 'The reply was what I would have expected from a man of 'candor and science, that he was not the author of the review, 'and could not, consistently with his character, be the author 'of any such nonsense." We think, indeed, there is internal evidence to prove, that Playfair was not the author of the Review in question; since the very principle on which Mr. Bentley proceeds was clearly stated long before by Playfair himself, as the only legitimate principle on which to conduct an investigation of the kind;—and this very principle is attacked in the Review. Moreover, we have every reason to believe that Playfair's sentiments were materially influenced by the perusal of Bentley's treaties; since we find him in 1817, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, expressing himself in terms which shew that his confidence in Bailly's theory was greatly shaken, if not altogether overthrown. We happen to be in possession of a large collection of Playfair's manuscripts, from which we hoped to have been able to cast light, both on the disputed point of the authorship of the Review of Bentley's paper, and generally on Playfair's views on the subject at successive periods. In this, however, we have been disappointed. We have the original calculations employed in many of his published works, but none that are actually introduced into, or even are connected with, any of his treatises on our present subject.

It is now full time that we should dip into the subject matter of the controversy, at the history of which we have thus glanced. We find Bailly's views nowhere more briefly and clearly stated than in his Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, from which we shall take the liberty to translate a rather long extract.*

"When we attend to the state of Astronomy among the Indians and the Chinese, we observe a profound ignorance of the causes of phenomena. Here we have the practice of observation without results; there results without observations; methods of which the most learned make use without understanding them, like foreigners who have picked up some words of a language without knowing their meaning. The use of methods, in connexion with ignorance of their principles, proves that these methods are not the work of the people who employ them: nor can we believe that they could have lost the principles had they ever known them. A people may lose recollection of certain historical facts, of certain particular and isolated doctrines; but a science forms a body of ideas which mutually preserve and defend each other. It follows then, that the Indians have been in possession of their astronomical knowledge from time immemorial. We have been

* Throughout this article we translate such extracts as we find it necessary to make from French Authors. This we do, chiefly for the convenience of our native readers, whom we should be glad to interest in this subject.

recently made acquainted with the astronomical calculations of the Brahmans by an excellent paper of M. Le Gentil, of the Academy of Sciences. We there see curious methods and interesting researches. M. Le G. stayed a long time in India; he spared neither time nor labor to make himself acquainted with their systems, and to put himself into a position to compare them with ours. He had the patience to become the disciple of a Brahman, who, in instructing this astronomer, who is worthy of the body to which he belongs, (the French Academy) complimented him on his aptness as a scholar.*

We suppose that the Indians have exsited as a people since the year 3,553 before Christ. This is the date computed from the reigns of their kings; according to their own statements their antiquity goes beyond all credibility. They say, that the world is to last 4,320,000 years, divided into four ages. The first, the age of innocence, lasted 1,728,000 years, the second 1,296,000, the third 864,000, and the fourth, the age of misfortune in which we now live is to last 432,000 years. This last they call the Kali-yug. Let us remark, that the Persians also divide the duration of the world into four ages; and it is evident that these ages of the Indians or the Persians are the origin of those of the poets. These fables are absurd; but what is remarkable is, that in 1762, when M. Le Gentil was in India, they reckoned the 4863rd year of the fourth age or Kali-yug. Never was truth mixed with falsehood, or at least fable, with a more distinct mark to direct us in separating them. The small number of years of the last age that are past, proves that it contained a real chronological epoch, which goes up to the year 3101 B. C. It would have cost them nothing to have given to this age as to the three others, some millions of centuries, had they not been possessed of some historical monument, or some tradition, or rather some observation, which served them for an epoch, and which established its duration in a precise manner. It is in reality the epoch of their astronomical calculations; the date of the empire of their first kings goes back to 3,054 B. C. And yet, notwithstanding this antiquity of their astronomy, the processes which they actually employ in the calculations of eclipses have a name which in their language means *new* At Benares, in Bengal, they have other methods which they call *ancient*. It were a matter of great curiosity to obtain and compare these. What shall be the date of these *ancient* processes, if the modern ones, as we think no one can doubt, go back as far as their astronomical epoch, that is, 3,101 years before Christ."

This is the shortest enunciation of Bailly's proposition that we have been able to find throughout his two works. Never had any cause a more ingenious advocate. His works are full of plausible arguments, and we confess we cannot help being pleased to see the way in which he makes the most stubborn materials bend to his purposes. If one kind of years for example won't do, he tries another. If the true place of a heavenly body will not suit, he takes its mean place, and *vice versâ*. If the Hindu tables agree with our tables, it is because both are right; —if they do not agree, it is because ours have been merely calculated backwards, and are therefore wrong; while the Hindu have been deduced from contemporary observation, and are

* Our Indian readers know, somewhat better them M. Bailly could possibly do, the value of the compliments bestowed by a Pandit on his Saheb!

therefore right. Thus it is ever with the theorist, however ingenuous he may be in regard to subjects unconnected with his favorite theory, if indeed any subjects can ever be unconnected in the apprehension of a thorough-going theorist with his favorite hypothesis. We shall abundantly make good this assertion ere we have done; but in the mean time we shall make a single remark on the argument contained in the passage we have quoted. We at once admit, that it appears plausible to make a distinction between those ages whose extravagant length at once points them out as purely fabulous, and that whose more moderate length, and especially the comparatively moderate length of that portion of it which has already elapsed, gives it an appearance of reality. If, then, this could not be accounted for on any other supposition preferable to that of Bailly, we should be compelled to give it up to him, and with it his whole theory. We would remark, however, that the very fact that a termination is assigned to the Kali-yug, and with it to the mundane system, naturally gives rise at the outset to a suspicion that the period is altogether a theoretical or conjectural one. And if we can find a key to the conjecture that led to the assignment of the whole duration of the Kali-yug, we shall probably have made some advance towards ascertaining the reason of its commencement being fixed at the period specified, on the supposition that it was an epoch fixed by subsequent calculations, and not by contemporaneous observation. Now of this, the most important point of all connected with the Hindu Astronomy, we have to offer an explanation at once simple, and, to our apprehension, truth-like. We submit it to the candid consideration of such as are accustomed to researches of this nature, while at the same time we shall present it in popular rather than technical phraseology.

The point of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator is not a fixed, but a variable point. In other words, the sun has not the same right ascension (or does not rise along with the same stars) in two successive years when he has no declination, (or is vertical at noon-day at a place situated on the equator). This is a familiar fact in elementary astronomy, and is known by the name of "the precession of the equinoxes."

The amount of this precession is, according to the best modern observations, somewhat more than 50″ annually; but according to the Hindu system, as stated by Bailly and all other writers on the subject, it is taken as 54″. Whether this is owing to any actual change in the amount since their epoch, or is due to errors in their observations, we shall have to consider immediately;—at present we have only to do with the fact. This

precession being observed, it would naturally occur to every Astronomer to enquire into the length of the period in the course of which this point would make a complete revolution of the whole equinoctial circle. At the Hindu rate of precession this period will be immediately found to be 24,000 years, the quotient resulting from dividing the whole circle, or 360', by 54 , the assumed precession for one year. Now the duration of the Kali-yug is just 18 times this period of 24,000 years; or the Kali-yug is the period during which the equinox will have been 18 times at each point of the equinoctial circle. Why 18 should have been chosen as a multiplier rather than any other number we are not able positively to determine. It might have been chosen arbitrarily, merely on the ground that 24,000 years being too short a period to satisfy Hindu notions, *some* number must be chosen as a multiplier;—or it might be selected as being the greatest common measure of 360 and 54; or it might be for the following reason:—The position of the moon's node, or the point in which her orbit cuts the ecliptic, goes round the ecliptic in a little more than 18 years, just as the intersection of the earth's equator with the ecliptic goes round it in about 25,700 years in reality, but according to the Hindu estimate of the precession, in 24,000 years. If then the Hindu rate of precession were correct, and if the period of the revolution of the moon's node were 18 years (instead of about 18 years and 7 months,) then if the sun and moon were in conjunction at any point in the ecliptic, they would be in conjuction again at the same point in the ecliptic, after a period of 432,000 years. We are inclined to suppose, that this is the true account of the duration of the period of the Kali-yug; but if any of our readers are staggered at the assumption, that the Hindus used a period of 18 years instead of 18 years 7 months, we shall not dogmatize on the subject, but shall only remind them that 7 months is a much less error on 18 years 7 months, than 1,700 years is on 25,700 years; the latter being about a fifteenth part, while the former is only a thirty-second part, of the whole quantity. But be the origin of the factor 18 what it may, we can scarcely doubt that the other factor, viz. 24,000, which enters into the period of the Kali-yug, is derived, as we have shewn, from the cycle of precession.

The length of the Kali-yug being thus determined, a short process would lead to the assignment of its commencement. If a point were assigned from which to measure the precession, as we measure it from the first point of Aries, the commencement of the epoch would be at once determined by dividing the distance between that first point and the actual position of the

equinox at the period of observation by the annual precession, say 54′. Now it is obvious that any point might be assumed arbitrarily as the first point of the zodiac, or the astronomer might be led by some peculiar coincidence to fix upon some particular point in preference to all others. The latter was the fact in the actual case before us. On calculating backwards the position of the planets they found, that on a particular day in the month of February in the year 3102 B. C. the Sun, Moon, Saturn, Mars, Jupiter and Mercury were, not indeed in actual conjunction, but at least in the same quarter of the heavens, the greatest distance between any two of them probably not exceeding 17° or 18°. Now it was by no means an unnatural supposition, that, at the creation or beginning of a new system, all the planets should be launched forth from one point in the heavens, and left to perform their revolutions in harmony and order. A general conjunction of all the planets was, therefore, assumed as the commencement of the epoch: no general conjunction was actually found, on calculation; but in February of 3102 B. C. was an approach to it. It is true that at this period Venus was in a different quarter of the heavens, being about 62° in longitude apart from Saturn; but what theorist would allow a single planet to stand in the way of the establishment of so grand an epoch? Not, certainly, the framers of the Hindu Astronomy; and accordingly they did determine, that at the commencement of the Kali-yug all the planets were in conjunction in the first point of the zodiac; and thus was the famous epoch fixed. All this is perfectly consistent with what we know of human nature; especially does it accord with what we know of the Hindu character, and most of all perhaps is it in accordance with the character of the Hindu philosophers. But take the other supposition, that the epoch was determined by actual observation, and then the removal of Venus to a position 60° distant from that which she occupied before the observer's eye is an exceedingly awkward piece of work. This M. Bailly and Professor Playfair are compelled to admit, and fairly give up the point, though we must say, that we do not think either the one or the other attaches sufficient weight to the admission. An extract from the *Astronomie Indienne* will, we think, justify this opinion.

"The Indians say, that at the commencement of the Kali-yug there was a conjunction of all the planets. Their tables in fact indicate this conjunction; and ours shew that it may really have occurred. Jupiter and Mercury were in precisely the same degree of the ecliptic. Mars was distant 8°, and Saturn 17°. It follows, that, about this period, or 15 days after the Kali-yug and in proportion as the sun advanced in the zodiac, the Indians saw four

planets successively emerge from his rays; first Saturn, then Mars, then Jupiter and Mercury, and these planets were all seen within a short distance of each other. Although Venus was not along with them, the taste for the marvellous led them to record a general conjunction of the whole. The testimony of the Brahmans is thus in accordance with our tables; and this testimony, resulting from tradition, must be founded on actual observation."

It seems quite unnecessary to show, that the admissions which M. Bailly is here compelled to make, completely vitiate his whole theory in regard to the Hindu tables. The testimony *must*, he says, be founded on actual observation; and yet in regard to the brightest and most easily observed of all the planets, he admits that the testimony regarding it is absolutely false to an extent for which no mere error of observation can possible account. Either there was a general conjunction, and the testimony of the Indian tables is true; or there was not a general conjunction, and the testimony is false: but, by Bailly's own shewing, there was not a general conjunction, and therefore the testimony is false. In a matter of this kind it will not do to say, that the testimony is approximately true, except in regard to the position of Venus; the indication afforded by this false testimony of the want of veracity in the witnesses, neutralizes the value that might be attached to their depositions in regard to the places of those planets whose positions were nearer to those which they assign to them. De Lambre disposes of this subject in a few lines. The sarcastic tone which unfortunately runs through his whole discussion of Bailly's arguments is here much less out of place than in many other parts; for here Bailly certainly lays himself open to it.

"Another proof which is no better than the last (says M. De L.). The Indians say, that at this epoch all the planets were in conjunction. This would be a further reason for supposing that they have determined it by calculation, in order to make all the heavenly bodies set out from one and the same point. Bailly says further that the conjunction is possible, that our tables gave it to within 17°. It appears then, that either our tables or those of the Indians contain errors of 17°! Venus alone was not found with the rest. *The taste for the marvellous led them to record a general conjunction of the whole!* Here are astronomers very scrupulous and very worthy of confidence! It is just as we have seen among the Chinese."

We might claim a right to hold this single point as decisive of the whole question; but we can afford to take low ground in this discussion; we shall, therefore, try the value of some of the other arguments on which the admirers of the Hindu astronomy rest its claims to antiquity and truthfulness.

The position of the equinoxes at the period to which we have so often referred, is one of the most important points in the whole question. We have already stated incidentally that the ecliptic, or apparent path of the sun in the heavens, does not

cut the plane of the earth's equator in two successive years in the same point; but that if the sun come to the north of that plane in any year at a particular point among the fixed stars, it will come to the north of the same plane next year at the distance of about $50'\frac{1}{3}$ from that point. The point at which the sun cuts the plane of the equator is called the equinoctial point, because then the day is equal to the night all over the world, and the season at which this occurs is called the equinox. As then the sun, after leaving the equinoctial point, reaches it again before he has accomplished a complete revolution in respect of the fixed stars, the period between two vernal equinoxes is consequently less than a sidereal year in the proportion that $359^{o}\ 59'\ 9\ \frac{2}{3}$ is less than 360^{o} or a complete revolution. This phenomenon is called the *precession of the Equinoxes*. It will be observed, that all that we have said amounts just to this, that the relative positions of the equinoxes and fixed stars, do not remain constant; but it is evidently indifferent for all purposes of practical astronomy, whether we regard the equinox as a fixed point and the stars as moving at a slow rate by a proper motion, or consider the stars as absolutely fixed and the equinox as moving at the rate we have stated. The former course is adopted by European Astronomers, and the vernal equinox is regarded as a fixed point in the heavens, from which the Eastward or Westward distance of every heavenly body is reckoned, precisely as the longitudes of places on the earth are reckoned from an arbitrarily assumed first meridian. In order to ascertain the reality of an epoch, it would appear, that a good criterion would be the recorded position of the equinox among the fixed stars at the epoch, or, which amounts to the same thing, the longitude of any star or stars reckoned from the equinox. If the rate of precession were known with perfect accuracy,—from the observed longitude of a star at the present time, we could deduce its longitude for any period however remote by the simplest arithmetical process. Suppose then a set of tables placed before us regarding which there was suspicion that they had been constructed by calculation at a much later period than their pretended epoch, then if, with a perfectly accurate knowledge of the rate of precession, we found that the tables disagreed widely with our calculations, we should at once be justified in rejecting them. If, however, they agreed nearly, then we should be reduced to one of two inferences,—either that the epoch was determined by actual observation, or that the subsequent observers had known the rate as well as we, and had performed substantially the same operation upon their observations, that we had performed on

ours. But all who know even the first elements of astronomy are aware, that scarcely any element, such as the rate of precession, is constant and invariable. Almost all such quantities are irregular, though, as we have already said, regularly irregular. We are not, therefore, to expect that we can ascertain the longitude of a star with perfect precision for a very remote period; still we can approximate to it with tolerable certainty. If for example we wished to ascertain the longitude of a star at the commencement of the Christian era, we should just have to subtract from its present longitude the product of 1844 by $50'\frac{1}{3}$; but an error of a tenth part of a second in the annual rate of precession would produce an error of 184″, or 3′ 4″ in the longitude of the star at the commencement of our era. Now it is a fact, that the Hindu Astronomers make the annual precession 54″, or about $3\frac{1}{3}$ more than the truth. Hence in calculating back from any epoch of observation to another 1800 years before it, they would make an error amounting to about 110′ or 1° 50′; while in calculating from A. D. 600 to B. C. 3102 the error would amount to 3° 46′ 14″. Here then, it would appear, is a test; provided that the tables, which relate exclusively to the sun, moon, and planets, contain any indication of the longitude of the fixed stars, or of the position among them of the vernal equinox at the commencement of the Kali-yug.

Now it so happens, that Le Gentil brought from India a diagram or delineation of the Indian Zodiac. This diagram places the vernal equinox 40′ behind the star Aldebaran. Now calculating from the position of this star in 1750, and making the rate of precession $50\frac{1}{3}$ annually, M. Bailly finds by the simple process we have described that it ought to have been 1° 32′ before the equinox, this, therefore, gives an error of 52′ in the Hindu place of the equinox. But La Grange has shewn that the precession is subject to a small secular variation, in consequence of which the position of Aldebaran in 3101 B. C. would be not 1° 32′ before the equinox, but 13′ behind it. The position of the star, therefore, according to Le Gentil's diagram is 40′ before the equinox, and its position at the same period according to the corrected rate of precession is 13′ behind it. The error of the Hindu assignment, therefore, assuming the rate of precession as corrected to be perfectly accurate, is 53′, not an inconsiderable error certainly, but one much smaller than would have resulted from calculating back from A. D. 600 at the annual rate of 54″. Hence Bailly concludes that the epoch is a real one. 'This argument, (says Prof. Playfair,) 'carries with it a great deal of force: and even were it the only 'one we had to produce, it would render it in a high degree

'probable that the Indian Zodiac was as old as the Calyougham '(Kali-yug).'

We fully agree with the learned professor, that this is a very strong argument, and if it either stood alone, or in connection with but one or two slight errors, it might be held decisive of the question. But the very same principle that would lead us to overlook a slight error in the midst of much important truth, and would not permit us, were such the state of the case, to decide against the reality of the epoch, seems to require of us in the opposite case to look upon a single truth in the midst of much error as only a somewhat remarkable coincidence. There is, indeed, a charity in regard to philosophical as well as moral subjects, which ought to lead us in general to put the best interpretation upon phenomena that they will admit of; but when such a coincidence of truth appears in the midst of such errors as we have shewn, and have yet to shew, in regard to the ascertainment of the Kali-yug, we cannot think it inconsistent with philosophic charity to inquire whether it may not be accounted for in any other way than on the supposition, which the numerous errors seem so decisively to contradict, that of actual observations at the period of the Kali-yug. We would, accordingly, suggest a method of accounting for the coincidence, without dogmatizing upon it. The Hindu rate of precession, as we have repeatedly stated, is erroneous. The error is not very great, yet it is so considerable, that its accumulation during a considerable number of years of continuous observation would inevitably betray its existence. Now suppose, that such a course of observation were conducted during three or four centuries, say for example the first four centuries from the Christian era. Suppose that at the beginning of this period rude tables existed, calculated back to the period of the Kali-yug on the supposition of an erroneous precession, and forward to the year 499 A. D. so as to give the longitude of the first point of the moveable zodiac, or the beginning of the constellation Aries, to be *nothing* at this latter epoch. The observations that we have supposed would sufficiently shew the erroneousness of the rate of precession formerly in use, and a simple operation would shew what was the correct position of the equinoctial point at the Kali-yug; another equally simple operation would shew what rate of precession would reconcile the erroneous determination of the equinox for the year 499, with the true one now ascertained for the year—3102. The distance of the equinoctial points for these two periods being 54°, and the elapsed time being 3600 years, the rate required would be at once found to be 54″. The position of the equinox for the remote period being

thus rectified, the erroneous determination of the comparatively modern period, and also the erroneous rate of precession by means of which the rectification was effected, have been unfortunately retained; and accordingly the tables, as they now exist, make the vernal equinox coincide with the first point of the constellation Aries in the year 3600 of the Kali-yug, or 499 of the Christian era, whereas they were at that period about 4°⅓ apart. This is no doubt only a supposition, and our scientific readers will, of course, value it according to their own judgments; but in estimating it let it be remembered, that it satisfactorily accounts for the error in the rate of precession, which otherwise it were scarcely possible to account for. Observations at considerably distant periods are needful to determine the precession with even an approach to accuracy; but we cannot conceive that a recorded observation at the period of the Kali-yug, of half the accuracy that Bailly assigns to those that he supposes to have been then made and recorded, compared with a moderately accurate one some centuries after, should not have given it with more accuracy than as we find it in the Hindu system. When even Hipparchus, by his own observation and such traditionary fragments as he could collect from the rude observations of his predecessors, was able to ascertain it with such accuracy that we make use of his rate even now, with only the small correction of La Grange and La Place, we cannot conceive that the many astronomers who, we know, lived among the Hindus from the Christian era down to the fifteenth century, could have concurred in admitting an error which in 600 years would amount to 34′ on the position of every one of the heavenly bodies. We, therefore, can think no supposition more natural, than that this error was introduced to neutralize a previous error, and not discarded when the end for which it was introduced was accomplished.

The 'Library of useful knowledge' treatise, whose title stands at the head of our article, sets aside this argument of Bailly by the assertion, that 'this position of the colures for the Calyougham '(Kali-yug) is merely a calculation of Bailly and Le Gentil, the 'Indian tables only giving us the longitude of the equinox 3600 'years after the Calyougham: whence the astronomers just men-'tioned have deduced its position for the year 3102 B. C.' We cannot, however, avail ourselves of this refutation, because, while it is true that the tables only give the place of the equinox for 499 A. D. the diagram which we have mentioned does give it for the Kali-yug. It is true we are nowhere told whether Le Gentil received this diagram from the Hindu Pandits, or whether he constructed it himself; but at all events it is accurately constructed from the tables, with the position they assign to the

equinox in 499 A. D. and the rate of precession which we know that the tables employ. Candour, therefore, not only constrains us to reject the argument thus furnished us, but also to vindicate the character of Bailly from the charge of bad faith contained by implication in the passage we have quoted. The vernal equinox at the period 499 A. D., or 3600 years after the Kali-yug, is given as coinciding with the first point of the moveable zodiac; now at the rate of 54″ of annual precession, the first point of the moveable zodiac must have advanced 54° in 3600 years, and consequently at the period of the Kali-yug must have been 54° behind the equinox; nor is it of much consequence that this is not actually stated in the tables. Thus much, we think candour requires us to say in regard to the honesty of him whose theory we are controverting; and we trust we should have said it even if we had had much more need than we have of such methods of getting rid of his arguments, as that employed in the work from which we have just quoted.

The next point that we shall take up is the position of the sun and moon at the epoch in question. We have already stated, that according to the Hindu system, the sun, moon and all the planets were then in the first point of the moveable zodiac, and we have shewn that in regard to the planets this was not by any means the fact. We shall now make it appear, that according to M. Bailly's own shewing, this was not the fact even in regard to the sun and moon. The recorded statement, be it remembered, is, that at the midnight between the 17th and 18th of February in the year 3102 B. C. the sun and moon were in the first point of the moveable zodiac; and as we have seen that at this period they made the beginning of the zodiac 54° in advance of the vernal equinox, the longitude of the sun and moon was, according to our mode of expression 306°, or the difference between 54° and 360°. Now Lacaille's tables give the longitude of the sun at this time 301° 5′ 57″; this, by the application of La Grange's correction of 1° 45′ 22″, becomes 302° 51′ 19″. The error, therefore, is 3° 8′ 41″. This any one would suppose, is a sufficiently staggering error; but what will stagger a theorist like M. Bailly? He gets out of the difficulty by supposing, that the longitude of the sun, as given in the Indian tables for this epoch, is not the mean longitude, as is given in all other tables, but the true or apparent longitude, differing from the mean by the equation of the sun's centre,* which for that period

* The true place of a heavenly body is, of course, the place where it actually is seen in the heavens. The mean place is the place that it would occupy if it performed its revolution in a circle and at a uniform rate. The difference between these is its equation, which is to be added or subtracted according as the true position of the body is before or behind its mean place.

is 2° 21′ 47″. This, being to be substracted from the apparent longitude, gives the mean longitude 303° 38′ 13″, which differs from that given by Lacaille's tables with La Grange's correction, by 46′ 54″. It is not a little amusing to see the manner in which Bailly extricates himself from this difficulty. We shall translate the passage, as finely illustrating how much may be made by a clever advocate of the very worst cause.

"There is a reason which appears to have induced them to depart from the usage, and violate the rule, which require that an epoch be placed in a mean longitude. It is that this epoch (the entrance of the sun into the moveable zodiac) is the rule of the Indian solar times. It is the beginning of their year. This commencement ought to be true; this time ought to be sensible, (apparent) and consequently fixed by the true entrance of the sun into the moveable zodiac. However, it ought to be observed that the Indians, whether by mistake or otherwise, make use of this true longitude of 206° as a mean longitude; and we have already a proof of it, since we have seen that the Indians of Siam, of Chrisnabouram (Krishnapur) and of Narsapur, always reckon their longitudes from this as the first point of their zodiac, applying to it the correction of the equation of the centre. Undoubtedly those who chose this position of the sun for an epoch were some ignorant persons who did not know that a true position cannot become an epoch until it is corrected and reduced to the mean longitude."

Was it Cato of Utica, or which of the sages was it, who said that no folly could be conceived which could not be matched from the writings of the philosophers? A man finds a longitude given without any distinction in a table where all the longitudes are, as in all other tables where the contrary is not mentioned, mean longitudes. He finds this longitude, the most important one in the whole tables, because the foundation of all the rest, uniformly treated in the tables themselves as a mean longitude; but he finds a reason for not believing that it is so, and what is that reason? It was necessary forsooth, that the commencement of the year should be marked by the actual apparent entrance of the sun into the zodiac! One would suppose from this, that all the people of India stand every year with their eyes riveted to their transit instruments in order that each one may determine for himself the precise moment at which he ought to begin his new-year's-day solemnities! The fact is, that no man can ascertain by observation the true place of the sun, who cannot instantly add or subtract the equation of his centre, and thereby find the mean place. But independently of this, there cannot possibly be a more gratuitous assumption than that of Bailly. He might just as well have made any other assumption whatever; as for example that the longitude given was not meant to be the longitude for that particular time, but for a time, three days and some hours later. This would have suited his purpose just as well, and would have been just as warrantable an assumption as the other. Thus there is nothing whatsoever that may not be

proved; thus there is no distinction whatsoever between truth and error.

But how, it will be asked, does Professor Playfair treat this assumption? It is pretty evident that, like his countryman's crow, he felt more than he has expressed.

"Bailly (says he), thinks it reasonable to suppose, that this was not the mean place of the sun, as the nature of astronomical tables requires, but the true place, differing from the mean by the equation of the sun's centre at that time. This, it must be confessed, is the mark of greatest unskilfulness that we meet with in the construction of these tables. Supposing it however to be the case, &c."

Again, having stated Bailly's argument, he says:—

"This agreement is near enough to afford a strong proof of the reality of the ancient epoch, if it were not for the difficulty that remains about considering the sun's place as the true rather than the mean: and for that reason, I am unwilling that any stress should be laid on this argument."

Were it not worth considering whether the argument would not bear a good deal of *stress* in the opposite direction? whether in fact it do not conclusively shew that the epoch of the Kali-yug is a merely imaginary one, formed on the mere assumption of a general conjunction of the sun, moon, and planets in the first point of the moveable zodiac,—a conjunction which never took place, save in the fancy of those who will generalize phenomena, and skip, as Lord Bacon hath it, *per saltum et volatum*, to the most general axioms.

The position assigned to the moon agrees more nearly with its actual place, as calculated by the aid of our modern astronomy: but then, unfortunately, we cannot repose implicit confidence on our astronomy, even in its present highly advanced state, in reference to the position of the moon at so very distant a period as that in question.

The moon's motion is by far the most complicated one with which astronomers have to do: and although we may decide with confidence as to its position a few centuries ago, no astronomer possessed of true philosophic caution will dogmatize as to its position 48 or 50 centuries backward or forward. The comparison between the Hindu record and the modern calculation may however be stated thus: The moon's mean longitude, as calculated from Mayer's tables, on the supposition, that the moon's rate of motion has been always the same as at the beginning of last century is 300° 51′ 16″. But in consequence of the mutual attractions of the planets, and the disturbances thereby introduced into their orbits and motions, the moon is subject to a small acceleration, encreasing, according to Mayer's supposition, in proportion to the squares of the times. The

amount of this acceleration in the course of a century at present is about 9″. Hence in 48 centuries it will amount to 5° 45′ 36″ (the Square of 48 Multiplied by 9″.) This quantity then being added to the moon's longitude makes it 306° 36′ 52″. But according to the Hindu tables it was 306°; the difference therefore is only 36′ 52″. Now we have only to repeat, that the correction of the moon's place by Mayer's theory, however accurate for moderately distant periods, is not to be depended upon for a period of 48 centuries. In fact La Place's corrections would give a result completely different. This argument, therefore, though from the very nature of the case it cannot be refuted, is completely neutralized. It is, however, to be considered, that La Place's correction, being founded on a theory which is unquestionably sound, is to be regarded as more likely to be correct than that of Mayer, which is merely empirical. But upon this argument we do not desire to lay much 'stress,' being satisfied with merely setting Bailly's argument aside, without attempting to turn it against its employers.*

The next argument is that derived from the moon's mean motion. This, it is evident from what has just been said, ought to have been slower, or, which is the same thing, a lunar month ought to have been longer than as we now find it. Accordingly the Hindu tables do make the moon's mean motion slower than we find it at present. But in regard to the amount of the retardation, the tables do not at all agree with each other, those of Krishnapur differing from those of Tirvalore to the extent of 3° 2′ 10″ in stating the moon's motion for 16,00,984 days from the commencement of the Kali-yug. Now Playfair shews, that, the former give the motion very near the truth as ascertained by Mayer's formula, and moderately near it as ascertained by that of La Place. The Tirvalore tables, on the other hand, make the retardation too little by upwards of 3°. This, therefore, indicates, that their origin is later than that of the Krishnapur tables; but these latter do not profess to be older than the 7th century of our era, and hence it appears—either that the Tirvalore tables have been constructed at a period subsequent to the seventh century, and thus the argument of Bailly and Playfair is refuted,—or else that our knowledge of the various disturbances of the moon's motion is not yet sufficiently accurate to enable us to calculate with perfect accuracy its rate of mo-

* We find the place of the moon by calculating from La Place's formula to be 307° 35′ 56″, which differs by 1° 35′ from the Hindu position. This is certainly much nearer the truth than the positions found from Mayer's rate, and made use of by Bailly and Playfair. For La Place's formula see the Systeme du Monde p. 232, or Maddy's Astronomy p. 283. Playfair in another part of his essay mentions La Place's formula as being more accurate than Mayer's. Why did he not then employ it here?

tion 5,000 years ago: and thus the argument which on the other supposition was refuted, is on this supposition neutralized. But independently of this altogether, we cannot admit that the mean motion, though it should be accurate to a tenth part of a second in 5,000 years, can furnish any argument for the reality of the epoch separate from and additional to that derived from the assignment of its place at the commencement of the epoch. The mean motion of a heavenly body is found by dividing the distance between its position at any two periods remote from each other by the length of time elapsed between the periods. Now we do not think of questioning that the Hindus might make observations on the place of the moon at the end of the 16,00,984 days, that is, A. D. 1282. The accuracy, therefore, of the determination of the mean motion, is inseparably connected with the accuracy of the determination of the moon's place at the Kali-yug. If the latter be accurate the former must be accurate too. To derive separate arguments, therefore, from these two quantities as if they were independent of each other, is wholly unallowable. Yet this is done both by Bailly and Playfair. Since then the mean motion depends upon the moon's place at this period, and since we have seen that either this place is falsely assigned by the Hindus, or else that our astronomy is not accurate enough to test its determination within several degrees, it follows, just as before, that the mean motion must either be erroneous, or that we have no means of accurately ascertaining whether it be so or no. And thus we reach the same dilemma as before, a refutation or a neutralization of Bailly's argument.

The length of the tropical year, or the period that elapses between the sun's leaving the equinox and his return to it, is subject to a small secular variation which attains its maximum in a period of many thousand years, and then again diminishes. Now La Grange has shewn, that the length of the year 3102 B. C. was 40″½ greater than that of the year 1700 A. D. The true length of the tropical year was, therefore at the former period. 365*d*. 5*h*. 49′ 29′½. The Hindu tables make it 365*d*. 5*h*. 50′ 35.″ The difference is 1′ 5″½. Now the whole difference between any two tropical years cannot exceed 3′ 40″, and hence the error is very nearly as great as possible, the utmost 'limit of error' being one half of 3′ 40″, or 1′ 50″. Bailly supposes, that this length of the year must have been ascertained by a course of observations continued for a long period before the Kali-yug. But this supposition Playfair shews to be inadmissible, inasmuch as the length of the tropical year had attained its maximum just about the very period of the Kali-yug; so that while in 3102 B. C. it was 40″½ longer than at present, it was in 5500 B. C. if the

earth then existed at all, only 29″ longer than at present. This argument, therefore, is not only set aside but refuted.

Nearly similar remarks apply to the other arguments adduced by Bailly and adopted by Playfair, especially those in reference to the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the equation of the sun's centre. The former A. D. 1700, was 23° 28′ 41″, to which is to be added 22′ 32′ in order to give the correct obliquity for 3102 B. C. This gives it 23° 51′ 13′. The Hindus give it 24°. This Bailly considers as an indication that the obliquity was determined at a period 1200 years before the Kali-yug. Is it not far more likely that it was merely assumed in exact degrees? Truly we deem so. The division of the circle into degrees is the work of man for his own convenience. But the Author of nature requires no such artificial aid to assist Him in His operations; and when we find any quantity such as this stated in even degrees, we may almost certainly conclude that it is a bare assumption.

With respect to the mean motions of the planets, it is perfectly evident from what we have seen as to the errors in the determination of their positions at the Kali-yug, that there can be no soundness in the determination of their mean motions. The position of Venus for example, being 60° from the truth, that error must be swallowed up in the course of as many revolutions as take place between that epoch, and an epoch of actual observation. We accordingly find, that there is no truth in the ascertainment of these motions. This is admitted by the advocates of the reality of the epoch, except with respect to Jupiter and Saturn. We believe that we could shew, that the argument deduced from these is not sound; but we have not sufficient confidence in our standard of reference, and therefore we hold simply that no conclusion can be drawn. The disturbing influences of these two planets were scarcely known at the period when Bailly wrote. The calculation of these influences was the achievement which has bound up the name of La Place with that of Newton: and any arguments founded on data from which these influences were either excluded, or in which they were merely guessed at, can be of no value.

If any of our readers have had patience enough to accompany us thus far, we feel that it would be an abuse of their kindness to lead them now to the more intricate arguments which we have as yet left untouched. We have not indeed exhausted the subject, but have stated, and we trust answered, such of Bailly's arguments as we could render most intelligible to ordinary readers. Certainly we have not kept back any for fear of their leading to results contrary to those which we have

endeavoured to establish. Indeed there would be no logical unfairness in passing over any arguments which we might not be able to set aside; for it is evident, that, in a matter of this kind, we have a right to expect that *all* the particulars of the state of the heavens, at the period in question, should be stated within such a degree of accuracy as might be supposed compatible with the means of observation of so early astronomers; and a few obvious errors would be sufficient to set aside the reality of the pretended observations, even if there were co-incidences for which we could not account. It is, however, a fact, that those arguments which we have not answered are just as little sound as those which we have answered. And now we shall sum up this branch of our subject by translating the judgment of one, whom, if such matters were to be decided by authority, the astronomical world would by acclamation have chosen as arbiter in the matter,—the author of the *Mecanique Celeste*—

"The origin of astronomy in Persia and in India, as among all other nations, is lost in the obscurity of the first period of their history. The Indian tables indicate an astronomy in a state of considerable advancement, but every thing leads us to believe that they are not of high antiquity. And here it is with pain that I differ from the opinion of an illustrious and unfortunate friend, whose death, the subject of endless grief and regret, is a fearful instance of the inconstancy of popular favor.* After having rendered his life honourable by his labors, useful to science and the human race, as well as by his virtues and a noble character, he fell a victim to the most bloody tyranny, opposing the calmness and dignity of integrity to the outrages of a people who had idolized him. The Indian tables have two principal epochs, which go back, the one to the year 3102 before our era and the other to 1419 (of our era.) These epochs are connected together by the motions of the sun, moon and planets in such a way, that, setting out from the positions which the tables assign to these bodies at the second epoch, and calculating back to the first by means of the tables, we find the general conjunction which they suppose at this epoch. The celebrated philosopher of whom I have just spoken, Bailly, has sought to establish in his Treatise on the Indian Astronomy, that this first epoch was founded on observations. Notwithstanding his proofs, set forth with that clearness which he knew how to spread over the most abstruse subjects, I regard it as very probable that the epoch was imagined in order to give a common origin in the zodiac to the motions of the heavenly bodies. Our latest astronomical tables, brought to considerable perfection by the comparison of theory with a vast number of most accurate observations, do not allow us to admit the conjunction supposed in the Indian tables. Indeed they shew us in this respect differences far

* Bailly was one of the most zealous promoters of the French revolution. He was chosen president of the *Tiers etat* and of the National Assembly, and was appointed Mayor of Paris. In the discharge of the duties of this office he was obliged to employ forcible measures to repress the mad violence of the men by whose acclamations he was raised to it. He was, consequently, denounced as an enemy to the republic, and condemned to die the death of a traitor. His brutal murderers studiously protracted and encreased his sufferings, till he was released from all earthly suffering by the guillotine. Writers of all parties seem to give Bailly the character of being an amiable man, and a man of much integrity.—Ed. C. R.

greater than any errors of which they may be susceptible. In truth, some elements of the Indian Astronomy could only have the amount which they assign to them at an enormously long period before our era: for example, in order to find their equation of the sun's centre we must go back to 6000 years before that era. But independently of the errors of their determinations, it should be observed that they have considered the inequalities (irregularities in the motions) of the sun and moon only in relation to eclipses, in which the annual equation of the moon is added to the equation of the sun's centre, and encreases it by a quantity nearly equal to the difference of its true value. Several elements, such as the equations of the centres of Jupiter and Mars, are very different in the Indian tables from what they ought to have been at the commencement of their epoch. The *ensemble* of the tables, and especially the impossibility of the general conjunction which they suppose, prove that they have been constructed, or at least corrected, in modern times. This conclusion is further borne out by the mean motions which they assign to the moon as referred to her perigee, her nodes and the sun, which being more rapid than as given by Ptolemy, prove that the tables containing them are subsequent to that astronomer; for we have seen that these motions are subject to an acceleration from age to age."

To this deliverance of the greatest astronomer of his age, we may add a testimony, which for our present purpose is scarcely less, if not even more, weighty. It is that of Professor Playfair himself, writing in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1817, nearly 20 years later than the date of the memoir which has occupied so much of our attention in this article. We quote it with all the more pleasure that it both shews, in a very striking light, the candour and ingenuousness of our countryman, and also coincides with some of the views which we had expressed before the article in which it occurs came under our notice.*

"When the astronomical tables of India first became known in Europe, the extraordinary light which they appeared to cast on the history and antiquity of the East made every where a great impression; and men engaged with eagerness in a study promising that mixture of historical and scientific research, which is, of all others, the most attractive. The ardour with which they entered on this pursuit, the novelty of the objects, and the surprise excited, may have led them further, in some instances, than the nature of the evidence when scrupulously examined, authorised them to proceed. Among those who were perhaps in a certain degree under the influence of this fascination, was the illustrious Historian of Astronomy, whom his talents, his virtues and his misfortunes have all combined to immortalize. Bailly, who, in his enquiries into the origin of astronomy in the West, had constantly found himself stopped and unable to proceed, on account of the impenetrable obscurity that involves the antiquities of that quarter of the world, was willing to indulge a hope, that the light which seemed now rising in the east was to dispel the obscurity he had so often complained of, and to discover the secrets contained in the antient history of the most antient of the

* The article is a Review of Colebrooke's Translation of the Arithmetical and Algebraical works of Brahmaguptu and Bhascara. The review itself bears sufficient testimony to its authorship; but if there were any doubt as to this point, we find it quoted as the work of Playfair in the article on Algebra in the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, written by the late Professor Wallace, the intimate friend of Playfair.

sciences. He therefore entered with great ardour on the study of the Eastern Astronomy; on the exposition of its principles, and on the examination and defence of its accuracy; displaying in all this, the usual resources of his ingenuity, his knowledge and his eloquence.

"A more minute examination, however, instituted by our countrymen on the spot, led them to doubt of the pretensions to high antiquity that they found in the astronomical books of the Hindus, and enabled them to detect errors into which the French Astronomer had been betrayed, sometimes from the want of local knowledge, often from too much confidence in his informers, and occasionally, no doubt, from that spirit of system from which the men of greatest wisdom and genius find it most difficult to defend themselves. The tide of opinion now began to set the contrary way: the recentness, and the inaccuracy of the Indian tables, were maintained no less keenly, and by much more objectionable reasonings, than their antiquity and correctness, had formerly been.

"Among those who have lately taken up this argument, one of the most learned and skilful astronomers in Europe, M. De Lambre, is particularly distinguished. In a work just published, he has made an elaborate attack on the facts, the reasonings, the calculations of the *Astronomie Orientale*, and has treated the author with a severity and harshness, to which, from a brother academician, the memory of Bailly should hardly have been exposed. His main argument is drawn from this fact, that the data are nowhere quoted, from which the Indian tables were computed, and that there is no record, nor even any tradition of regular astronomical observations having been made by the Hindus. The truth of this assertion, as far as our present information goes, cannot be denied, and is certainly not very easy to be reconciled with the supposition that the Indian astronomy is as original and as antient as it pretends to be."

Thus then the antiquity of the Hindu astronomy is virtually abandoned by its most skilful, and withal most ingenuous, advocate. And with it fall the arguments that were once attempted to be based upon it to the prejudice of the authenticity of the chronology and history of the sacred writings. It is a most striking fact that thus have perished all the arguments that have been so zealousy deduced from every source against the truth of these wondrous and blessed records. There is scarcely a branch of science that has not at one time or other been enlisted in the service of infidelity; yet have they all in due time returned to their due allegiance, and delighted to take their places in due rank under the banner of their kindred but superior truth; for revealed truth is at once akin to all other truth, and superior to all other; and as the clansman is most honored who is nearest to his kinsman chief, so is it one of the grandest aspects of science that she presents when she appears as the willing satellite of the heavenly revelation. If there be amongst those who may accompany us in these inquiries any whose misfortune it has been to have had doubts infused into their minds regarding the truth, or regarding the infinite value, of the holy scriptures, let them ponder well the fate of all the attempts that have been made from time to time to set

aside their authority. The enemies of the Bible, or rather the enemies of the human race, have spared no pains, and left no arguments unused, by which they could hope to shake the confidence of men in the reality of those astounding discoveries that are contained in the book of God; and how far they have succeeded in depriving some of hope in life, and peace in death, we cannot fully tell; but the authority of the scriptures has been but the more convincingly established by the failure of every attempt that has been made to overthrow it. The evil is this—an evil not as it regards the Bible, but as it affects the interests of man—that it is a very easy matter for virulent infidels to appeal to such men as Bailly and Playfair as having proved that there were men living on the earth and observing the heavens 6,000 years before the Christian era, or 2,000 years before the period when the Bible assures us that God created the heavens and the earth; and thousands can hear and understand and be injured by the statement of the conclusion, who have neither the ability nor the inclination to estimate the accuracy of the premises or the legitimacy of the inference. In this view we trust our present article will not be wholly valueless, by exhibiting the real state of the case in a more simple and popular manner than it has ever been exhibited before.

Having thus shewn the inadmissibility of the claims set up on behalf of the Hindu astronomy to an extravagant antiquity, it may be expected that we should enter more directly into a consideration of the actual period of its construction. This however we do not purpose at present. We shall only state generally, that Mr. Bentley has shewn, by arguments that approach as nearly to demonstration as the subject admits of, that the Surya Siddhanta, which is confessedly the origin of the Hindu tables, was written between A.D. 1,000 and A.D. 1,200. The principle on which he proceeds is the simplest possible, and is virtually that which we already illustrated by the supposition of a clock, whose hands should revolve in periods of which one was not a multiple of the other. It may be safely granted as a first principle in the inquiry, that if there be a time when the positions assigned to the heavenly bodies is nearer the truth than those assigned to them at any other period either before or after, that time is the period of the construction of the tables. If there were but one or even two bodies, this principle would not apply; for it is evident that in such a case an error in the position of the body at the time of observation might be swallowed up by an error in the opposite direction in the mean motion, and thus the period of least error, or of no error, might be far distant from, either before or

after, the period of actual observation. But such a compensation of errors cannot take place coincidently in the positions of nine or ten heavenly bodies. The amount of probability opposed to such a coincidence is altogether overwhelming, and hence it is impossible for any one to doubt the applicability of Bentley's mode to the ascertainment of the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta and the tables constructed according to its rules. Now without going into the details of the application of the principle, we shall merely state, that the period of least error in regard to almost all the elements of the planetary astronomy falls within the two centuries that we have mentioned: and hence the extreme antiquity that can be allowed to the tables does not exceed nine or ten centuries. We may observe, that Playfair laid down precisely the principle on which Bentley has proceeded, in the memoir to which we have so often alluded. We therefore cannot believe, that Playfair was the author of the attack on Bentley's principle in the *Edinburgh Review* of July 1807: but that Mr. Bentley's friend was right in reporting Playfair's opinion that that attack was nonsensical. In fact, as we have said, the principle employed by Bentley was stated by Playfair himself long before, and it is highly probable that if he had had the tables actually before him, and had not known them only from Bailly's account of them, he would have himself applied the principle, and have anticipated Bentley in the determination of their antiquity.

The astronomical system contained in the Surya Siddhanta, is virtually the system of Ptolemy, although we cannot agree with the arguments of DeLambre, who labors strenuously to prove that it was derived either from him or from Ulugh Beg. According to their system the earth is placed as the centre of the system, and around it revolve the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The irregularities in the motion of the sun and moon, now universally known and acknowledged to be the effect of the eccentricity of the earth's and moon's orbits, are accounted for on the supposition that the sun and moon move in epicycles whose centres revolve in circles. The chief, and almost the sole object of the Hindu astronomy, is the calculation of eclipses. This is accomplished with considerable accuracy by a very tedious but very ingenious process, the *rationale* of which is not understood by any of the modern Jyotishis, who have therefore been fitly styled machines for calculating eclipses. Examples of the method employed, are given by Bailly from Du Champ, and have been copied into various English works.

And now we come to the consideration of a question of much practical importance in relation to the Hindu astronomy. The

late Mr. Wilkinson, an excellent man, as we understand, and one whom we desire to honor as having been both sincerely and intelligently interested in the improvement of this country and its people, a few years ago agitated a question as to the employment of the Siddhantas in the work of native education, as containing a sufficient amount of truth to refute and shew the absurdity of the Puranic system of astronomy, geography, and chronology; and as being more likely to find acceptance among the people than the European astronomy.

The Puranic system is such a mass of absurdity and monstrous folly, that we should be willing to listen very favorably to any proposal that should promise to drive it out of the minds of the people. Of all the "idols of the theatre" from which the true Baconian finds it needful to cleanse the minds of those whom he would lead to the worship of truth, none assuredly was ever more monstrous than this. Like some of the material idols before which the Hindus bow down, it seems formed with the special view of defying all verisimilitude, and showing the extent to which a corrupt imagination can proceed in the conception of monstrosity. And then it is so closely bound up with the religious and social system of the Hindus, that its dispersion could scarcely fail, to a good extent, to shake their confidence in these systems, and emancipate their minds from a tyranny under which their fathers have groaned for ages, and by the influence of which all that is manly and pure and lovely is banished from the land. But while we should deem it a great boon to have this "idol" smashed into fragments, and the fragments ground to powder, we can scarcely agree with Mr. Wilkinson as to the instrument by which the iconoclastic process is to be accomplished.

The Puranic system rests upon authority, an authority deemed divine. Mr. Wilkinson considers, that it is to be dislodged by an appeal to another authority, which, however high in the estimation of the Hindus, can never be so high as that which is opposed to it. Even then if we wished to indoctrinate men into philosophy by the argument of authority, we could find none sufficiently high for our purpose in the present case. But if we had such authority, we apprehend that we should defeat our main purpose by using it. It is the grand advantage of our European science, as an engine of education, that it calls for free and independent investigation. The Siddhantic astronomy, on the other hand, is just as dogmatic as the Puranic. We take not up with the utilitarian and materialistic theories that are supposed to distinguish the age in which we live, and to exert an influence over the character of some of our educational

schemes; but we are thoroughly convinced that it is by actual measurement and actual inspection, by the measuring-rod, the theodolite and the telescope, that the Puranic idol is to be demolished. When we come to the Hindu and say,—"This is true, for Baraha and Bhaskar Acharya have said it"—he meets us with an answer which is logically correct and unanswerable, "This other is true, for hosts of Pundits, as learned as these, have said it." It would be just the same if we came with an *ipse dixit* of Newton or La Place or La Grange. But in introducing the European astronomy, we come with no human authority, but with the authority of the very God of truth, and show His signature and His seal impressed upon the book of the universe. We shew in a solar eclipse the moon actually interposed between the earth and the sun, whereas the Puranic system declares that the sun is between the earth and the moon; and so in a hundred other instances we give not authority, but direct and visible proof to overthrow the Puranic system. To oppose one human authority to another, is not in any case consistent with sound views of the mode of inculcating truth; to oppose a lower authority to a higher, is necessarily futile and vain. We presume no advocate of native education would have us take advantage of the claims of the Siddhantas to divine inspiration; and therefore we argue upon the supposition that we are to urge natives to the study of them merely on the ground that they are the productions of their own Pandits.

But Mr. Wilkinson, while he admits that multitudes of Hindus at the presidencies will consent to be taught astronomy according to the true or European system, maintains that the people generally, throughout India, will not even listen to a statement of its doctrines. Supposing this latter statement to be correct, we venture to assert, that the Siddhantic system will not, in any degree, avail to rid us of the difficulty. The Siddhantas, as they exist, are utterly unfit for educational purposes. The only way in which they could possibly be rendered available for such purposes, would be by a thorough new-moulding. Subject them to this, and you deprive them of their only recommendation. You make them your own, whereas the only thing in their favor that has ever been alleged, is that they are the works of Hindu Pandits. The choice then is not really between the Siddhantas and European treatises, but between European treatises based on the Siddhantic system,—which is erroneous and exceedingly complicated,—and European treatises in accordance with the European system, which is both simple and true.

But Mr. Wilkinson assures us, that he has succeeded in introducing the Shiddhantic system in one case with very satisfactory

results. Now, that Mr. Wilkinson might succeed in imparting a considerable knowledge of astronomy to a set of students who held some Siddhantic treatise in their hands, we do not doubt, any more than we doubt that he might have taught them astronomy, while they held a book which told them that the moon was made of green cheese, and the stars of the clippings of the old moons; but that he would have communicated less knowledge, had his scholars had no book in their hands at all, we do doubt; and that he might have communicated more, had they had one of our good elementary treatises on astronomy as a text-book, we firmly believe. In fact, with such men as Mr. Wilkinson for teachers, the character of the text-book is of comparatively little moment; but in devising a scheme for the education of the people—the 120,000,000 at least, of India, we shall be grievously wrong in our calculations if we reckon upon having a ten-thousandth part of the agents in carrying it into execution at all like him.

It is indeed the part of a skilful and intelligent instructor to illustrate the one system by a comparison with the other; to compare the principles, the processes and the results; and, by every method in his power, to inculcate and recommend truth, and especially to cultivate and develope those faculties by which truth may be investigated. And for this, amongst many other reasons, we earnestly join in the wish expressed by Mr. Wilkinson that a precise and accurate knowledge of the Siddhantas and of their system were more easily attainable than it has hitherto been. We believe that this end will be ultimately gained through the help of those natives who are now receiving a liberal education in accordance with the European system. —We would hold it out to such of them as have the ability and the taste, as an object of laudable ambition, to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the system of the more enlightened of their Fathers;—acquainted with them not as the almanac-makers and astrologers of the present day are acquainted with them, who use their rules and precepts for the calculations of eclipses and the construction of horoscopes, as an irrational parrot repeats the words that it has been taught, or rather as the inanimate machine performs its revolutions in obedience to the power that propels it; but to study the systems in their principles, as they have been taught to study the European systems. The labors of Colebrooke, and Davies, and Bentley have marked out the path, and set an example of the spirit in which their researches should be prosecuted. It would give us sincere pleasure to find some of the more gifted of those sons of India who have enjoyed the privileges of a European education, thus ren-

dering back to Europe information regarding a subject of which her philosophers are even now comparatively in ignorance.

After this paper was written, and almost the whole of it had passed through the Press, we received the Asiatic Society's Journal for June 1844, containing a translation into Latin of the astronomical portion of one of the Siddhantas, the Siddhanta Siromani of Bhaskar Acharya. The Translator, Dr. E. Roer, of this city, is entitled to the best thanks of all who are interested in the Hindu Astronomy for this work, which as it left his hands, has evidently been well executed, but which has since then suffered sadly at the hands of the printers. A careful perusal of this article has confirmed our previous conviction, that the Siddhantas are utterly unfit for educational purposes, even if they were free from philosophical and religious falsehood, which is very far from being the case. We are very glad that Dr. Roer has begun to translate such works, and we trust he will go on. The more the Hindu system in all its parts—religious, scientific, political, social and domestic,—is known, the more hope there is of good being effected.

ART. II.—1. *The English in India.* 3 *vols.* 8*vo.* *London,* 1828.

2. *The East India Sketch-book.* 1*st Series.* 2 *vols.* *London,* 1832.

3. *The East Indian Sketch-book.* 2*nd Series.* 2 *vols.* *London,* 1833.

4. *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindustan, by Miss Roberts.* 3 *vols.* *London,* 1835.

5. *The Nabob at Home.* 3 *vols.* *London,* 1843.

6. *The Nabob's Wife.* 3 *vols.* *London,* 1837.

IT is related by Sir Walter Scott, that having been asked by an octogenarian grand-aunt, Mrs. Keith, of Revelston, whether he had ever read Mrs. Behn's novels, and having courageously replied in the affirmative, he was besought by the old lady to "get her a sight of them." After a little hesitation, Scott consented; but expressed some doubts, as to whether his aunt would much relish the pictures of Society contained in the loose volumes of the free-spirited Aphra. Upon the old lady all this was thrown away; she remembered the time when every body read the novels, and every body was delighted with them. She

herself had greatly admired them, in her young days, and devoured them with avidity. This was of course unanswerable. The novels were sent. But soon afterwards, Scott chancing to see his aunt received back the parcel, and was desired to "take back his bonnie Mrs. Behn, and to put her into the fire." The old lady of eighty had been shocked and disgusted by that which the young girl of twenty had read without a blush. Sixty years before, those very novels had been read aloud, admired and discussed, in large parties of the best Society in London. Now an old woman of eighty could not read them by her own fire-side.—A better illustration of the improved tone of Morals, and character of Society, we do not remember to have seen.

Morality appears to have advanced steadily in England with the reign of George the Third. If the improved morality, which we claim for our contemporaries, be questioned, there can be no room to doubt the greater *decorum* of the present day. The court of the third George was the most decorous of courts. The King upon his ascension was in the enjoyment of a vigorous youth; but he waved the royal privilege of gilding vice and dispensing lechery from a palace; he denied himself the luxury of contaminating, by his example, the morals of a whole country; and proved to the world, that with every source of sensuality open to him, it was possible to be a virtuous man. During his reign, men ceased to make an open business of licentiousness; they ceased to consider it a grace in a gentleman to interlard his common discourse with blasphemies and indecencies; they ceased to drink; in a great measure, they ceased to gamble; and vice began "to pay homage to virtue" by hiding itself in dark places. Men learnt to conceal that of which before it had been the fashion to boast; and the accomplishments which erst made a man's character, in process of time came to un-make it. All this was not achieved in a year or in a score of years; it was the gradually progressing work of that half-century, which elapsed between the ascension and the death of George the Third. How different the social state in which he left the country from that in which he found it! The novels of Mrs. Behn, which wreathed the mouth of girl-hood with the smile of delight, now tinged with the blush of shame the wan cheek of wrinkled age.

However inviting the subject may be, it comes not within our province to enquire how much or how little of the improved condition of public morals—or, as some will have it, only of public decency—is attributable to the decorous character of the court of Great Britain, during that most eventful half-century. The few remarks, which we have made, stand but as an in-

troduction to what, in our proper sphere of Indian Journalism, we purpose to write of the vast improvement which Time has wrought upon the social character of the English in India. Whatever by contending parties may be said or written, touching the improvement or the no-improvement of the people of Hindustan under the British rule, there can be no conflict of opinion concerning the improvement of the British themselves. Doubts may be raised, nay, denials may be roundly urged by obstinate questioners, of the ameliorative influence of the Company's Government upon the masses of its Indian subjects, whilst others admitting that something has been done, set down that something at a value lamentably short of the amount of good, which, after so many years, ought to have been accomplished, by a civilized and a Christian Government; but that year after year has seen a steady and progressive improvement in the character of the English in India—an improvement which cannot but have been attended with a corresponding influence, directly or indirectly, on the native mind, is happily a broad and undeniable fact, which no degree of scepticism can question.

Throughout a long series of years, the English in India, as moral beings, lagged far behind their brethren in Europe. Time was, when they imported into their eastern settlements all the vices and none of the virtues of Christians; when Christianity was looked upon by the natives of Hindostan only as another name for irreligion and immorality; when to be a Christian was, in their estimation, to be lustful, rapacious, cruel; a loud and angry sot; a contemner of God and a scourge to his fellows. Little by little, this stigma wore away: but slow indeed was the progress of decency and morality until towards the close of the last century. We have said that morality advanced in England with the reign of George the Third. We may date the rapid and substantial improvement in the social condition of the English in India from the arrival of the Marquis of Cornwallis. With the accession of that virtuous nobleman to the Government of British India, a new social era commenced; and though it would be unreasonable to assert that this great social reformation was brought about by the sole influence of this one man's personal character, it would be equally unreasonable to deny that such a character in a ruler must have greatly conduced to the change. Clive and Hastings had left England as mere boys. They brought with them to India no settled principles; their morals accordingly were Indian morals—formed in the worst possible school. Neither one nor the other could have exercised any but a bad influence

upon the social condition of their countrymen in the East; but Cornwallis brought with him to India all the finest characteristics of a high-minded English nobleman; he came among his exiled countrymen with English ideas of honor and morality; and from the day of his arrival up to the present time there has been a steady, progressive, uninterrupted improvement in the character of the English in India—an improvement which has placed us, at the present day, at least on a level with our countrymen in the West.

It was in the year 1779, when Cornwallis was fighting the battles of his country in America, that the British subjects in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa drew up a Memorial to Parliament, protesting against the alarming power vested in the Supreme Court. This petition is said to have been drawn up by Mr. Shore. The third paragraph runs in these words:—"That your 'petitioners observed with the deepest concern and affliction, that 'at the passing of the act of the 13th George III. entituled *An 'act for establishing certain regulations for the better management 'of the affairs of the East India Company as well in India as 'in Europe*; and previous to it, very erroneous reports had been 'propagated and injurious ideas entertained of the principles and 'practices of the British subjects residing within these provinces, 'from which it was inferred that they required more rigorous 'restraints and coercions than have been usually imposed upon 'Englishmen." Against "the injustice and cruelty of these suppositions" the petitioners vehemently protest; but, although in any state of society the immense power vested in the Judges of the Court could not but prove mischievous, we fear that the English notions of the principles and practices of British residents in India, exaggerated as they may have been, were not wanting in a tolerably solid foundation. No one even slightly acquainted with the state of Indian Society, at the time when this Memorial was penned, can honestly deny that the principles and the practices of the English in India were, for the most part, irredeemably bad. We purpose to offer a faint picture of these principles and practices—leaving much, we doubt not, unsaid, which might profitably be said—but presenting enough in the way of observation and illustration to impress the reader with a right understanding of the morality of our predecessors in the East.

Of the social history of the first European settlers in India but few records remain. Such as they are, the picture which they present to us is a most discouraging one. Honest-minded travellers returned to England, after exploring, then almost a *terra incognita*, the provinces of "East India," and especially the terri-

tories of "the Great Mogul," to narrate how Christian men in a Heathen land were put to shame by the benighted natives; to descant on the gentleness, the fidelity, the temperance of the gentiles, and the violence, the rapacity, the licentiousness of the Christians. It is remarkable, that almost all the earliest travellers speak in the highest terms of the native character; commending the friendly feeling exhibited by both Hindús and Mahommedans to the few scattered Europeans, who found their way beyond the coast; and not unfrequently descanting upon the sorry return which these kindly manifestations elicited. An intelligent gentleman, who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe, early in the seventeenth century, to the Court of the Great Mogul, and who furnished an account of what he saw and did, which was held in high repute at the time of its publication (1665), gives a chapter on "the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the people of those nations," wherein he takes occasion to contrast the behaviour of the Heathen with that of the Christian man. After commenting on the industry and punctuality of the natives, in the xivth section of his Memoir,* he adds, "This appears much in their justness manifested unto 'those, who trade with them; for if a man will put it unto their 'consciences to sell the commodities he desires to buy at as low 'a rate as they can afford it, they will deal squarely and honestly 'with him; but if in those bargainings a man offers them much 'less than their set price, they will be apt to say, what? dost thou 'think me a Christian, that I would go about to deceive thee?— 'It is a most sad and horrible thing to consider, what scandal 'there is brought upon the Christian Religion, by the looseness 'and remissness, by the exorbitances of many, which come amongst 'them, who profess themselves Christians, of whom I have often 'heard the natives, who live here near the port where our ships 'arrive say thus, in broken English, which they have gotten, '*Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk; Christian 'much do wrong; much beat, much abuse others:* But to return 'unto the people of East India: though the Christians which 'come amongst them, do not such horrible things, yet they do 'enough to make Christianity itself evil spoken of; as a religion 'that deserves more to be abhorred, than embraced, for truly it is 'a sad sight there to behold a drunken Christian and a sober In-'dian; a temperate Indian and a Christian given up to his appetite; 'an Indian that is just and square in his dealing, a Christian not 'so; a laborious Indian and an idle Christian; as if he were born

* We find this account appended to a translation of the travels of Sig. Pietrodella Valle, to which allusion will be made in a more advanced part of our article. A portion of the passage now extracted was quoted incidentally in a former paper.

'only to fold his arms, or *fruges tantum consumere natus*; to dev-
'our corn, and wear out wool. O what a sad thing it is for Chris-
'tians to come short of Indians, even in moralities come short
'of those, whom themselves believe to come short of heaven."
And again, in another place, this writer sets down as one of the principal obstructions to the growth of Christianity in the East, "the most debauched lives of many coming thither, or living 'amongst them who profess themselves Christians, *per quorum 'latera patitur evangelium*, by whom the gospel of Jesus Christ 'is scandalised and exceedingly suffers."

This very amusing and, in the main, accurate writer, gives us a picture, from the life, of a young English Adventurer, which we think not unworthy of a place in our gallery:—

"After this, when we had gone forward about twenty dayes journey (which daily Remoovs were but short, by reason of our heavy carriages, and the heat of the weather) it hapned, that another of our Company, a young Gentleman about twenty years old, the Brother of a Baron of *England*, behaved himself so ill, as that we feared it would have brought very much mischief on us.

This young man being very unruly at home, and so many others *that have* been *well born, when their friends knew not what to do with them, have been sent to East-India, that so they might make their own Graves in the Sea in their passage thither*; or else have Graves made for them on the Indian shore, when they come there. A very cleanly conveyance (but how just and honest, I leave to others) for Parents to be rid of their unruly Children; but I never knew any who were thus supposed to be sent thither, but they out-lived that Voyage.

For the young Gentleman I spake of, his imployment was to wait upon our Chief Commander in his Cabin, who very courteously, when he came to Sea, turn'd him before the mast amongst the common Saylors [a great preferment for a Man of his Birth] but for all this he out-liv'd that harsh usage, and came safely to *East-India*, and my Lord Ambassadour hearing of him, and being well acquainted with his great kindred, sent for him up to Court, and there entertain'd him as a Companion for a year; then giving him all fit accommodations, sent him home again as a passenger for *England*, where after he safely arrived.

But in our way towards that Court, it thus happened, that this hot-brains being a little behind us, commanded him [then near him] who was the Prince's servant [before spoken of] to hold his horse; the man replied, that he was none of his servant and would not do it. Upon which this most intemperate mad youth, who was like *Philocles*, that angry Poet; and therefore called, *Bilis and Salsigo*, Choler and Brine, [for he was the most hasty and cholerick young man that ever I knew] as will appear by his present carriage, which was thus; first he beat that stranger, for refusing to hold his horse, with his horse-whip, which, I must tell you, that people cannot endure, as if those whips stung worse than Scorpions. For of any punishments that carry most disgrace in them, as that people think, one is to be beaten with that whip, wherewithall they strike their beasts; the other to be beaten [and this they esteem the more disgraceful punishment of the two] about the head with shoes. But this stranger (being whipt as before) came up and complained to me; but to make him amends, that frantick young man (mad

with rage, and he knew not wherefore) presently followed him, and being come up close to him, discharg'd his Pistol laden with a brace of bullets directly at his body, which bullets, by the special guidance of the hand of God, so flew, that they did the poor man no great hurt; only one of them first tearing his coat, bruised all the knuckles of his left hand, and the other brake his bow which he carried in the same hand. We presently disarmed our young Bedlam, till he might return again to his wits."

We are treated in the same Section with a low-life pendent to this amusing sketch of the Baron's brother, in a picture of the Ambassador's cook, who bought wine from an Armenian (the Armenians, it would appear, were the wine-merchants in those days) became as drunk as a lord, and assaulted the brother of the Governor of Surat—"*Now, thou Heathen dog!*" exclaimed the English cook, to which, according to the Chronicle, the Governor's brother "not understanding his foul language replyed 'civilly in his own, Ca-ca-ta *(kya kahta?)* which signifies what 'sayest thou?" "The cook," continues our friend, "answered 'him with his sword and scabbard, with which he strook at 'him." The lord of the roast was disarmed, and no great disaster came of the adventure; but it gave occasion to the writer to observe, "Before I leave this story, it will not be amiss to 'enquire who was the *Heathen dog* at this time, whether the 'debaucht drunken cook, who called himself a Christian, or that 'sober and temperate Mahometan, who was thus affronted."

It would not be uninteresting to investigate the extent to which the morality of the natives of India has been elevated or deteriorated by European associations. We are afraid that the enquiry would not lead to such satisfactory results, as we could desire; and we cannot, at all events on the present occasion, suffer ourselves to prosecute it. One quotation, however, we cannot resist making. The extract is from Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, and we give it for the purpose of showing that in the opinion of that excellent and experienced man, patriarchal influences were at work, for good, even in his time, in places not penetrated by the British:—

"I sometimes frequented places where the natives had never seen an European, and were ignorant of every thing concerning us: there I beheld manners and customs simple as were those in the patriarchal age; there in the very style of Rebecca and the damsels of Mesopotamia, the Hindoo villagers treated me with that artless hospitality so delightful in the poems of Homer, and other ancient records. On a sultry day, near a Zinore village, having rode faster than my attendants, while waiting their arrival under a tamarind tree, a young woman came to the well; I asked for a little water, but neither of us having a drinking vessel, she hastily left me, as I imagined, to bring an earthen cup for the purpose, as I should have polluted a vessel of metal: but as Jael, when Sisera asked for water, "gave him milk, and brought forth butter in a lordly dish,"—Judges, ch. v. ver. 25, so did

this village damsel, with more sincerity than Heber's wife, bring me a pot of milk, and a lump of butter on the delicate leaf of the banana, "the lordly dish" of the Hindoos. The former I gladly accepted; on my declining the latter, she immediately made it up into two balls, and gave one to each of the oxen that drew my hackery. Butter is a luxury to these animals, and enables them to bear additional fatigue." * * * *

"The more I saw of the Hindoos in those remote districts, the more I perceived the truth of Orme's remarks, that Hindostan has been inhabited from the earliest antiquity, by a people who have no resemblance, either in their figure, or manners, with any of the nations contiguous to them; and that although conquerors have established themselves at different times, in various parts of India, yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character."

It must, however, be admitted that our Portfolio contains more than one passage, which might, in all fairness, be quoted as a set-off to the above. If in the old times, there were scenes of patriarchal simplicity, there were also scenes of fearful immorality, which in these days never greet our eyes. Take the following, from the Travels of John Mandelslo,* as a proof of the atrocities which were sometimes perpetrated by petty native princes, even in the presence of 'principal directors of the 'English and Dutch trade.' The Governor of Amedabad getting merry with his English and Dutch friends, 'sent for twenty 'women-dancers,' and when these had danced themselves out, he sent for another set. This other set refused to come; upon which the Governor had them brought forcibly before him. They made a frank confession of the cause of their contumacy, which need not be here repeated; and then we are told—

"He (the Governor) laught at it, but immediately commanded out a party of his guard and ordered their heads to be struck off. They begged their lives with horrid cries and lamentations; but he would be obeyed, and caused the execution to be done in the room before all the company—not one of the Lords then present daring to make the least intercession for those wretches, who were eight in number. The strangers were startled at the horror of the spectacle and inhumanity of the action; which the Governor taking notice of fell a-laughing and asked them what they were so much startled at."

Atrocities such as these no native of India, or of the neighboring states, would dare to commit or even meditate in the presence of English gentlemen.

* This book (written in 1640) contains many interesting passages, illustrative both of European and Native society in India—one of which we cannot resist quoting:—

"The respect and deference which the other Merchants have for the President was very remarkable, as also the order which was there observed in all things, especially at Divine Service, which was said twice a day, in the morning at six, and at eight at night, and on Sundays thrice. No person in the house but had his particular function, and their certain hours assigned them as well for work as recreation. Our divertisement was thus ordered. On Fridayes after Prayers, there was a particular Assembly, at which met with us three other Merchants, who were of kin to the President, and had left as well as he their Wives in *England*, which day being that of their departure from *England*, they had appointed it for to make a commemoration thereof, and drink their Wives' healths. Some made their advantage of this meeting to get more than they could well carry away, though every man was at liberty to drink what he pleased and to mix the Sack as he thought fit, or to drink *Palepunts*, which is a kind of drink consisting of *aqua vitæ*, Rose-water, juice of Citrons and Sugar."

The more isolated the position of the European exile, the more probable becomes the decay of all high principle in his breast. Self-respect is a choice plant, but few are at the trouble to cultivate it. A man, cut off from the society of his countrymen, is not only removed beyond all the obstructions of immorality, but is doubly exposed to all its temptations. There is in fact every thing to allure—and nothing to stay him. He seeks, in the pursuit of sensual enjoyment, occupation and excitement; and, as there are none, whose opinion he regards, to watch his descent, he cares not how low he descends. In his solitude he takes 'a harem for his grot,' or he flies to the companionship of the bottle. Regarding the natives only as so many graven images or so many ingenious mechanical contrivances, he sinks lower and lower in the slough of immorality, until he is utterly debased. Even in these times, the demoralising effects of segregation are not unfrequently apparent. Men who, had they been fated to move in a more extended social circle, would have preserved at least an outward show of morality, and perhaps, whilst cultivating decorum, actually attained to purity of conduct, have found themselves, when cut off from the companionship of their countrymen, unable out of mere self-respect, to restrain themselves from vicious self-indulgence. Now, something of this segregation distinguished the lives and influenced the conduct of our earliest European settlers. It is true that they sometimes met together at the few stations which were accessible to them, but even then they were mere scattered fragments broken off from the mass of European humanity. There was among them little dissimilarity of taste, feeling, and habit. There was no society, whose frowns the sensualist could dread. His doings, on these far-off shores, were unknown to his countrymen in England; perchance there may have been a parent, or a brother, or a friend, in whose eyes the adventurer might desire to wear a fair aspect; but in India he was as far beyond the observation of that parent, brother, or friend, as though he dwelt in another planet. There were, in truth, no outward motives to preserve morality of conduct, or even decency of demeanor. From the moment of their landing upon the shores of India, the first settlers cast off all those bonds which had restrained them in their native villages; they regarded themselves as privileged beings—privileged to violate all the obligations of religion and morality, and to outrage all the decencies of life. They who came hither, were often desperate adventurers, whom England, in the emphatic language of the Scripture, had spued out; men who sought these golden sands of the East to repair their broken fortunes; to bury in oblivion a sullied name; or to

wring, with lawless hand, from the weak and unsuspecting, wealth which they had not the character or the capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated; they gambled; they drank; they revelled in all kinds of debauchery; though associates in vice—linked together by a common bond of rapacity—they often pursued one another with desperate malice, and, few though they were in numbers, among them there was no unity, except an unity of crime. Though of old, as in the present time, it was too much the fashion to send the more violent and intractable younger members of a family to some distant colony, there to place them wholly beyond the reach of such chances of improvement, as home-example ever presents, it would be unjust to say that all who came to these shores were the refuse of English respectability. "There is nothing worse," exclaimed Burke, in one of his fervid harangues delivered at a later period, "in the boys 'we send to India, than in the boys whom we are whip-'ping at school, or that we see trailing a pike or bending 'over the desk at home." All the evil of the too prevalent morality he imputed to the form of Government, under which these "boys" were condemned to grow into men. And Adam Smith, speaking of this same all-prevailing laxity of principle, says with reference to the Company's servants, "They acted as their situations naturally directed; and they who have clamored loudest against them would probably not have acted better themselves."* Burke and Adam Smith both mainly referred to the official morality of the English in India—but it might with equal truth have been said, in most instances, of their social morality, that they who clamored loudest against them would have acted no better themselves. As in one case, there were no sufficient political checks; in another there were no sufficient social checks; and whilst the depraved met with no inducement to reform, the pure but rarely escaped corruption. Whether they were here initiated, or perpetuated in destructive error, equally may they be regarded as the victims of circumstance. They left a country of checks—checks imposed not only by civil polity but by the more stringent code of opinion—

* We have made these quotations from a work printed in 1788; and entitled "*a Review of the principal charges against Warren Hastings, late Governor General of Bengal.*" A manuscript note, on the fly leaf of our copy, says—"This book was prosecuted as a libel and occasioned an eloquent speech from Erskine in defence of the printer. The author was Logan, a Scots clergyman, who wrote also a dissertation on Asia and a Tragedy called *Runnymede*. He was expelled the Scots ministry, but the cause I do not know. Logan died before the prosecution which otherwise would probably have promoted his fortune."—He was expelled from the ministry on account of his Tragedy, which was accepted at Covent Garden, but interdicted by the Lord Chamberlain. D'Israeli, who gives an account of Logan in the *Calamities of Authors*, says, that he died of melancholy.

to seek a country, where no checks existed—what wonder then that they fell?

As the English in India increased in numbers, and something like a society began to form itself, affairs began a little to improve. There are saving influences in a multitude. The variety of character, of motive, and of habit, which it presents, can scarcely fail to exercise a restraining power over the individual. When a man knows that he is in the society of kindred spirits; that not only will nobody frown upon his vices, but that every member of the limited society, into which he is thrown, is addicted to the same vices, it would be strange indeed, if he did not give way to all the impulses of his corrupt nature. But when he knows that he is surrounded by others, whose opinions, tastes, and habits are widely different—who will turn away with disgust from open profligacy, and religiously keep aloof from the profligate—he restrains those natural impulses, and subjects himself to a course of moral training, which he soon acknowledges to possess its worldly advantages, even in a vicious state of society. The value of a fair character is appreciated even by those, who have no abstract veneration for what is beautiful and excellent in religion and morality; and good example, where it does not generate virtue, often obstructs vice.

It is only from incidental allusions in the few works of travel and fewer political memoirs, which our ancestors have bequeathed to us, that we can gain any insight into the moral condition of the English in India, previous to the conquest of Bengal. Many writers, who have described the rise and progress of the different East India Companies, have given us somewhat startling accounts of the official rapacity of our predecessors—of the fierce contentions of the rival companies, of their unscrupulous conduct towards the Natives, and towards each other—of their commercial dishonesty, their judicial turpitude,* and their political injustice—all these things are broadly stated; but to the immorality of their private life we have little but indistinct allusions. The pranks played by the different Governors, of whose administrations we know little, might have induced even Burke to acknowledge, that the worst offences imputed to Hastings were, contrasted with the eccentricities of some of his

* We see it roundly stated, by an old writer, that in the Mayor's Court of Madras, "in matters of consequence a few pagodas well placed could turn the scales of justice, the cause generally going according to the favoured inclinations of the Governor." It is added, that as the Court had no power of inflicting capital punishment except in cases of *Piracy*, it was the custom often to bring other offences of a different nature under that category of crime "so that a private trader, if he has the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the Governor, is soon found guilty of piracy."

predecessors, distinguished by consummate purity and tenderness. One of these Governors (Sir John Gayer) who was sent out, as a picked man, to supersede another, who had been misconducting himself, not liking to reside at Bombay, the proper seat of government, because he found he could make more money at Surat, contrived to get himself taken prisoner by the Governor of the latter place, and thus, whilst disgracing his country, feathered his own nest. Sir Nicholas Waite, who succeeded Gayer, conducted himself so badly that the inhabitants of Bombay kicked him out of the country. "The looseness of his morals, his bare-faced injustice and prevarication, provoked the inhabitants and soldiery at Bombay to such a degree, that they seized him and sent him prisoner to England."*

We find it difficult to obtain a clear view of the state of English society in India, during the second quarter of the last century. There are some anecdotes of doubtful authenticity, though sufficiently characteristic both of the man and the times in which he lived, extant in some of the Dictionary biographies of Clive, which show that gambling and fighting were no unusual employments among the English at Madras. Clive gambled; was cheated by an officer; accused his adversary of fraud; was called out by the sharper; and refusing to retract, even with a pistol at his head, had a narrow escape of being murdered. On another occasion, it is related, that a brother officer having accused him of cowardice, Clive challenged the slanderer, who struck him on the way to the meeting-place—fine examples both of the gentlemanly feeling, which then existed in the army—Mr. Verelst, however, in a farewell minute, drew, with reference to about the same period, a very complacent sketch of the civilians of Bengal—"We looked no farther than the 'provision of the Company's investment. We sought advan-'tages to our trade with the ingenuity, I may add, selfishness, 'of merchants.....All our servants and dependants were 'trained and educated in the same notions; the credit of a 'good bargain was the utmost scope of their ambition." Calcutta, according to Mr. Verelst, must, in those days, have been a sort of commercial Arcadia!

Malcolm's Life of Clive is singularly barren of everything that throws a light upon the social and domestic character of the

* See the continuation, by an English writer, (1757) of the Abbé Guyon's History of the East Indies. Of Gayer it is further stated, that "A young lady, who had no relations alive but a portion of three thousand pounds, happened unadvisedly to marry a person she loved in a clandestine manner, contrary to the statute law of Bombay, where no marriage is binding without consent of the Governor. Gayer taking advantage of this statute, dissolved the marriage, and on account of the money married her to his own son." This was about the year 1700 Gayer had a wife with him; and we conclude from the mention here of a son at a marriageable age, that she accompanied him, with her family, from England.

times. Another and more ample biography of the heaven-born general was published in the last century, under the assumed name of "Charles Carracioli, Gent." It is a very badly-arranged compilation from the works of Ives, Bolts, &c. &c., interspersed with anecdotes of Lord Clive's amours, principally on the continent of Europe. This work is said to have been written by a Member of one of the Councils, over which Clive presided—but the writer being obviously better acquainted with his Lordship's personal doings in Europe than in Asia, the work savors strongly of home-manufacture; and has all the appearance of being the joint-composition of a bookseller's hack and a discarded valet. It abounds in general descriptions of the profligacy and rapacity of the Company's servants, and virulent attacks on the Governor General. As a sample of the latter, we may take the following passage, which will answer, in quotation, a double purpose:—

"Soon after the noble president's arrival at Calcutta, a gentleman in the civil service of the company, who felt for his fellow-creatures amidst these opulent wretches, insensible to the cries of the distressed, was honoured with an invitation of the supreme governor. He made an honorable mention of Mr. Vansitart, Lord Clive's predecessor, and highly commended his munificence and benefactions; he observed before Lord Clive, while at his table, that Mr. Vansitart's benevolence abroad, was adequate to his hospitality at home; that he never distributed less in charitable uses during his government than 4,000 rupees per month, and that several widows and young ladies friendless and destitute had been the worthy objects of his spontaneous relief, till they were happily married, or otherwise released from their troubles and difficulties. This intimation which should have stimulated the noble governor to the same meritorious acts, could not even influence him to bestow a praise on Mr. Vansitart's extensive donations. His lordship replied with a deliberate insensibility, and a shameless sneer, that betrayed his principles: "What Mr. Vansitart did in this particular shall be no precedent to me, as I am determined not to follow it; but were the ladies inclined to repay the favour, in bestowing theirs, I do not know how far this motive might prevail on my sensation." This declaration shewed Lord Clive in his true colours, and was followed by a contemptuous silence and indignation."

There are some further anecdotes, tending to give us a very poor opinion of Clive's honor, and stamping some of his creatures with indelible infamy. The story, which we have quoted, is not very improbable. Mr. Vansittart, whatever may have been Lord Clive's opinion of him, appears to have been a good-natured and liberal man. During his government, a whimsical fellow, Mr. Martinett died, and bequeathed "to Governor Henry Vansittart, Esq." *all his debts;* and what is more extraordinary, Mr. Vansittart *paid them.*

The Abbé Raynal—in spite of his undoubted abilities, no very trustworthy authority—whilst denouncing the oppressive and rapacious conduct of the English in India, after the conquest

of Bengal, admits their superiority over the other European settlers, in respect of moral demeanour. "The English com-
'pany," he says, "has hitherto observed a conduct superior to
'that of all other nations. Their agents and factors have been
'well chosen. The chief among them are young gentleman of
'family most carefully educated in merchants' counting houses
'in England. They bring with them to Asia, knowledge of
'trade, morals, and a habit of industry..... These mer-
'chants, these military persons, have hitherto preserved better
'morals, discipline, and vigour, than those of other nations, but
'we may foretell they will be corrupted at last..... Corrup-
'tion will creep into their colonies. It will begin by the
'military, a species of men who in all nations pay the least
'regard to morals. The lowest rank of the merchants will
'soon be corrupted. The Company's servants formerly so
'well chosen, for some time, will be their censors, and will
'finish the scene by being their accomplices." We are very glad to learn from this passage that the English were, at that time, so much better than their neighbours—but we fear that the inference to be drawn from such a comparison is, that those neighbors were exceedingly bad. An intelligent writer, who published anonymously in 1771, certain *Observations on the present state of the East India Company*, remarks, with reference to the then state of the Company's service, "Luxury and indolence have got too much footing in all
'the presidencies, and too general a neglect and inatten-
'tion prevails..... These youths are not so blameable
'as those who send them forth without establishing regula-
'tions for their conduct, which should, on no account, be dis-
'pensed with. It is from this omission that they so soon forget
'the end for which they engaged: and that they run into such
'excesses of extravagance and dissipation." Captain Stavorinus, a Dutch skipper, who visited Bengal about this time, and wrote three volumes of travels, gives a still more unfavorable account of the social character of the European residents. After descanting upon the abominable crimes of the natives, with much *sang froid*, he observes "the contamination of vice is not solely
'confined to the two nations who are natives of the country, but
'extends likewise to the Europeans, who settle or trade here. The
'climate influences perhaps more upon the constitution here
'than in other countries." "The Europeans," he says again, "had in Bengal a very easy life; the men, who are almost all in
'the service of the Company, devote a part of the morning to
'attending upon their business. They spend the remainder of
'their time, either in revels or in sleep, though sometimes the lat-
'ter can scarcely be procured during the excessive heats." He

says, that the extravagance of all was excessive—that "the least 'in rank stand in need of six thousand rupees annually"—and that "most people spend twice as much, although their in- 'come does not amount to more than half of what they 'disburse." Of the English, in Western India, Capt. Stavorinus gives even a less favorable account. He tells us one story of Governor Gambier, who, desiring to obtain, for the lady of the French Consul, a couple of fine horses, the property of a Dutch man, resorted to the school-boy trick of asking to "look at them," and then refused to return them—"The horses were carried from 'the Durbar to the French factory; Mrs. * * * and Mr. Gam- 'bier obtained their wishes, and Mr. Van C— lost his beauti- 'ful horses." Still the Dutch skipper acknowledges, that the Englishmen had some good points about them. He says, that the English officials in Bengal were much less pompous and pragmatical than the Dutch; and seems to have been well pleas- ed, on the whole, with English hospitality, especially with a one o'clock Government-house dinner, at which "the conver- 'sation was carried on in a free and unconstrained manner, 'without the company being under any fear of restraint from the 'presence of the Governor (Mr. Cartier) or of other great men."

The Dutch Captain appears to have lost sight of the very important fact, that he and his countrymen, when entertained by the British, were received as strangers of another nation, and that they saw our people only in their best holiday robes. We have no doubt that the servants of the Dutch Company put off their bearishness, when receiving a visit of ceremony from the English; and we feel equally certain that the servants of the English Company often put on their bearishness, when dealing with their own countrymen "out of the service"—the free merchants of the day. Though not inclined to receive as Gospel, all the assertions of Mr. Bolts, who published two bulky volumes to prove that the Company's servants, with Mr. Verelst at their head, were a crew of harsh, over- bearing, unjust, rapacious tyrants, we find too many evi- dences of the fact to suffer us to doubt that they were often extremely arrogant in their demeanour towards others, and that the power vested in them, as servants of the Company, was some- times grossly abused to the injury of the free merchants. Violent stretches of authority and illegal assumptions of power were but too common in those days; and the foolish pride of class, which is now rapidly giving way, was, in spite of the bonhommie, which so pleased the Dutch skipper at Governor Cartier's table, one of those peculiarities, which stamped the character of the Nabob, and rendered him ridiculous in the eyes of the unprejudiced looker-on.

And when these men returned to England, with their hoarded wealth, what was their social position? With unlimited means of purchasing enjoyment, they could find no enjoyments to purchase. They were isolated; and they were unhappy. First came disappointment—then discontent. The climate—the people—the social customs—all were strange and distasteful to them. They collected around them harpies and parasites—for where will not the sun of wealth draw forth a fungus-growth of such minions?—they squandered money on ridiculous follies; they exhibited in their own persons a vanity still more ridiculous; they aimed at a costly extravagance, to outshine the old aristocrats, who despised them; and died at last unregretted by a single relative or friend. They, who were not bent on plucking the Nabob, religiously kept aloof from him. A sort of superstitious awe attached to his person; and many looked upon him, as an unholy being doomed to drag out a miserable existence haunted by the grim shadows of his victims and tortured by relentless furies. If he shut himself up on his own premises, it was said of him that he shunned the light of day, and rustic ignorance drew strange pictures of unhallowed rites and unearthly ceremonies within the precincts of the Nabob's domain. If he wandered abroad, it was said of him that he was endeavouring to escape out of himself—to drown the fearful memory of the past. Everywhere he was a mark for popular odium—on the stage; in the novel; in the rhetorical harangues of the Parliamentary orator—and the greater part of this too, on no better authority than that of the cheek sallowed; the eye dimmed: the frame wasted, by disease; the spirit depressed and the temper soured by a constant recurrence of wearing pain; and the outward bearing rendered cold and repulsive by the imperfect sympathy, and the unceasing distrust of his new neighbours. The Nabob was far from a faultless being—nay it must in candour be admitted, that he was some degrees lower down in the scale of humanity, than his home-staying brethren, who had been exposed to less deteriorating influences—but still he was the victim of much manifest injustice and the wrongs, which he may have committed in one hemisphere, were amply revisited upon him in the other. His very sufferings were arrayed in judgment against him. The ravages, which pain and sickness and toil beneath a scorching sun had committed upon his frame; the strangeness of manner which long absence from home and much intercourse with a foreign people had naturally induced—the eagerness with which he sought by lavish expenditure and luxurious profusion to compensate for the absence of friendship and kindly sympathy—all these things, the misfortunes of the return-

ed exile, were imputed to him as grave offences; and sober moralists held up their hands without the charity even feebly to acknowledge,

That what to them seemed vice might be but woe.

On the whole, he was more sinned against than sinning. Novelists, dramatists, and rhetoricians, all delighted to set forth in harsh tints, the darker side of the unhappy Nabob; but few dwelt upon the better part of his nature—and even in Nabob-nature there *was* a better part. He was not wanting in generosity; ay, and if that scared heart could have been read, not wanting, it would have been seen, in kindly and tender affections, though little scope had there been for their expansion; not wanting in many of the finer feelings of humanity, though little had there been during his many years of exile to wake them into that seemly activity and give them that conventional decorum-gait which his brethren in the West were too prone to consider as inseparable from their proper exercise. We have much need, in such cases, to bear in mind the scriptural mandate—*Judge not.* There may have been, all circumstances and influences fairly balanced, less of good to be carried to the account of the sober, orderly citizen, whose migrations for thirty years had never ranged beyond the right line between London and Edmonton—who had grown up from apprentice to clerk, from clerk to foreman, from foreman to master-tradesman or merchant, slowly and in the world's way honestly acquiring wealth; who had fallen in the way of few temptations in early youth, and mature manhood had married with all discretion and begotten sons and daughters to make him a happy, cheerful home—there may have been really less of good, we say, all circumstances and all influences justly measured, when the balance is struck, in that sleek and rosy citizen with his blooming family trooping after him to Church on Sunday mornings, and more than filling the great pew, than in the wild adventurer, perchance his brother, driven from home in early youth, to seek his fortune in strange lands, beyond the influence of all domestic, perhaps of all social control; exposed to temptations manifold, and sinning with, not against the stream, under the strong contagion of example, universal as vicious; and now in his old age returning with wasted form and sallow cheek; with many conventional improprieties about him and a somewhat low moral standard within, to spend his declining years among his own people in the serener climate of home. Under all those most unfavorable influences, who knows that the heart may not still have been the nest of kindly affections; and that the domestic virtues were not as bountiful within him

as within the sleek citizen, that very pattern—the delight of tomb-stones—of the good husband and the good father; although instead of the merchant's daughter, the adventurer in the East may have taken a "savage woman" to "rear a dusky race." Let us at least hang up one picture in illustration of what we have thus, in opposition to prevailing notions, ventured to suggest. We take it from one of the many interesting and instructive notes to the *Adventurer in the Punjab*—an unassuming volume* which exhibits more real practical knowledge of the Seikh states and their turbulent inhabitants than any work with which we are acquainted—

"Captain Abbott's beautiful tale of the "Thakorine" gives many illustrations of the Râjpûtŕs, their chivalrous honor and the sacrifices they make to it. To that work I refer the reader for poetry both in subject and language. But even the prose of real life affords tales as curious as ever were invented; in proof of which I give an incident, communicated by a friend, in whose words it follows. The fact appeared in the London prints for the winter of 1826-27; they furnish the specimen of the mode in which even the affections manifest themselves in an eccentric man; let, it not, however, be supposed that I meant to draw Bellasis as a person who would have thus shewn his love; though Major H.'s strong and enduring attachment for his wife, shews that my story does not in this particular exceed nature.

When I read Mahtâb Konwur's story, I was reminded of some incidents that made a strong impression on my youthful mind. There can be no harm in your publishing them, for they appeared at the time in the London papers and caused a nine days' wonder; they have probably long since vanished from the memory of all not personally interested in them; and my account will not bring any names before the public.

Major H. was an officer in the king's service, who served on the Madras presidency, some thirty or forty years ago. He became attached to a native lady, named Fyzoo; never I believe regarded her with any but honorable views and married her. She bore him three children (one of whom is now an officer in the army) and died, leaving the youngest an infant, who bore the mother's name. Major H. quitted India upon the death of his wife and brought her remains with him to England in a leaden coffin. Shortly after his arrival, the little Fyzoo likewise died, and her father had her remains in the same manner preserved.

Every circumstance in Major H.'s story was peculiar, and took great hold of my imagination when in my early youth, I came from a remote country place to the part of Surrey where he had his residence. It was an old brick house with pointed roofs, massive window frames, tall narrow doors, winding stairs, dark passages and all other approved materials for a regular haunted house. —A high brick wall with a dead gate, surrounded the garden in which the house stood; all was in character, the straight turf walks, the clipped yews, the noble Linden trees, and the look of neglect and wildness that pervaded every thing; on ringing for admission the gate used to be opened by an old woman whose appearance was enough to rouse all sorts of strange ideas in the mind of an urchin fresh from the country. She had been the nurse of little Fyzoo, and had in that capacity attended her charge to England. As such she was

* We have been truly glad to learn, since this article was commenced, that the interesting work referred to in the text is about to be republished in England.

much valued by her master and continued to live with him till his death. I well remember her shrivelled black face, her white hair and emaciated form (with her Indian dress, that was in itself a curiosity to my young eyes,) and her broken English. I believe Major H. was never seen outside the walls of his garden, and he had so cut himself off from all his relations and friends, that it was not generally known that in that old house, he kept enshrined the bodies of his wife and daughter. His two elder children as they grew up, went to live with other relatives, and his sole companion was an old widow lady, as eccentric as himself. In a room within his own a bed was laid out covered with rich Indian silks, and fancifully decorated; on that bed lay the mother and child and in their long last sleep; and in this room Major H. passed the greater part of his time. This, I believe, is the simple narrative, but of course much of mystery and exaggeration was added to the stories circulated of the three singular characters, who inhabited the old house, and the supernatural beings who were suspected to reside with them.

At length Major H. died after about twenty years of this strange existence. His death was quite sudden, and so many suspicions had been connected with his seclusion, that an inquest was held on his body. Thus the scenes that had so long been shrouded from the public ken, were thrown open: when the officials came to examine the house the two coffins were brought to light and this discovery of the remains of two human beings caused a further investigation.

It was a strange scene, on a cold December day, that old house thrown open to all whom curiosity might lead there; the bustling magistrates and their satellites peeping and peering into every cranny for a solution of the mysteries. The old lady, and the still older dyhe, flitting like ghosts, about the desecrated shrine, their strange tale long disbelieved by the authorities, while there lay the unconscious causes of all this tumult. The hardly cold body of the old soldier, the long crumbled dust of his Eastern bride, and of their infant child. At length the Coroner was obliged to receive the real story, however incredible it seemed; and the three bodies were committed to one grave.

As to the validity of a marriage, such as the above, it was in this instance proved; for, the succession to Major H.'s property was disputed by others of the family, on the ground of his son's illegitimacy; and the law decided in the young man's favour."

The reader will not quarrel with us, we are sure, for giving him as a companion to the foregoing, a picture of a less gloomy character. In the above, we have shown the terrible—and now we proceed to show the ridiculous side, of the Nabob at Home. The annexed sketch is taken from the auto-biography of M. Grand, the gentleman, whose beautiful young wife—afterwards the *soi-disante* Princesse de Talleyrand—was seduced by one of the ablest, but most unprincipled men of the last century, Philip Francis—a man without one spark of honesty or one feeling of a gentleman—a low cross between the bully and the sneak. Grand was originally in the Army; but through the interest of Hastings he had obtained a more lucrative appointment, and was, when Francis was caught in his house, during the first year of his marriage, Secretary to the Salt Committee:—

"In General Smith there existed every virtue and honorable principle,

combined with traits, which lessened the sway which his virtues bore, and rendered him an object of ridicule. His origin was low, and the rank and fortune which he rose to in life, may be estimated, in the chapter of accidents, as marvellous.—Sensible of the bountiful talents which nature had bestowed, he considered these, when displayed by a powerful mind, might tend to throw a veil on his extraction, and cause it altogether to be forgotten.—With those, whom it did not affect, it certainly met with that distinction, but with others, whom it did, they could not pass over an arrogance of superiority so unwarranted.—India was not the scene alone where such follies were manifested, but even, and nevertheless the taunts and correction, which never failed to accompany the instance, there were some reserved, and acted upon in England.

The present Mr. William Lushington, Member of Parliament, was his Persian Interpreter, when, on a visit to the Nawab Vizier Shujah ul Dhowlah, one of the most accomplished Princes, and proud of his birth and rank, General Smith desired Mr. Lushington, to apologize that he had brought His Highness no presents of European curiosities of exquisite workmanship, every thing of this sort which he had provided having been sunk with his boats in a storm on the River Ganges. The mode and address, "Tell Shujah, Lushington," evidently made their impression on the Prince, who sarcastically observed, the General could not have brought a greater curiosity than himself, and sagaciously complimented his escape from the fury of the waves. This, Mr. Lushington dexterously interpreted, by saying, that the Prince's joy was perfect in the happiness alone of seeing the General; but with the bystanders, this obvious tendency lost none of its effect.

In the county of Berkshire, it will long be remembered, that scarcely had General Smith been vested with the office of High Sheriff, than he called a County Meeting, and when the object was made known, it excited the surprise of the Noblemen and Gentlemen convened, that the purport alone was to obtain their sanction for a road, to be cut through their fields and property, calculated for his sole convenience, in order that he might arrive at his magnificent Seat of Chilton Lodge, without the necessity of passing through the little stinking Town of Hungerford. It is needless to add, such a proposition met with its deserved reprobation.

Another anecdote quoted of him in those days, is a proof that plebeian insolence, however supported by fortune and abilities, little assimilates with aristocratic rank and pride, even where title is debased by the most unchecked profligacy. The story told in the circles of fashion was the following: General Smith came in rather late into one of the Gaming Houses in the vicinity of St. James', and finding no company, went to sleep on one of the sofas, cautioning the waiter not to wake him, unless some fellow, or other, came in, who had spirit enough to throw a main at hazard for three thousand Guineas.—Lord Littleton, of notorious memory, entered the house with some drunken companions, singing the hunting song "*Age and youth urged the chase, and taught woodlands and forests to roar.*"—The message being literally delivered, his Lordship accepted the challenge, and directing the General to be awoke, continued his song converting the words into a parody consistent with the General's wishes:

"*Seven's the main seven says* DICK,
"*Eleven is the Nick.*
"*And the man is lost in something divine.*"

"Good night, General," walking out, and pocketing the Rouleaus and Bank Notes, with a full laughter from his Lordship, and his dissipated comrades, at the General's expence and consummate folly.

From the worst side of the Picture, let us now turn to the best. His generosity in throwing in one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of Bank Notes to support the Banking House of the Drummonds, at a time when an unexpected run was made on it, owing to the failure in 1772, of the Houses of Fordyce and Sir George Colebrooke, and to this, prompted merely from a recollection of the Heads of that House, having given him in his youth, occasionally one Half Crown, when sent by his Father with Bills of acceptance, was so conspicuous a trait of noble-minded conduct, as to have inspired the successors to that eminent Banking House with everlasting gratitude.

Nor will it ever be effaced from the sense which every Officer bore to the disinterested exertions of the General, in opposing the Honorable Court of Directors constant promptitude, in obliging the Ministers, by acceding to their frequent recommendations, in appointing King's Officers to supersede the Company's. Various cases could be adduced, when General Smith calling these nominations in question, by summoning them to be canvassed before a General Court of Proprietors, compelled them, by a decision of the latter, to annul and rescind their said partialities.

Equally will a just tribute remain of the wisdom which governed him, when determined on devoting his services to Parliamentary duties.—Conscious of his education not having afforded him the advantage of the knowledge of the Classics, and however advanced in life, he felt the necessity of being acquainted therewith, ere he could adventure as a Speaker in the House.—He accordingly entered himself for the two following Summers a Gentleman Commoner at Oxford, and applied with such success, as in that short time to have attained to such a proficiency, that his Speeches and quotations, both from Roman and Grecian Literature, manifestly displayed the Scholar and the Gentleman.

In the confinement of his person was displayed the rigour of the house of Commons, when bent on an exertion of its fullest power.—The General had stood for the notorious corrupt Borough of Hendon, and an electioneering Agent had actively, in the character of Punch, scattered amongst the Electors profusely the General's Guineas, in the hope of his Patron's election being secured by dint of money. The Members destined by the Treasury for Representatives of this Borough, were ousted by this manœuvre; they impeached the validity of the election, and supported by the Minister of the day, then Lord North, the General's return to Parliament was declared void and several actions for bribery having been in consequence instituted, the General was severely bled in his Purse, besides the conviction having been brought home to him of corrupt practices to influence the honest Electors, the house expressed their sense of such condnct, by sentencing him to a fine and imprisonment for six months.—This the General submitted to, and in the King's Bench, so far as splendid living went in a Prison, with every liberality to his fellow sufferers, it may be recorded of him, that he manifested the wealth, generosity, and Princely spirit of a Nabob.

So conspicuous did he render himself, that, with other celebrated Characters of that period, he could not well escape the lash of the modern Aristophanes, the late Samuel Foote. In his Comedy of the Nabob, the General was the Hero, under the name of Sir *Mathew Mite*, and so well did the General recognize in the Representation the follies which he had been guilty of, that he was the first to laugh at the Author bringing him on the Stage: but expressed a slight indignation, that in some passages there were oblique attacks on his moral character, which objection, those who knew and appreciated his worth, were sensible, that his exception to the piece was founded in truth.

Now, we look upon these pictures, as very fair illustrations of what we have ventured to advance in favor of the much-maligned Nabob.* It is unquestionable, that in both of these men there was a fund of natural goodness; only requiring the culture of favorable circumstances to have entitled it to the respect and admiration of the world. The first of these two men, had his lot been cast in England, under a social system conducive to the growth of

> The pure the open prosperous love,
> That pledged on earth and sealed above
> Grows in the world's approving eye,

would have afforded a noble example of domestic morality, and lived in the estimation of men, as the very embodiment of the house-hold virtues. The other, had he been a member of the aristocracy of Great Britain, would have been the very pattern of an English gentleman; liberal, humane, assiduous in the cultivation of his mind, and eager in the attainment of honorable distinction. We can call to mind no instances of home-bred morality and pattern ambition, more striking than these strange and uncouth examples of one man clinging with devoted fidelity to the corpse of a dusky mate, and another repairing the deficiencies of youthful education by putting himself to College in his old age, and successfully studying Latin and Greek, at the close of a life spent among Hindoos and Mahomedans.

But to return from this homeward digression—this furlough of a few pages:—Slow indeed was the growth of religion and genuine morality among the English in India. Hospitality, kindliness, generosity—nay even a sort of decorousness, which might have been mistaken for something better, sprung

* We had intended to have brought forward, from the plays and novels of the last century, a few amusing pictures of the Nabob, as caricatured by English prejudices; but we find, that by so doing we should extend our article to an undue length—and perhaps from these sources a sufficiency of amusing illustrations might be derived to form a future separate chapter. In the mean time we give the following *catalogue raisonné* from Macaulay's admirable historical sketch of the Life of Lord Clive:—

"Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that during a space of about thirty years, the lighter literature of England was colored by the feeling which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs and jaghires. Mackenzie with more delicate humour depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper in that lofty expostulation, which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver and a worse heart."

up among our people; but it was long before Christian piety and its fair fruits began to bless our adopted land. The natives and no wonder—marvelled whether the British acknowledged any God. "These people," writes Mr. Forbes, "in their own artless expressive style often asked me this 'important question—*Master, when an Englishman dies, does he 'think he shall go to his God?*—My answer in the affirmative 'generally produced a reply to this effect—Your countrymen, 'master, seem to take very little trouble about that business; 'they choose a smooth path and scatter roses on every 'side. Other nations are guided by strict rules and solemn 'injunctions, in those serious engagements, where the English 'seem thoughtless and unconcerned. The Hindoos constantly 'perform the ceremonies and sacrifices at the Dewal; the Ma-'homedans go through their stated prayers and ablutions at the 'mosques; the Parsees suffer not the sacred fires to be ex-'tinguished, nor neglect to worship in their temple. You call 'yourselves Christians; so do the Roman Catholics, who abound 'in India. They daily frequent their churches, fast and pray, 'and do many penances; the English alone appear unconcerned 'about an event of the greatest importance." And again, the same amiable writer a little further on proceeds to show, that there was something worse than mere indifference. "What may 'be the prevailing practise, I cannot say; certainly, the spirit of 'Christianity was not (in my time) the actuating principle of 'European Society in India. A thoughtlessness of futurity; a 'carelessness about religious concerns were more prominent. 'Highly as I esteemed the philanthropy, benevolence and moral 'character of my countrymen, I am compelled to add, that a spirit 'of scepticism and infidelity predominated in the younger part of 'the community, especially in the circle of those who had receiv-'ed what is called a good education."* This was written from Bombay; writing from Calcutta, in 1772, Mr. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) gives a somewhat different account of the state of affairs at the Presidency. Forbes arrived in India before Shore, but as his Memoirs extend over a large space of time, and there is no chronological arrangement in his work; it is not always very easy to specify the precise period to which he refers. The progress of the French Revolution must have conduced, in this country, as in Europe, to the spread of infidel opinions—"I believe I before mentioned to you," writes Mr. Shore, in a letter to his mother, "the too great prevalence of immorality in

* It must be borne in mind, however, that there was more infidelity at that time (the latter part of the last century) in Europe, than at any other period of history.

'this settlement, and I wish I could now advise you of an amend-
'ment. Were these sentiments divulged, not the uncontroverted
'truth of them would be sufficient to guard the singularity of
'my censures from ridicule * * * You will, perhaps, conclude
'from the disregard with which Religion is treated, that the
'number of Free-thinkers must be great—*they are in fact but*
'*few.*" In another letter, of a somewhat later date, (1775) the same writer observes, "Dancing, riding, hunting, shooting, are
'now our employments. In proportion as the inhabitants of
'this settlement have increased, we are become much less socia-
'ble and hospitable than formerly." To the list of amusements here noted, he might have added gambling and horse-racing, drinking and fighting duels.

It would indeed be difficult to imagine any thing much worse than the state of Society, during the administration of Warren Hastings. The earlier adventurers may have committed more heinous crimes, and been participators in scenes of more offensive debauchery; but in those more remote times, the English in India were too few and too scattered—their habits were of too migratory a character—to admit of the formation of any thing worthy to be spoken of as Society. At a later period, affairs were so much in a transition-state; there was so much of the turmoil and excitement of war, that the English might be properly described as living in a great encampment; their manners were more the manners of the camp, than of the drawing-room and the boudoir; and some time necessarily elapsed before affairs settled themselves down permanently into a state of social quiescence; if that can be called settlement, where the dregs appear, with nauseous obtrusiveness, on the surface. There was certainly Society at the chief presidency, during the administration of Warren Hastings; but in candour we must acknowledge it to have been most offensively bad Society. Hastings himself, whatever may have been his character as a political ruler, had no great title to our admiration as a moral man. He was living, for years, with the wife of another, who lacking the spirit of a cock-chafer, connived with all imaginable *sang-froid* at the transfer of his wife's person to the possession of the Nabob; and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond, which had long been practically disregarded, the Governor-General had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adulteress in a style of the utmost magnificence, attended with open display and festal rejoicing. What was to be expected from the body of Society, when the head was thus morally diseased?—Francis was a hundred-fold worse than Hastings. The

latter was weak under a pressure of temptation; he was not disposed to "pay homage to virtue," by throwing a cloak over his vice; and did not sufficiently consider the bad influence, which his conduct was calculated to exercise over Society at large. In him, it is true, there was a sad want of principle; but in Francis an evil principle was ever at work. His vices were all active vices—deliberate, ingenious, laborious. His lust was, like his malice, un-impulsive, studious, given to subtle contrivances, demanding the exercise of high intellectual ability.—When he addressed himself to the deliberate seduction of Madame Grand, he brought all the mental energy and subtlety of matured manhood to bear upon the unsuspecting virtue of an inexperienced girl of sixteen.—Here, indeed, were leaders of Society; not only corrupting the morals, but disturbing the peace of the presidency. The very members of the Supreme Council, in those days, could not refrain from shooting at each other. Barwell and Clavering went out.—The latter had accused the former of dishonesty: and the former in return had called his associate "a liar." They met; but the contest was a bloodless one.* Not so that between Hastings and Francis. The Governor-General shot the Councillor through the body, and thus wound up, in this country, to be renewed in another, the long struggle between the two antagonists. Such was the Council. The Supreme Court exercised no more benign influence over the morals of Society. Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, was a model of rapacity and injustice—corrupt as he was cruel—and others not far below him in rank were equally near him in infamy. Viewing the whole picture, with an unprejudiced eye, it is assuredly a most disheartening one. In 1780 was published the first Indian newspaper—*Hicky's Gazette.* If any one desire to satisfy himself, beyond the reach of all inward questionings, that what we have stated in general terms of the low moral tone of Society, at that period, is unexaggerated truth, let him turn over the pages of that same *Hicky's Gazette.* Society must have been very bad to have tolerated such a paper. It is full of infamous scandal—in some places, so disguised as to be almost unintelligible to the reader of the present day, but in others set forth broadly and unmistakeably; and with a relish not

* M. Grand tells us that Barwell would not return Clavering's fire—"His antagonist suspecting this delicacy arose from a growing attachment which he observed to prevail between [Mr. Barwell and] Miss Clavering (Lady Napier) called out loudly to him to take his chance of hitting him for, in whatever manner their contest might terminate, the General added, Mr. Barwell could rest impressed that he had no chance of ever being allied to his family." Mr. Barwell, however, was resolute, and the seconds interfered.

to be concealed. We find it difficult to bring forward illustrative extracts. The most significant passages are too coarse for quotation; moreover, a clear impression of the state of Society, as represented in the journal, can only be derived from a glance at the volume itself. Many of the worst libels appear in the form of fictitious race-meetings, law cases, warlike engagements; or are set forth in the shape of advertisements. We have no doubt that many of these paragraphs contained, or insinuated atrocious falsehoods—but what can we think of the people who employed themselves in fabricating these infamous calumnies, and of the large circle, who were well contented to read them? That they thought very well of themselves is obvious, for we find the greater number of these anonymous slanderers congratulating themselves on their public spirit—"I congratulate this settlement," writes one, "in having 'so amusing, so entertaining a channel for conveying the senti-'ments of some amongst us, who *generously sacrifice a portion of* '*their time, for the benefit of their fellow-citizens.*"—These generous sacrifices were often made for the purpose of scandalising young ladies—the gentlemen, we presume, resorting to this honorable method of revenging themselves for the *juwabs* they had received. We find one young lady—a Miss Wrangham, as we are informed by a manuscript note in the volume of *Hicky's Gazette* now before us—repeatedly figuring under the name of *Hookah Turban*, in a succession of offensive paragraphs assuming every possible variety of form. This young lady, a Mr. Tailor, who appears under the name of "Durgee," and Mr. Kiernander the missionary, are three of the most conspicuous victims, who appear in these "generous sacrifices,"—Hastings and Colonel Pearse come in for a tolerable share of slander; and many of the dignitaries of the Supreme Court, and the admiral on the station, are handled with equal severity. Such indeed is the mass of infamous slander, which this journal contains, that we feel no sort of surprise in perusing the following announcement:—

"Mr. Hicky thinks it a duty incumbent on him to inform his friends in particular, and the public in general, that an attempt was made to assassinate him last Thursday morning between the hours of one and two o'clock by two armed Europeans, aided and assisted by a Moorman. Mr. H. is obliged to postpone the particulars at present for want of room, but they shall be inserted the first opportunity."

It never occurred to Mr. Hicky that he himself was committing assassination every week of his life.

There, certainly, appears to have been, in those days, no dearth of amusement. The papers abound in notices of balls, masquerades, races, and theatrical entertainments, occasionally varied with accounts of personal rencontres of no very formida-

ble character. There was but one Church; and that had not always a chaplain to officiate in it. We find no complaints of the Theatre ever having been badly attended; and at the balls and masquerades the ladies danced, and the gentlemen drank, with exemplary assiduity. Perhaps the evening's entertainment was wound up with a "general riot;" and the pages of the next *Hicky's Gazette* were enlivened with an account of the affray.

Drinking had long been one of the rational amusements, with which our fathers sought to beguile the time. Arrack punch would seem to have been the first beverage to which the English in India addicted themselves—and it often proved to be the last.* At a late period there was a kind of Persian wine much in favor, which Mr. Ives (1757) tells us was supplied by the Company to its servants at the Western factories; and was "the best he ever tasted, except claret." It was not very long, however, before European beers and wines were imported, and consumed by those, who could afford to pay the high prices then fixed on these now most accessible beverages. Punch and sherbet, being always cheap, were the common drink of the young military men; and pretty freely were they consumed, at all hours from morning to night. Mr. Forbes tells us that, when he first arrived at Bombay, in 1765, "the cadets who were soon 'promoted, and whether stationed at the presidency or the subordinate settlements, perhaps mounted guard once or twice a 'a week, and did no other duty, had abundance of leisure time. 'On those idle days, the morning was generally occupied in 'calling upon each other at their different quarters, and at each 'visit taking a draught of punch, or arrack and water, which 'however cool and pleasant at the moment, was succeeded by the 'most deleterious effects; indeed, from its fatal consequences, it 'might be called a slow poison; and from this cause alone it 'may be confidently asserted that a number proportionate to 'the Berhampore estimate were annually committed to an untimely grave." Towards the end of the century, this beastly vice began considerably to decline. Men found that on the whole it was better to live than to drink themselves into untimely graves, and a high-minded nobleman had come from

* Pietro Della Valle speaks of another beverage to which our earliest settlers were addicted: "On Saturday morning," he says, "we conversed together for some time, 'drinking a little of hot wine boyld with cloves, cinnamon, and other spices, which 'the English call *burnt wine* and use the drink frequently in the morning to comfort 'the stomach, sipping it by little and little for fear of scalding, as they do cahue '(coffee) before described. And they use it particularly in the winter to warm 'themselves, though in India it is not necessary for that end, because albeit 'twas 'still winter, according to our seasons, yet we had more heat there than cold." As our ancestors were wont to drink mulled wine in the morning, we cannot be surprised to see it said of them that their lives were *not worth two monsoons*.

England to set an example of decency and sobriety. "Europeans are now," wrote Mr. Tennant, in 1796, "much 'better acquainted with the means of counteracting a bad 'climate than formerly. Regularity of living and temperance 'are much more prevalent among the present inhabitants than 'the first adventurers. It was not uncommon for his acquain-'tances, when a friend had laid in a full stock of wines, to meet 'in his house at dinner in order to give their judgment of its 'quality, and on these occasions perhaps the whole chest of cla-'ret was consumed at a sederunt. The consequences were 'often so fatal, that the next meeting of this social crew was not 'unfrequently to witness the funeral of one of their compani-'ons."—Lord Valentia, writing some few years later, observes, "This place (Calcutta) is certainly less unhealthy than former-'ly, which advantage is attributed to the filling up of the tanks 'in the street; and the clearing more and more of the jungle—'but in my opinion it is much more owing to an improved 'knowledge of the diseases of the country, and likewise to '*greater temperance in the use of spirituous liquors*, and a supe-'rior construction of the houses."

Lord Cornwallis entered upon his administration in 1786; and a considerable improvement in the tone of Society very soon began to be apparent.—It is impossible to turn over the Indian Journals of 1788, and the few following years, immediately after laying down those of 1780-81, without being struck with the very different kind of reading, which the Society had begun to relish. The Journals of 1788 are highly decorous and respectable. They contain no private slander; no scurrilous invective; no gross obscenity. There appears, at that time, to have been gaiety enough and more than enough; but it was much better regulated than it had been, a few years before. The papers abound in descriptions of balls and plays; but in these there is nothing offensive. They bespeak far greater decorum and sobriety than those of the Hastings' administration. We have now before us detailed accounts of two grand balls—one given in 1781, the other in 1788. In the former, we are told that the ladies took their departure, "accompanied by the danglers, at about 'half past 12;" whilst the "jolly bucks remained behind to seek 'for charms in the sparkling juice of the grape, who like the 'true sons of Bacchus and Comus kept it up until four; and in 'all probability their happiness had continued until Sol in his 'journey towards the West had bid them good morning, had 'they not been disturbed by two carping sons of Mars, who 'began to quarrel." Then comes an account of an altercation, a pugilistic encounter, and a denouement, as offensively gross

in description as any thing we have ever seen in print. In the other, we are told, that "the ball opened about half past 9 in 'the evening, which was graced with a numerous assemblage of 'ladies.—The dances continued till near 12, when his Lordship '(Cornwallis) and the Company adjourned to supper. The 'pleasures of the dance are always preferred by the ladies, and 'the repast afforded but a short interruption to their renewing 'them, which consequently attracted their partners and left the 'solitary swains to the enjoyment of the bottle, though to *the 'praise of their moderation it must be observed that the danc-'ing room* seemed to engage the most of their attention"—This was no small improvement; for only a few years before, dancing was not thought to be possible *after supper*. There was room, doubtless, for a great deal more improvement, for even in these comparatively decorous accounts we see somewhat too much of "choice spirits" and "votaries of Bacchus;" but the change which we have indicated, must have been considerable, for we find a public Journal—the *India Gazette* (1788) commenting editorially upon the palpable improvement in the state of Society and congratulating the settlement upon it:—

"We are not surprised at the various changes of Fashion, as they arise from Fancy or Caprice, but the alteration of manners must be derived from a superior source; and when we find that the pleasures of the Bottle, and the too prevailing Enticements of Play, are now almost universally sacrificed to the far superior attractions of female Society, can we fail to ascribe the pleasing and rational distinction to that more general diffusion of taste and politeness which the Company and Conversation of Ladies must ever inspire?—this was the sentiment of the all-accomplished Chesterfield, and there are few who were better acquainted with the science of attaining the *Graces.*"

This we think may be accepted as a very fair indication of the period, at which a palpable improvement in the social morality of the English in India first began to be discernible. It will be gathered from the above extract, that before the close of 1788 gambling and drinking had gone out of fashion.*

* We do not know the precise date at which the first regular race-meeting came off at Calcutta, or at the other Presidencies. Mr. Stocqueler, in his *Handbook* says "the first record of the existence of Racing in Calcutta may be dated from the origin of the Bengal Jockey Club, in 1803"—but we find in the volume of *Hicky's Gazette* for 1780, accounts both of races and of race-balls. A few years later, they appear to have fallen into desuetude in Calcutta, though carried on with great eclat at Madras. "We have continued scenes of gaiety," writes a newspaper correspondent from that presidency in 1788; "and may boast a competition even with your more popu-'lous settlement. The races take place soon, from which much entertainment is expected. 'This is an amusement, which seems to be exploded in Calcutta, as we hear no men-'tion made of them in any of your public papers." How soon the custom was revived, we do not pretend to know—but we find Lord Valentia stating, early in the next century, that "on Lord Wellesley's first arrival in the country, he set his face decidedly against horse-racing and every other species of gambling; yet at the end of November 1803, there were three days' races at a small distance from Calcutta."

At the close of 1793, Lord Cornwallis retired from the Government of India. He left the country in a very different state from that in which he found it; and great as was the improvement in civil affairs, the social improvement was no less striking. Party animosities seem to have died out altogether during his benevolent administration. He was hospitable, courteous, humane; a nobleman by birth, yet more a nobleman by nature; and his contemporaries appear to have admired his public, and venerated his private character. The journals of 1793 abound with records of Cornwallis' hospitalities and of the entertainments given in return by a grateful society to the ruler they loved. In these accounts is observable an increased and increasing decorum; from year to year the progress of propriety is distinctly marked; and the improvement, which commenced with the government of Lord Cornwallis, seems to have advanced steadily up to the present time. The newspapers, at the close of his Lordship's administration, were as regardful of the feelings of society, as those of the present day; they were scrupulously courteous to individuals, and delicately fearful of giving offence. In one paper, we see the Editor apologising to the public, for having stated, on the authority of a correspondent in a former number, that "the second assembly at the Theatre was not attended with that brilliancy, which might have been expected"—no such very grievous offence, rendering it necessary to do penance in an expiatory paragraph. Ruffianism had gone out of fashion. People drank less, gambled less, swore less, and talked less obscenity. Mr. Tennant, writing in 1798, bears willing witness to the ameliorative influence of Lord Cornwallis' personal character. "A reformation highly commendable 'has been effected, partly from necessity; but more by the example of a late Governor General, whose elevated rank and 'noble birth gave him in a great measure the guidance of fashion. 'Regular hours and sobriety of conduct became as decidedly the 'test of a man of fashion as they were formerly of irregularity.* 'Thousands owe their lives, and many more their health, to this 'change, which had neither been reckoned on nor even foreseen 'by those who introduced it." Another and later writer, though apparently no admirer of Cornwallis' administration, gives equally strong evidence on the same point as the above. "Gambling was formerly," says Capt. Williamson, in his *Vade Mecum;* (1810) "one of the most prominent vices to be seen in Calcutta, 'but of late years has considerably diminished. Those who 'recollect the institution of Selby's club, and who now contemplate 'the very small portion of time dissipated, even by the younger

* Mr. Tennant means to says "as irregularity formerly had been."

'classes at cards, &c., by way of profit and loss, cannot but approve 'the salutary reform introduced by the Marquis Cornwallis, who 'certainly was entitled to the approbation of the Company, as 'well as to the gratitude of their servants, for having checked so 'effectually a certain licentious spirit, which had till his arrival 'been totally uncontrolled, indeed unnoticed, in any shape by his 'predecessors."* Fashionable dissipation was there in abundance, and no small amount, doubtless, of secret vice; but there was outward decorum, and there were social checks, which wrought a certain moral improvement. The Roman actor, who wore the mask so long that his features caught its likeness, is no bad type of the society, which constantly wears the semblance of morality. In process of time, it becomes what it appears; and morality takes the place of decorum. People do not suddenly change their natures; but to change, or even to conceal their habits, is a great thing gained; and it is unquestionable that thus much at least was gained, under the Government of Lord Cornwallis. What was thus auspiciously commenced during the administration of one good man progressed steadily under the administration of another. Sir John Shore's character and example were no less worthy of admiration than those of his predecessor; and society, under the wholesome influence of his virtuous dominion, was placed beyond the perilous chance of backsliding.

The beginning of the present century saw the English in India still continuing the onward course of improvement. That the moral tone, even in those days, was still unfortunately low, we are compelled in candour to admit.—Lord Valentia, writing in 1804, observes, that "the most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-caste children," and speaks of "the extension of Zenanas, which are now too common among Europeans." As

* In connexion with this notice of Selby's Club, in Capt Williamson's book, the following extract from a Calcutta journal of 1793, being a portion of certain proceedings in the Supreme Court, will be read with some interest.—

YATES *versus* BALFOUR, *executor of* WOOLLEY, *deceased*.

An Equity Cause between these parties, was argued on Friday and Saturday, but the Court have taken time to give their decree:—It appeared that the Plaintiff and Woolley had been Members of a Club, formerly held at Selby's Tavern, called the *Every Day Club*. Sometime in the year 1783, the Plaintiff, who had dined at Mr. Wheeler's, went in the evening to the Club rather intoxicated, and found there Mr. Woolley, Major Conran, and some other Members. Woolley claimed a knowledge of Mr. Yates, and asserted he had seen him at Madras, and particularly, that he had dined with him at Sir Thomas Rumbold's:—this was denied by Yates, and after some controversy on the subject, a wager was proposed, and at length agreed to. The terms were 1000 Gold Mohurs, that Woolley had not seen Yates at Madras at the time mentioned—this was written down and signed by Yates, and witnessed by some gentlemen then present; but so little attention was given to the signed paper, or so intoxicated were the parties, that the paper was either torn or drowned in a bowl of punch—however it subsequently appeared, that Woolley had seen Yates at Madras, and claimed the wager, and commenced an action to recover the bet in this Court, from Yates. From the interference of friends, or actuated by honorary obligation, Yates signed a Bond to Woolley for the sum claimed (1000 Gold Mohurs) and after Woolley's death, Balfour his executor, brought another action against Yates—who instituted the present suit in Equity, to impeach the validity of the Bond, and prayed that it might be delivered up and cancelled.

the European society of Bengal increased, it is highly probable that the numbers of halfcaste children increased too; but whether there was a proportionate increase, we think may be fairly questioned. A later writer already referred to (Capt. Williamson) though admitting this fact, claims on the whole a high character for his countrymen in the East. "On the whole, it may be said," he observes, after describing the manner, in which an Indian day is spent, "that at least four in five are in bed, before twelve, or 'perhaps, before eleven o'clock. From this I exempt all con-'cerned in card parties, especially if the stakes run high; for 'such no measure or calculation exists; the whole night being 'occasionally past at tredrille or at whist, &c. Such exceptions 'fortunately, are not very numerous; it would certainly be diffi-'cult to find any city, wherein celibacy among the males is so 'prevalent as at Calcutta, *that can boast of so few excesses of any 'description.*" And again—"It may be said, without fear of 'refutation, that *fewer deviations from propriety are to be found 'in our Indian settlements*, than in one tenth the number of in-'habitants of the same classes in any other country."

But in spite of these assertions, contained in Capt. Williamson's *Vade Mecum*, we know no single work which unintentionally (for the gallant author writes immorality without knowing it) is calculated to convey so disheartening a picture of domestic* life at the commencement of the present century. Much of this we must set down to the account of the writer himself. It is not that the book abounds in vivid scenes of debauchery and disorder; there is nothing of the kind in the two stout volumes before us; but there is something which gives the reader a much clearer insight into the state of domestic morality at that period, than the most graphic descriptions ever penned. There is attributed to a certain gallant general, whom we need not more plainly indicate, a saying which we have heard retailed as eminently characteristic of the man. Speaking of a gentleman, whose name happened to be mentioned in conversation, he said "Ah; * * *—yes, I know him. I quite love the fellow; there is a quiet air of profligacy about him, which is singularly attractive." Now; there is a quiet air of profligacy about this book, which though not singularly attractive, is singularly descriptive. There is evidently no consciousness, in the mind of the writer, that his work, almost from first to last, is characterised by a looseness of morality, destined in a few years to be regarded almost with loathing. Let the reader, anxious to estimate rightly the moral

* We use the word as distinguished from *social*. The social improvement was, by this time, great. People wear their new garments out-of-doors before wearing them at home.

improvement of the English in India, within the last five and thirty years, compare this *Vade Mecum* of 1810, with the Handbooks, recently published, of Mr. Parbury and Mr. Stocqueler. Capt. Williamson devotes no small portion of the first volume of his work to a dissertation on native women; he gives a detailed account of the expenses attending the keep of a mistress; and devotes no less than fifty pages to a catalogue of the ornaments worn and unguents used by these ladies—and all this in a work dedicated to the Court of Directors, as one "professedly undertaken with the view *to promote the wel-* 'fare, and to facilitate the progress, of those young gentlemen who 'may, from time to time, be appointed to situations under your 'several Presidencies!" We have no doubt, that when this book was published, it was considered, in every respect, a very proper one, just as old Mrs Keith, of Revelston, thought the novels of Aphra Behn very harmless in her younger days.

Captain Williamson, in his quiet way, speaks of these connexions, now fortunately every year becoming more rare, as mere matters of course—very excusable under the circumstances of the case. He thinks it rather a joke than otherwise that European gentlemen should keep harems—"I have known," he says, "various instances of two ladies being conjointly domes-'ticated, and one of an elderly military character, who solaced 'himself with no less than *sixteen* of all sorts and sizes. Being 'interrogated by a friend as to what he did with such a num-'ber, 'Oh,' replied he, 'I give them a little rice and let them 'run about.' This same gentleman, when paying his addresses 'to an elegant young woman lately arrived from Europe, but 'who was informed by the lady at whose house she was residing 'of the state of affairs, the description closed with 'Pray, my 'dear, how should you like to share a sixteenth of Major ——." And this is a sample of the state of affairs, which in 1810 was supposed to call for anything but censure.

The immorality, of which we are now writing, is excused by Capt. Williamson, on the ground that European ladies were scarce in India, and that it was difficult, if not impossible, for the majority of European residents to provide themselves with more legitimate partners. After stating that "the number of 'European women to be found in Bengal and its dependencies 'can not amount to more than two hundred and fifty," he enters with some minuteness into a detail of all the expenses and inconveniences attending upon matrimony, and winds up with the following choice sample of Anglo-Indian Ethics: "I trust 'that this detail will convince even the sceptic, that matrimony 'is not so practicable in India as in England, and that (unless

'indeed among those platonic few whose passions are unnatu-
'rally obedient,) it is impossible for the generality of European
'inhabitants to act in exact conformity with those excellent
'doctrines, which teach us to avoid fornication and all other
'deadly sins. There are certain situations and times, in which
'the law must be suffered to sleep; since its enforcement would
'neither be easy nor wise; such is the instance now before us."
And this, as we have said, is the morality of a book, dedicated to the Court of Directors, as "a work professedly undertaken with a view to promote the welfare and to facilitate the *progress*" of young gentlemen in the Company's Service. The "progress!"—Yes, indeed, "the *Rake's* Progress."

In considering this interesting subject of the social character of the English in India, there are few points of greater importance than that touched upon above—the influx of European ladies into the country, and the facilities thus afforded for the formation of honorable connexions. Capt. Williamson says, that in 1810, the entire number of European women did not exceed two hundred and fifty, and that the difficulty of forming matrimonial engagements drove men into licentious connexions. We are greatly inclined to suspect, that there is some mistake in this assertion. Writing fourteen years before Capt. Williamson, the Rev. Mr. Tennant says, "Formerly female adventurers were
'few but highly successful. Emboldened by this success and
'countenanced by their example, such numbers have embarked
'in this speculation as threaten to defeat its purpose. The
'irregularities of our Government, which formerly afforded an
'opportunity to some of rapidly accumulating wealth and ena-
'bling them to marry, are now done away. Few in com-
'parison now find themselves in circumstances that invite to
'matrimonial engagements; hence a number of unfortunate
'females are seen wandering for years in a single and uncon-
'nected state. Some are annually forced to abandon the forlorn
'hope and return to Europe, after the loss of beauty, too fre-
'quently their only property." This was written in 1796; and, although it is highly probable that the great activity here spoken of was followed by a corresponding period of torpor, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe, that a few years later, the difficulty of forming honorable connexions really presented any admissible excuse for the profligate concubinage which Capt. Williamson considered no "deviation from propriety." There is no room to doubt, that the supply would, at all times, have been equal to the demand, if the gentlemen had been willing to avail themselves of the opportunities, thus afforded to them, of forming respectable alliances. Long before the time, when Captain

Williamson wrote his *Vade Mecum*, there must have sprung up in India a new class of female members of Society—the legitimate daughters of Indian residents. During the administration of Warren Hastings there was no lack of married women in Bengal, and the daughters of at least some of these women must have found their way to India before the century had died out.

When the first English lady made the voyage round the Cape; and who the adventurous heroine may have been, is more than we are capable of determining, necessitated as we often are to grope about darkling in these our antiquarian researches. The first European ladies, who made the voyage to India, were Portuguese. The earliest mention of the residence of fair strangers from the west, which we have been able to find in any work open to our researches, is contained in the travels of Pietro Della Valle, an Italian gentleman, or as he is described in the translation "a noble Roman" who visited the country in 1623.—According to this authority, the king of Portugal took upon himself to send a small annual investment of female orphans to India, for the especial use of the settlers on the western coast. "We were no sooner come to the Dogana," says the noble Roman, after describing his voyage to Surat, "but the news of our arrival was, I think, by Sig. Alberto's means, carried to the house of the Dutch, many of which have wives there which they married in India purposely to go with them and people a new colony of theirs in *Java Major*, which they call *Batavia Nova*; where very great privileges are granted to such of their countrymen as shall go to live there with wives and families; for which end many of them, for want of European, have taken Indian, Armenian, and Syrian women, and of any other race that falls into their hands, so they be, or can be made, Christians. Last year the fleet of the Portugals, which went to India, was encountered at sea and partly sunk, partly taken by the Hollanders; amongst other booty, three maidens were taken of those poor but well descended orphans, which are wont to be sent from Portugal every year at the king's charge, with a dowry which the king gives them, to the end they may be married in India, in order to further the peopling of the Portugal colonies in those parts. These three virgins falling into the hands of the Hollanders and being carried to Surat, which is the principal seat of all their traffick, the most eminent merchants amongst them strove who should marry them, being all passably handsome. Two of them were gone from Surat, whether to the above said colony or elsewhere I know not. She that remained behind was called Donna Lucia, a young woman, fair enough, and wife to one

'of the wealthiest and eminentest Hollanders." We may think ourselves fortunate to have alighted upon this passage; for it is probable that in no work of an equally remote date is there to be found, in a few sentences, so much information relative to the domestic condition of the earliest European settlers; and the intelligent reader cannot fail to gather from it much more than is expressed. Of English ladies we can find no mention in the "noble Roman's" book. Signor Della Valle, who it appears was accompanied by his wife and a young Italian lady, his adopted daughter, tells us, that though, on landing at Surat, he was immediately invited to the house of the English president, he declined the invitation, "for that it 'was requisite for Signora Mariuccia to be amongst women, of 'which there was none in the English House." Of the evils resulting from the scarcity of women, even amongst the Portuguese, he gives us, in another place, a somewhat distressing picture. Incestuous intermarriages were by no means uncommon. "The Portugals," he writes "who, in matters of Govern-'ment look with great diligence upon the least motes, without 'making much reckoning afterwards of great beams, held it 'inconvenient for the said *Mariam Tinatim* to live with me in 'the same house, although she had been brought up always in 'our House, from a very little child, and as our own daughter. 'For being themselves in these matters very unrestrained (not 'sparing their nearest kindred, nor as I have heard their own 'sisters, much less Foster-children in their houses) they 'conceive that all other nations are like themselves." A French Traveller, "Monsieur Dillon, M. D." who published his Voyage to the East Indies towards the close of the seventeenth century, does not give us a much more favorable account of the Portuguese ladies. "There are very few," he says, "but what 'are sufficiently sensible that the Portuguese in general have 'these three qualities belonging to them. To be zealous, to 'the highest degree of superstition; to be amorous to a degree 'of madness; and jealous beyond all reason. Neither will it 'appear strange, if the ladies of Goa are as tractable and 'obliging to handsome men, as those of Lisbon. 'Tis true 'they are watched as narrowly as is possible to be done, but 'they seldom want wit to deceive their keepers, when they are 'resolved to taste of the forbidden fruit; and they are the 'most revengeful creatures in the world, if they happen to be 'disappointed in the expectation!" Monsieur Dillon supports this assertion with some anecdotes, which we have no desire to transfer to our pages. What we have set down is sufficient for our purpose. We wish that it had not been necessary to have

set down so much; but we have deemed it of some importance to show the fearfully lax state of morality among the first European settlers—to show what sort of example was set by their predecessors to the English in India. The subject is not a pleasant one; but without such allusions as these it were impossible to fulfil the task we have set ourselves—to trace through all its changes the progress of the social morality of our countrymen in the east.

We have shown, by an incidental quotation in an early part of our article, that at the commencement of the present century there were French and Dutch women in Bombay, and that even the English Governors sometimes took out their wives and families. At the time of the Black Hole affair (1756) there were several ladies in Calcutta. One, an East Indian, was among the sufferers; but we know not what the others, who were carried safely off to the shipping, may have been.* Mr. Ives, in 1757, tells us that the supercargo of the *Futta Salaam*, died at Galle, "his illness being occasioned by a cold 'he caught in dancing with some ladies who were just arrived 'from Europe." At Tellicherry he tells us that he dined with "the Company's chief," Mr. Hodges, a married man, who introduced him and his companions "to every gentleman and lady 'in the settlement." We learn from Captain Stavorinus, that when he visited Bengal in 1771, there was a moderate supply of ladies both at the English and the Dutch factories. He was necessarily more competent to speak of the character of the latter than of our British fair ones—but we fear that there is not much reason to believe that we very much excelled our neighbours.—"Domestic 'peace and tranquillity," he writes, with reference to the Dutch at Chinsurah, "must be purchased by a shower of jewels, a ward-'robe of the richest clothes, and a kingly parade of plate upon 'the side-board; the husband must give all these, or, according 'to a vulgar phrase the house would be too hot to hold him, while 'the wife never pays the least attention to her domestic con-'cerns; but suffers the whole to depend upon her servants or 'slaves. The women generally rise between eight and nine 'o'clock. The forenoon is spent in paying visits to their

* One of these, a Mrs. Bowers, died in Calcutta in 1781. There is a notice of her death in *Hicky's Gazette*, from which we learn that during the quarter of a century intervening between the capture of Calcutta "by the Moors," and her dissolution, "she did by industry and frugality acquire a large fortune," which she was so sadly afraid of losing again that she fidgetted herself into her grave. She was "attended to the grave by several of the reputable inhabitants, and the last Holy office was performed over her corpse by Stephen Bagshaw, Esq." from which we are to infer that there was no available clergyman It is often wholly impossible to ascertain whether the wives of the European settlers alluded to, in old works, were English women, or "country-born."

'friends or in lolling upon a sofa with their arms across. Dinner is ready at half past one; they go to sleep till half past four or five; they then dress in form, and the evening and part of the night is spent in company, or at dancing parties, which are frequent during the cold season." There is more of this; but we have quoted enough. Of the English ladies he tells us little except that they wore very fine dresses. He attended a Ball, at the Governor's, which was opened by the Governor's lady (Mrs. Cartier,) and the Dutch Director; and at which we are told the "company were very numerous and all 'magnificently dressed, especially the ladies who were decorated with immense quantities of jewels." A few years afterwards, when the elegant Marian, held her court at Belvedere, Calcutta seems to have rejoiced in a sprinkling of the fair sex, if not sufficiently profuse to blunt the devoted gallantry of their knights, quite enough to humanise society. Thus a Madras correspondent writes to "Mr. Hicky," in July 1780, "In my last I sent you an account of the number of 'ladies, which has arrived in the late ships, there came *eleven* 'in one vessel—too great a number for the peace, and good order 'of a Round House—Millinery must rise at least 25 per cent., 'for the above ladies, when they left England were well stocked 'with head dresses of different kinds, formed to the highest 'ton. But from the unfortunate disputes, which daily arose 'during the space of the three last months of the passage, they 'had scarce a cap left when they arrived"—and describing a Grand Christmas party, at Government House, in a later number, we find it set down, that "The ladies were all elegant and 'lovely, and it is universally allowed, that Calcutta never was 'decorated by so many fine women as at present." We find on referring to the Journals of the day that few ships arrived without bringing a little knot of spinsters; and that many of these very soon threw off their spinsterhood. The marriage announcements raise a smile. The bride is always duly gazetted as "a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments recently arrived by the *Minerva*;" or "an agreeable young lady who lately arrived in the *Ceres* from England." M. Grand, in his interesting narrative of his residence in India, gives an amusingly naive picture of the knightly devotion with which some young ladies were regarded—"In the enjoyment of such society, he writes 'which was graced with the ladies of the first fashion and 'beauty of the settlement, I fell a convert to the charms of the 'celebrated Miss Sanderson, but vainly with many others, did I 'sacrifice at her shrine. This amiable woman became in 1776, 'the wife of Mr. Richard Barwell, who well may live in the re-

'membrance of his numerous friends..... Of all her 'sex I never observed one who possessed more the art of con-'ciliating her admirers, equal to herself. As a proof thereof, we 'met sixteen in her livery, one public ball evening, viz. a pea-'green French frock, trimmed with pink silk and chained lace 'with spangles, when each of us, to whom the secret of her in-'tended dress had been communicated buoyed himself up with 'the hope of being the favored happy individual. The innocent 'deception, which had been practiced, soon appeared evident, and 'the man of most sense was the first to laugh at the ridicule which 'attached on him. I recollect the only revenge which we exac-'ted, was for each to have the honor of a dance with her; and as 'minuets, cotillons, reels and country dances were then in vogue, '*with ease to herself*, she obligingly complied to all concerned, 'and in reward for such kind complaisance, we gravely attended 'her home, marching by the side of her palankeen, regularly 'marshalled, in procession of two and two." The lady, who could dance sixteen reels, country dances, &c. "with ease to herself," must have possessed an enviable stock of strength and elasticity. Our Indian Ladies appear never to have lacked energy sufficient to go cheerfully through an amount of labor in the ball-room, one half of which they would deem it, any where else, the utmost hardship to be called upon to endure. In 1793, we find them described as dancing from nine in the evening till five o'clock in the morning—and at the beginning of the present century, the ladies, according to Lord Valentia, were in the habit not unfrequently of dancing themselves into their graves. "Consumptions," he writes, "are 'very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute, in a great 'measure, to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest 'weather. After such violent exercise they go into the veran-'dahs and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmos-'phere."—Victim after victim was consigned to the tomb—but the warning lesson was unregarded; and still the history of each new sacrifice might be fittingly told in the language of Ford's noble drama, *The Broken Heart*——

> When one news straight came huddling on another
> Of death, and death, and death *still I danced on*—

The temptation was not to be resisted.—See, what was the state of society in those days, and judge if it was not really something worth dying for. "The Society of Calcutta is numer-'ous and gay: the fêtes given by the Governor-General (Mar-'quis of Wellesley) are frequent, splendid, and well-arranged. 'The Chief Justice, the members of Council, and Sir Henry 'Russell, each open their houses once a week for the reception

'of those, who have been presented to them. Independently 'of these, hardly a day passes, particularly during the cold season, 'without several large dinner-parties being formed, consisting 'generally of thirty or forty..... A subscription assem-'bly also exists, but seems unfashionable." Now here indeed, was work for a delicate spinster, calling loudly for a Limitation of Labor bill, to prevent young English women, in a foreign land, from killing themselves by inches! No wonder that unsophisticated natives asked why the English did not follow their custom and hire people to dance for them.

And here we may not disadvantageously digress to offer a few remarks on a subject, peculiarly illustrative of the progress which the English have recently made in social morality. No one who is familiar with descriptive works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can have failed to observe the very prominent place which the *nautch* occupies in every picture, not only of native, but of European social life in India. A traveller on first landing on our eastern shores was sure to be entertained with a *Nautch;* and a nautch, too, somewhat different from the dull and decent affairs of the present century. Even European gentlemen sometimes entertained troops of nautch girls, and thought it no discredit to possess such appanages to their domestic establishments. Indeed there were some, who imagined that without such adjuncts, the duties of hospitality could not be properly performed. We purpose to take, not without apology, one illustration of this unhappy truth from a work published in the last century. The writer is Captain Donald Campbell, who was cast away on his voyage to India, and imprisoned by the officers of Hyder Ali; and, after a series of most distressing adventures, returned to England to write his Memoirs. The date referred to, is 1783:—

"Leaving Anjengo, I set out for Madras, designing to go all the way by land—a journey of near eight hundred miles. I accordingly struck through the kingdom of Travancore, whose Sovereign is in alliance with the English; and had not long entered the territories of the Nabob of Arcot, before Major Macneal, an old friend of mine, and Commandant of a fort in that district, met me, preceded by a troop of dancing girls, who encircled my palanquin, dancing around me until I entered the Major's house.

It would be difficult to give you an adequate notion of those dancing girls. Trained up from their infancy to the practice of the most graceful motions, the most artful display of personal symmetry, and the most wanton allurements, they dance in such a style, and twine their limbs and bodies into such postures as bewitch the senses, and extort applause and admiration where in strictness disapprobation is due: nor is their agility inferior to the grace of their movements—though they do not exert it in the same skipping way that our stage dancers do, but make it subservient to the elegance, and I

may say grandeur, of their air. They are generally found in troops of six or eight attended by musicians, whose aspect and dress are as uncouth and squalid as the sounds they produce under the name of music are inelegant, harsh, and dissonant. To this music, from which measure as much as harmony is excluded, they dance most wonderfully, adapting their step to the perpetual change of the time, accompanying it with amorous songs, while the correspondent action of their body and limbs, the wanton palpitation and heaving of their exquisitely formed bosoms, and the amorous or rather lascivious expression of their countenance, excite in the spectators emotions not very favorable to chastity. Thus they continue to act, till, by the warmth of exercise and imagination, they become seemingly frantic with ecstacy, and sinking down motionless with fatigue, throw themselves into the most alluring attitudes that ingenious vice and voluptuousness can possibly devise.

That such incitements to vice should make a part of the system of any society, is to be lamented: yet at all ceremonies and great occasions, whether of religious worship or domestic enjoyment, they make a part of the entertainment; and the altar of their gods, and the purity of the marriage rites, are alike polluted by the introduction of the dancing girls. The impurity of this custom, however, vanishes in India, when compared with the hideous practice of introducing dancing *boys*"

What would the European of the present day think, if when about to enter the house of a friend, in quest of his hospitality, he were to be met in the compound, by his host, attended by a troop of dancing girls? We may venture to say, that a large number even of our Indian readers have never seen a troop of dancing girls. The English gentleman, who were now to entertain his guests with this well-nigh exploded abomination, would infamize himself in the opinion of the majority of his countrymen; and none, by attending such exhibitions at the house of the native gentry, raise themselves much in the estimation of their brethren. The more respectable portion of the British community, scrupulously abstain from attending the nautches, which even in our recollection were graced by the presence of many of the first gentlemen—ay, and ladies—in India. The holiday and other nautches now given by some native gentlemen are attended only by natives, and such less reputable Europeans as have little or no character to lose.* Not, however, that the above extract is descriptive of any such nautching, as our fair country-women were in the habit of looking at, some few years ago; for nothing could be more staid and decorous—more dull and unexciting—than the native dances which were presented to their view. To the eye, at least, there was no violation of decency; compared with a Ballet, on the boards of a London or a Paris theatre, the only nautches, which we ever remember to have seen, were outward propriety itself; but setting aside the very important

* Of course we except the nautches given on the occasion of visits of ceremony to native Princes.

consideration, that the nautches are for the most part given on the occasion of some idolatrous ceremony, and are performed in actual adoration of a graven image, it is unquestionable that in the minds of the native—indeed, of all who are acquainted with their character—these nautch-girls, who are professional courtesans, are associated with all that is impure; and that the European lady, who gives the sanction of her presence to these exhibitions, however outwardly decorous, must infallibly lower her own character and the character of her country-women in the eyes of every native looker-on.

But to return from this not irrelevant digression—there are few, if any of our readers, whether in this country or in England, who have not heard much and read much on the subject of Female Adventurers, and the Marriage Market, and young ladies going out to India, on what was vulgarly called "a *spec.*" All this is quite swept away. There are young ladies in every part of India—but the question of what they are doing there may be answered without a reference to the Marriage Mart. In most cases, they are found in our Indian stations, for the same reason that other young ladies may be found in London, or Liverpool, or Exeter—simply because, when in these places, they are in their proper homes. Adventuresses there are none. The race has altogether died out, since the time when Capt. Williamson set down, as a fact worthy of record, that a young lady, on first arriving in India "*should* have friends to receive her." We should as soon think of writing, in the present day, that she should have shoes to her feet. The passage in the "Vade Mecum," to which we refer, will be curious at least to our younger readers:—

"It should be understood, that the generality of young ladies, though they may certainly comply with the will of their parents, are by no means partial to visiting India. The out-fit is not a trifle: no lady can be landed there, under respectable circumstances thoughout, for less than five hundred pounds. Then, again, she should have friends to receive her; for she cannot else obtain even a lodging, or the means of procuring subsistence. It is not like a trip, *per boy*, to Margate, where nothing but a well-lined purse is requisite; and where, if you do not meet with friends, you may easily form acquaintances. * * * * * *

Let us, however, suppose all these things to be done; and that some worthy dame welcomes the fair adventurer to her house, with the friendly intention of affording an asylum, until some stray bachelor may bear away the prize. We have known some instances of this, and, in particular, of a lady making it, in a manner, her study to replenish her hospitable mansion with objects of this description; thereby acquiring the invidious, or sarcastic, designation of 'Mother Coupler.' But such characters are rare; and it generally happens, that those who have the will, do not possess the means, of thus rendering the most essential of services to young women, who, we may fairly say, are, in this case, transported to India, there to take their chance! That

several have been thus sent, or have thus adventured round the Cape, cannot be denied; in any other country they would have experienced the most poignant distress, both of body and of mind; but, such has ever been the liberality evinced towards this class of unfortunate persons, that, in most instances, prompt and effectual relief has been administered."

Young ladies now are never, "transported to India" "to take their chance." Apart from all matrimonial intentions, they have a legitimate purpose in visiting India. The taunt that they come hither "to get husbands" is no longer applicable to the class. When they turn their faces towards the East, they do so, not leaving but seeking their proper homes. They go not to dwell among strangers; but "among their own people;" repairing to the guardianship of their legitimate protectors; and occupying as respectable a position, in the houses of their parents, their brothers, or their sisters, as though they had never left the narrow precincts of their own island. Every cold season sees the arrival of a succession of magnificent passenger ships, each one bearing a valuable freight of fair spinsterhood—but one has only to run one's eye along the passenger list to satisfy any doubts regarding the why and the wherefore all these young maidens have made the voyage to the "Far East." The history of each is recorded in her name. Nothing is left to chance, save to such chance as is inherent in all human affairs. Capt. Williamson says, that the voyage to India "is not like a trip, "*per hoy* to Margate, where nothing but a well-lined purse is "necessary." In these days the voyage to India is quite as easy, and quite as safe, as the voyage to Margate, and the well-lined purse is not necessary at all.

Much has been written on the subject of the mercenary character of "Indian marriages." In the old times, it was believed to be, and in many instances it undoubtedly was, the fact, that a young lady, carrying to India her stock of charms, put them up to the highest bidder. One has still a sort of vague confused idea of the old associations connected with those two significant words "Indian marriage"—as though they were the veriest sacrifices at the altar of Mammon, which cruelty and avarice ever plotted together to accomplish. Blooming youth, and sallow, wrinkled age, departing as yoke-fellows, to be a torment one to the other, through long years of jealousy, and distrust, and mutual reproaches; loathing on one side, crooked spite on the other; to end, perhaps, in guilt and desertion. The young maiden bought an establishment, it was thought, with her rosy cheeks and her bright eyes; she bartered the freshness of her young affections for gold and jewels; and woke, after a brief dream of glittering and heartless extravagance, to the true value of the splendid misery, for which she had sacrificed her youth. Then

there were years of pining discontent; of fruitless self-upbraiding; luxury and profusion, as adjuncts of happiness, estimated at their true worth; then, perhaps, an old affection revived; the temptation; the opportunity; the fall; the abasement;—and this, it was thought, was an Indian marriage. Such Indian marriages there have been—and such *English* marriages there have been. There has been a world of blooming youth—of pure affections—sacrificed ere now in all the countries of the earth—but, perhaps, these sacrifices are rarer, now-a-days, among the English in India, than among our brethren on any part of the globe.

Men marry earlier here than at home; and few are the marriages which are not at least marriages of *liking*. Very, very seldom is an old man seen standing at the altar with a youthful bride. There are more young couples to be seen in India than in the corresponding ranks of life at home; and not only do young ladies themselves, but their parents, or other guardians, seem well content, in these more reasonable times, with the prospect of increasing comfort and affluence, as years advance (even though there be some slight struggles at starting) which every Indian marriage seems to present. Perhaps, take them for all in all, these Indian marriages are productive of as much happiness, as matrimony, with its many blessings, can afford. There are evils almost inseparable from them, unknown at home; but there are privileges and immunities, too, unknown at home—and the balance is pretty equally struck. Constancy and affection are plants, which thrive as luxuriantly among us, as among our brethren in the West—and this, too, though in many instances the parties, before marriage, have had but small experience of the character and conduct of each other. The acquaintance, which leads to the contract, is often slight; and this considered, it appears strange that incompatibility, with all its attendant evils, does not more frequently overshadow the domestic life of the English in India; but in this country, husband and wife, being more dependent on each other for daily succour and daily comfort, sooner begin to assimilate in taste and feeling, and are more prone to compromises and concessions. Literally, we are more *domestic*. There is little, except business, to take us away from our homes; and a considerable number of business-men have their offices in their own houses. Men spend more time beneath their own roofs; and have fewer temptations to quit the family circle, even if they were not, as they almost invariably are, tied down to the circumference of a few miles as imperatively as though they were restrained by a tether. A man cannot, if he would, play the gad-about. He has no convenient bachelor

cousin in the country; no affectionate old aunt dying to see him at a smart watering place; no opportune client, whom he can suddenly find it necessary to visit in Scotland, about the third week of August; no neglectful or fraudulent commercial correspondent, who renders it advisable, in fine weather, to make a trip to Frankfort or the Hague; no obsequious medical friend to recommend a little sea air, just as an old college chum, who has come into his fortune, is about to start on a pleasant little yacht-cruise in the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Separation, when it comes, is enforced separation. Stern necessity brings it about. The wife is compelled by ill health to seek a more congenial climate; or the husband is ordered off, on active service. These separations are often painful in themselves; still more painful in their results. Did our limits suffer us, and did the nature of this article admit of such narrative digressions, we could produce many sad examples—not less painfully interesting than the most skilfully elaborated tales of fictitious adventure, which the ingenious novelist creates—of the misery resulting from this one great evil of enforced separation. Many a household wreck have the hills of Simlah and Mussoorie looked down upon, within these last few years; many the record of misery and guilt which might be inscribed in the huge dark volume of the Annals of Separation. And yet, deploring as we do the many sad cases of conjugal infidelity, which have occurred within our own recollection, we cannot admit that they are sufficiently numerous—or that the contagion is sufficiently wide-spread—to detract from the general character of Indian domestic life. Let the English reader, who may have heard some vague stories of the immorality of our northern hill stations, picture to himself a number of young married women, whose husbands are absent, perhaps, among the mountains of Affghanistan, perhaps on the sandy plains of Sindh—gathered together in a cool, invigorating climate, with nothing in the world to do but to enjoy themselves. Then imagine a number of idle bachelors, let loose "between musters" or perhaps on leave for several months at a stretch, from Loodhianah, Kurnaul, Meerut, &c.—gay, young military men, with no more urgent, and certainly no more pleasant occupation, than to dangle after the young married women—"grass widows" as they are called—in the absence of their husbands; to amuse the fair creatures, to assist them in the great work of killing time, and finally to win their affections. Is it possible to conceive a state of things more surely calculated to result in guilt and misery? —High moral principle has ere now fallen before temptation and opportunity; and many is the frail creature, possessing

no high principle, who would, but for these temptations, these opportunities, have retained her character as a faithful and affectionate wife, and in after years been a bright example to her children. The immorality, to which we are now alluding, has been the result of a peculiar combination of circumstances; and must not be regarded as a proof of anything ricketty and rotten in the entire fabric of Indian Society. We maintain, that that fabric is at least as sound, as that of society in England; that the domestic and social virtues are as diligently cultivated, whilst, perhaps, there is proportionably even more piety and more charity, than exists among our brethren at home—but we do not say that there are no occasional plague-spots to be seen on the face of Society in India.

Where there is flesh and blood there must be disease—moral as well as physical; we merely desire to claim for our brethren in the East at least as much merit on the score of religion, charity, and the domestic virtues, as is assigned to our friends in the West. In some respects, perhaps, the common social checks operate more forcibly in India than in England; because Society, though sufficiently extensive to erect itself into an important and much-dreaded tribunal, is not so extensive as to allow any member of it wholly to escape the observation of all around him. In London, the individual is lost among the thousands and thousands moving in the same rank of life, treading daily the same path, yet each man going about his own business, utterly regardless of the movements of his neighbour. He is but a particle of sand on the sea-shore; an atom in the enormous mass of humanity, constantly in motion over the immense surface of the metropolis. Thus a man may, in almost perfect security, frequent the worst haunts of vice; spend night after night in shameless debauchery; and yet lose no ground in society. No one has seen him; no one has marked his progress, but his sympathising companions. Here, every man, who occupies any fixed position in society, is sufficiently well-known by scores of his neighbours, to render it impossible for him to escape detection, if he pursues a course of open profligacy—and difficult to escape, even though he takes precaution to cloak the deformity of his vicious career. The character of almost every Englishman in India is accurately known to the society in which he moves. It is known whether he is a good or a bad husband; whether he is sober or intemperate; honest or dishonest; religious or irreligious; and although it is true, that some men occupying a high worldly station in society are courted in spite of their infirmities, perhaps there is no country in the world where religion and morality are really more

fully appreciated; and even these men high in station, whose rank and wealth cover a multitude of sins, are avoided by many, and secretly censured by almost all.

That there are still some men in the country, principally in remote stations, who have a Zenana attached to their establishment; that some few seek solace under the affliction of debt or the depressing influence of solitude, in the debasing excitement of noxious stimulant; that there are amongst us men, who at the billiard or at the whist table, sometimes spend all the long night and gamble for sums far exceeding their ability to pay; that acts of cruelty and dishonesty are occasionally still to be set down against the English in India; that we are not, in short, even at this advanced period, thoroughly bleached, is undeniably true. But in what country of the world is the morality of the English, or of any other people, as white as snow? There are drunkards and rogues; gamblers and keepers of mistresses; in London—Paris—Vienna—every where; more obtrusive and more shameless than in India. There is nothing, we say, in the amount of Indian immorality, to give us an unenviable notoriety. Nay, indeed, the balance fairly struck, the scale of our offences will rise. Are the English in India less domestic than their brethren at home?—Enter their houses at any hour of the day. Are they less temperate?—See them at their dinner-table. More dissipated?—Count the numbers, who are asleep an hour or two before midnight. Less charitable?—Read the long subscription-lists to be found in every public journal: count the number of institutions supported by private benevolence. Less religious?—Enter their churches, on sabbath-days—set down the numbers of families that meet, morning and evening, for domestic worship;—satisfy yourself, on all these points; and then let the answer be returned.

The subject of the progress of religious feeling among the English in India, we have but incidentally touched upon. It was our original intention to have given, considerably in detail, the result of our inquiries into a matter of so much interest and importance; but we soon found that the accumulation of our illustrative materials was such as to render it impossible to do justice to the subject, without extending the present article to an undue length. We, therefore, reserved the investigation for a future chapter; and contented ourselves with devoting the present to an imperfect exposition of the more prominent traits of external morality—the social characteristics of our countrymen in the East. In these the improvement, as we have shewn, is great and striking; the religious progress is, perhaps, a still brighter chapter in the history of the English in India.

ART. III.—*Thornton's History of India, Vol. V. London: W. H. Allen, and Co.*, 1844.

MR. THORNTON has just completed, in five volumes, the History of India, which he has been for some time publishing in separate parts. It brings the history of the Indian Empire down to the period of the new Charter, and embraces the whole of Lord William Bentinck's administration. How far it is like to prove the rival of Mill's, hitherto *the* History of British India, is a question of time, and cannot at present be determined with any degree of certainty. It has one claim to the patronage of those who have been and continue to be connected with the Government of India, which is entirely wanting in that celebrated work; it is wholly in the interest of the Court of Directors. We mention this as a fact, and not as a reproach. In the praise which Mr. Thornton is so fond of bestowing on our Honourable Masters, he has been actuated, we doubt not, by the conscientious conviction that they are incomparably the fittest instruments which could have been selected for the government of this vast Empire. And although we may not find in the present History, the same fascination of style, the same clearness of narrative, or the same deep philosophical views which give so great a value to Mill's History, it is still an advantage to possess a work on the same subject written with a bias in the opposite direction. As far, however, as we can venture to anticipate the judgment of the public, we are inclined to think, that the present work is not likely to supersede that of the elder historian, who has so long and so justly occupied the foremost place in public estimation. Those who have leisure for the persual of only one History will probably take up Mill, with or without the conservative comment by which Dr. Horace Wilson has endeavoured to neutralize the text. Those who have time to look into two historical works on the same subject, will take up Thornton, also in preference to Auber.

The great defect of Mill lies in the inveteracy of his prejudices against the administration of particular men, whom he appears to take a delight in dishonouring. These prejudices are insensibly communicated to the reader, by being mixed up in small particles with the representation of almost every event in which the obnoxious ruler took a share. It requires no ordinary effort, therefore, to divest the mind of these unfavorable impressions, and to obtain a true and unbiassed idea of these transactions. Thus, Mill's description of the conduct of Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley, three of the greatest men ever employed in building or consoli-

dating an empire, is very wide of the truth. It is scarcely more to be depended on than Hume's history of Charles the Second; and for the same reasons; partly from the strong personal bias of the historian, and partly from the want, at the time, of those documents without which it is difficult, if not impossible, to understand the real motives by which public men have been actuated. Since the publication of Mill's History, the private correspondence of these three illustrious statesmen has been laid before us, and we are enabled to understand the precise circumstances in which they were placed, the impulse under which they acted, and the object they hoped to accomplish in all those measures which have been so unsparingly censured. We have carefully looked into Mr. Thornton's work, to ascertain whether he has succeeded in avoiding the error into which Mill was betrayed by those honest antipathies which arose chiefly from imperfect information, and always leant to virtue's side; whether in treating of those actors on the great scene for whom he has no partiality, he has been careful to do justice to their motives; and we regret to have met only with the most mortifying disappointment.

We allude more particularly to the chapter which Mr. Thornton has devoted to the administration of Lord William Bentinck, and which is written with a singular contempt for that justice and impartiality without which no historian can be accepted as a safe and sure guide. Not only does Mr. Thornton appear to have entirely failed in appreciating the true character of an administration which forms an era in our Indian history;—for this, a grasp and comprehensiveness of mind was requisite the absence of which we can readily account for and forgive;—but his mind seems to be so completely filled with all the narrow prejudices in which men of little minds have indulged against his Lordship, that every transaction, which can affect his character, is exhibited through a distorted medium. Whatever was objectionable in an administration, crowded with important innovations, is magnified beyond its due proportions; while his great and beneficial acts are rarely alluded to, and when mentioned at all, are in almost every instance misrepresented. It is difficult to imagine a stronger contrast than the original of that administration presents to the picture which Mr. Thornton has drawn of it. One is tempted almost to imagine that he must have resigned his pen to some one who had experienced a personal rebuff from Lord William. Yet even the enemies of that nobleman in India, whose vanity he wounded, or whose personal interests he thwarted, never questioned his great personal ability, or the general merits of his administration, however they may have disapproved of those acts by which they or their friends

suffered. But here we have a writer aspiring to the lofty character of a historian, who, to the surprise equally of the late Governor-General's friends and enemies, refuses the smallest merit to his administration,—except in the matter of Suttees,—and who has the temerity to affirm, that he did less for the interest of India, and for his own reputation, than any other Governor-General, Sir George Barlow excepted; that if every act, but one, was covered with oblivion, his reputation would be no sufferer; and that, but for certain extravagances, his administration would appear almost a blank! And we are expected to receive this as a fair and unbiassed description of Lord William Bentinck's administration.

But not only is the narrative disfigured throughout with prejudices which destroy its value, it is rendered still more objectionable by the most palpable omissions. Many of the most important of those measures, which have given Lord William Bentinck's administration a living name in India, second only to that of Cornwallis, are passed over in total silence. If the abolition of Suttees is the most illustrious of his Lordship's acts, the introduction of natives to the public service, which has changed the character of our administration, and secured the attachment of the native community to our rule, is by far the most important, yet it is altogether omitted. And the omission is not occasioned by the necessity of condensing the transactions of the period into a small compass. Other events of infinitely less moment have so disproportionate a share of space allotted to them, as to lead us to suspect that Mr. Thornton is really ignorant of the relative importance of events, which is one of the first rudiments of historical science. The whole number of pages devoted to Lord William Bentinck's administration is *Sixty*. Of these, no fewer than eleven and a half are given to the brief and insignificant campaign which consigned the tyrant of Coorg to a prison, and absorbed his little kingdom in the British Empire. To the disputes between the King of Queda and Siam, which have scarcely a remote bearing on the History of India, and to which a daily paper would have begrudged a column, except as a subject of party strife, Mr. Thornton absolutely allots twelve pages and a half, although he could not find room to mention so important an event as the establishment of Singapore. And the little "tempest in a teapot" riot got up by Teetoo Meer, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, which was forgotten in less than a week, is discussed with all the solemnity of a grand historical event, and no fewer than four pages of reflections are devoted to this contemptible little affair.

The spirit of detraction which deprives this sketch of Lord

William Bentinck's administration of all historic value, and makes us regret, for the author's reputation, that it was ever published, is not confined to particular measures. It begins with the very first allusion to his Lordship's connection with the Governor-Generalship, and pervades every notice of subsequent transactions. Mr. Thornton opens the chapter by alluding to the difficulty of perfectly understanding the motives of public men, yet he presumes to have discovered the motives of Lord William Bentinck's conduct in every instance, and he pronounces them to be base and ignoble. Even of that bright and unsullied act of humanity, the abolition of Suttees, he can only say "*let it* 'be hoped, let it not be doubted, that he was actuated by higher 'and better motives." It is no easy task to restrain one's indignation at finding all the little prejudices of Leadenhall Street thus palmed on the public as a History of Lord William Bentinck's government. The circumstances connected with his appointment to the high office which he filled, with so much benefit to his own character and to the interests of India, are placed in the same unfavorable light as every other event of his administration. We are told that it arose from his 'restless hankering after oriental power;' that on Mr. Canning's sudden relinquishment of the office, Lord William Bentinck took the unusual step of offering himself as a candidate for it; a proceeding which, in Mr. Thornton's opinion, can scarcely be justified under any circumstances. It is abundantly true, not only that he solicited the office, and was particularly anxious to be placed at the head of the Indian Government, but that he considered his claims to this situation superior to those of any other candidate. When formerly Governor of Madras, he had devoted his active mind with great ardour to the study of Indian politics. He had made himself master of every subject connected with the internal economy and working of the government. He had sketched out many plans for the improvement of the administration. In his eagerness to carry those views into effect, and to prevent their being subverted by superior authority, he had in one instance, adopted the extraordinary step of quitting his own Presidency and proceeding to Calcutta. All these plans and prospects of usefulness were broken up by his sudden recall. Though conscious of having been most unjustly treated on that occasion, he did not feel with the less keenness the disgrace of his deposition. In his letters to his private friends in India, he repeatedly alluded to it as a calamity, which no consolations of philosophy could soften. In his public documents he distantly hints at that event as one which was still painfully fresh in his memory after the lapse of twenty-five years. He felt that some

reparation was due to him from the Court of Directors, for the injustice they had done him, more substantial than the mere expression of their regret that the recall was unfortunately irrevocable. He thought that reparation should be made by placing him in a position in which he might be enabled to wipe out the stigma which had been attached to his name, as one unworthy of public trust. He wished that the country which had been the scene of his undeserved humiliation, should also be the scene of his administrative triumphs. These considerations must be taken into full account, if we would form an accurate estimate of the motives which induced Lord William Bentinck to appear as a candidate for the office. They must be impartially weighed, before we pronounce that this personal solicitation was incompatible with a feeling of dignity and self-respect. To any but a jaundiced mind, this anxiety to efface the remembrance of his ignominious and unjust recall, by enjoying an opportunity of resuming his plans of Indian improvement, and conferring on the country the blessing of enlightened legislation and a liberal policy, will appear rather the impulse of a generous ambition than a "restless hankering after power."

To form a correct view of Lord William Bentinck's Indian career, it is necessary to take into account his recall from Madras, in which his political character was so deeply implicated, and which exerted so important an influence on his subsequent views and aspirations. We shall, we hope, be forgiven for entering somewhat minutely into the examination of this event; more especially as it is so very slightly noticed by Mr. Thornton and the little he does say, gives any thing but a just or satisfactory view of it. He says, "Lord William was removed from the Government of Fort St. George because his conduct was disapproved at home." We shall presently shew that the approval or disapproval of his conduct had little if any thing to do with his recall.

We are told at page 79, Volume Fourth, that after the Mutiny at Vellore, Sir John Cradock, the Commander in-Chief,

"Advised that the two regiments implicated in the mutiny should be expunged from the list of the army; Lord William Bentinck took a different view; but on this question the other members of Council agreed with the Commander-in-Chief. The former, however, attached so much importance to his own view of the question, as to determine to act on his own judgment and responsibility, in opposition to the opinion of the majority in council. It would appear incredible that a question regarding no higher or more momentous matter than the retention of the names of two regiments upon the army list, or their expulsion from it, could have been regarded as justifying the exercise of that extraordinary power vested in the Governor for extraordinary occasions, and for extraordinary occasions only, were not the

fact authenticated beyond the possibility of doubt. On his own responsibility Lord William Bentinck set aside the decision of the majority of the Council, and determined that the regiments in which the mutiny had occurred should remain on the list. In turn, the act by which the Governor of Fort St. George had set aside the opinion of his Council, was as unceremoniously annulled by the Supreme Government, who directed that the names of the guilty regiments should be struck out. The conduct of the Governor, in thus indiscreetly exercising the extraordinary power vested in him, was also disapproved at home. On some former occasion his policy had not commanded the entire approbation of the Council of Directors, and this act was followed by his Lordship's recall."

Mr. Thornton has not thought fit to give Lord W. Bentinck's reason for objecting to the expunction, which he ought in all fairness to have done, if he thought this was the main cause of his recall. Lord William said, that he thought such a step would only "serve to refresh for ever recollections which it was wisdom to endeavour to extinguish;" and if it be a fact that these numbers, though expunged, were soon after restored to the Army list, the soundness of his opinion is incontrovertibly established. But has Mr. Thornton so little regard for the public character of the Court of Directors, as to assert that they actually deposed and degraded the Governor of a Presidency, and inflicted on him such condign punishment as could be justified only by the most flagrant delinquencies, because on some former occasion his conduct had not "commanded their entire approbation," and on this occasion he and his Council had differed about the extinction or retention of the numbers of two mutinous regiments? But what are the real facts of the case? In March 1805, Sir John Cradock submitted to Lord William Bentinck and his Council, a proposal for the preparation of a Military Code, stating that he had it in contemplation only to reduce into one view the several orders already in force, and sanctioned by Government, and that if any slight alteration appeared necessary, or if it was found requisite to introduce a few rules of discipline or internal economy, such new matter would be distinguished in the manuscript, and submitted for the final approbation of Government. When the Code was presented, the new matter which required the attention of Government was specifically pointed out. The other part, consisting of the old and sanctioned regulations, was presented separate, in a hundred and fifty folio sheets. It was, therefore, to the additional rules alone that the attention of Government was drawn; and it was never suspected that the old rules contained any innovations at all. The tenth paragraph, however, contained a new rule, now introduced for the first time into the Code, to this effect:—"The Sepoys are required to appear on parade with their *chins clean shaved*, and the hair on

the upper lip cut *after the same pattern*, and never to wear the distinguishing mark of caste, or their earrings, when in uniform." A Turban of a new pattern was also ordered for the Sepoys.

These orders were carried into effect without the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck. They were received by the troops at first with apparent submission. But on the 6th or 7th of May, when the second battalion of the fourth regiment of Native Infantry stationed at Vellore was called to wear the new turban, its conduct was not only disorderly, but mutinous. The existence of this obnoxious order in the tenth paragraph was now for the first time made known to the Government of Madras, which bore the brunt of a measure of which it was not only innocent, but ignorant. The Commander-in-Chief ordered a Court of Enquiry to be held to report on the causes of these acts of insubordination. In the interim, all the non-commissioned officers, who refused to wear the turban, were reduced to the ranks, and the immediate adoption of that offensive head-dress was imperatively insisted on. Sir John Cradock's orders were, that disobedience should be followed by dismissal. The Court of Enquiry sentenced nineteen of the ringleaders to punishment, seventeen of whom were pardoned, and two sentenced to receive nine hundred lashes each. The evidence from all quarters was in favour of the turban, and it was declared by the natives that no religious prejudices existed against it. Subordination appeared to have been at length restored, and on the 4th of July the Commander-in-Chief sought the advice of Government on the expediency of revoking the turban order. The Governor in Council regretted the original adoption of the measure, but thought that the authority by which it had been so peremptorily enforced would be compromised by its recall. He proposed to issue a General Order to the native troops, that "no intention existed to introduce any change incompatible with the laws and usages of their religion." Unfortunately, this order was withheld from publication by the Commander-in-Chief, under the idea that the reports of disaffection he had received were exaggerated. Up to that time, the Government of Madras was entirely ignorant that any order had been issued regarding dress, excepting the order of the turban.

On the 10th of July the well-known mutiny at Vellore broke out. Fourteen officers, ninety-nine non-commissioned officers and privates were massacred, and fifteen others died of their wounds. Immediately after the massacre, Lord William Bentinck stated to Council that he had only been recently informed of the changes which had been made in the dress and appearance of the seapoys, independently of the new turban, and he proposed

to suspend the operation of the innovations forthwith. A special commission was appointed to inquire into the origin of the mutiny, when it appeared that the alterations in the dress of the seapoys, and the machinations of the Mysore Princes who had been indiscreetly allowed to reside at Vellore, were the leading causes of this sad catastrophe. The Court of Directors received the first intimation of the mutiny in a secret despatch from Madras on the 17th of February; and *within the week*, a motion was made for his recall, and a resolution was proposed of a highly criminatory character. The resolution was sent up to the Board of Control, who insisted upon its being modified. The following is the original resolution:—

"Resolved, that although the zeal and integrity of the present Governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of the Court's approbation: yet when they consider the unhappy events which have lately taken place at Vellore, and also other parts of his Lordship's administration which have come before them, the Court are of opinion, that it is expedient, for the restoration of confidence in the Company's Government, that Lord William Bentinck should be removed, and he is hereby removed, accordingly."

The Board softened it down to the following notification:—

"Though the zeal and integrity of our present Governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of our approbation, yet being of opinion that circumstances which have recently come under our consideration render it expedient, for the interest of our service, that a new arrangement of our Government of Fort St. George should take place without delay, we have felt ourselves under the necessity of determining that his Lordship should be removed; and we do hereby direct that Lord William Bentinck be removed accordingly."

Auber, in his history, states, that the original resolution was sent to Lord William Bentinck, but this is apparently a mistake. The vote of censure was passed by the Directors without affording his Lordship any opportunity of explaining or justifying his conduct. He was condemned and degraded unheard. The fact is, that when intelligence of the mutiny first reached England, the Court appears to have been in what is vulgarly called a "funk." We ask the indulgence of the patrician reader for the use of so ignoble an expression, but we are anxious to suit the meanness of the term to the meanness of the feeling. The Directors trembled for the fate of the Indian empire; and could think of no better mode of saving it from destruction than that of recalling the man who happened to be the Governor at the time. Having dismissed the Governor and the Commander in Chief, they thought no other measure necessary for the salvation of India. Indeed, no exertion at all was necessary on their part. Long before their despatch reached India, the wisdom and firmness of Lord

William Bentinck had averted the consequences of the mutiny, and completely restored public tranquillity.

On Lord William Bentinck's return to England, he addressed a spirited remonstrance to the Court, and demanded redress for the injuries he had suffered at their hands. This document and the Court's reply are too important to the merits of the question to be passed over, and we venture therefore to quote them at some length:—

"There are, gentlemen, occasions in which egotism is not vanity. I have a right to state my services, however humbly I may think of their deserts. The mutiny at Vellore cannot be attributed to me, directly or indirectly. I have been removed from my situation, and condemned as an accomplice, in measures with which I had no further concern than to obviate their ill consequences: my dismissal was effected in a manner harsh and mortifying; and the forms which custom has prescribed to soften the severity of a misfortune, at all events sufficiently severe, were on this single occasion violated, as if for the express purpose of deepening my disgrace. Whatever have been my errors, they surely have not merited a punishment, than which a heavier could hardly have been awarded to the most wretched incapacity, or the most criminal negligence. Under these circumstances, I present myself to your notice. I take it for granted, that the Court of Directors have been misinformed, and that to place the question before them in its true light, is to obtain redress. I have been severely injured in my character and feelings. For these injuries I ask reparation, if, indeed, any reparation can atone for feelings so deeply aggrieved, and a character so unjustly compromised in the eyes of the world. In complying with my demands, you will discharge, if I may venture to say so, what is due no less to your own honor than to mine.

The Court, on the 25th July, 1809, Resolved,—"That under the impressions universally entertained, both in India and in Europe, at the breaking out of the Vellore mutiny, that it was occasioned by the wanton or needless violation of the religious usages of the natives, an opinion considerably sanctioned by the Supreme Government of Bengal and even countenanced by the first despatches of the Fort St. George presidency; and under the impressions, then also general, of the dangers to which the Company's interests were exposed, of the necessity of a change in the chief officers of Civil and Military command, as well to vindicate the national respect for the religious usages of our native subjects, as to make a sacrifice to their violated rights, to restore public confidence, and relieve the executive body of the Company, with whom so much responsibility rested, from the anxiety and apprehensions occasioned by so unexampled and alarming a calamity, it became natural and expedient for them to remove Lord William Bentinck from the government, and Sir John Cradock from the command of the army of Fort St. George. And although, from the explanations that have since been given by those personages respectively, and from the further evidences which have come before the Court, it appears that the orders in question were far from being intended by the members of the Madras Government to trench in the least upon the religious tenets of the natives, and did not in reality infringe them, although the uninformed sepoys were led at length to believe that they did, yet the effects produced having been so disastrous, and associated in the native mind with the administration of the then Governor and Commander-in-Chief; and those officers besides having in the judgment of the Court been defective in not examining with

greater caution and care into the real sentiments and dispositions of the sepoys, before they proceeded to enforce the orders for the turban, the Court must still lament, that as in proceeding to a change in the Madras Government they yielded with regret to imperious circumstances; so though they have the pleasure to find the charges originally advanced against the conduct of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, respecting the violations of caste, to have been in the sense then attached to them, misapplied and defective, also in general vigilance and intelligence, yet that as the misfortunes which happened in their administration placed their fate under the government of public events and opinions which the Court could not control, so it is not now in their power to alter the effects of them.

Resolved,—That in considering the general character and conduct of Lord William Bentinck, in the presidency of Madras, the Court view with peculiar regret the unfortunate events which happened in the time of his admistration, and which, from their unexampled alarming nature and vast impression upon the general mind both in India and Europe, with the baneful consequences apprehended from them, appeared to call instantly for such measures as should best satisfy the then state of public opinion, and seem most likely to restore public confidence and tranquillity; events which had the principal share in dictating those changes which removed him from the Government of Fort St. George, and suggested also that the change should be immediate. But in the abruptness of the order of removal the Court meant no personal disrespect to Lord William Bentinck, and extremely regret that his feelings have been wounded by his considering it in that light. They lament that it should have been his fate to have this public situation decided by a crisis of such difficulty and danger as it has been the lot of very few public men to encounter; a crisis which they have since been happy to find was not produced by intended or actual violations of caste, as they are now satisfied that Lord William Bentinck had no share in originating the orders which for a time bore that character, and, by the machinations of enemies working upon the ignorance and prejudices of the sepoys, were by them believed to be such violations. The Court cannot but regret, that as the reality of this belief would have been a sufficient motive for rescinding the order respecting the use of a new turban, which might have had the most beneficial effects, greater care and caution were not exercised in examining into the real sentiments and dispositions of the sepoys, before measures of severity were adopted to enforce that order. But in all the measures of moderation, clemency, and consideration, recommended by Lord William Bentinck after the mutiny, the Court, though not exactly agreeing with him in the data from which he reasoned give him unqualified praise; and though the unfortunate events which separated Lord William Bentinck from the service of the Company cannot be recalled, yet the Court are happy to bear testimony to the uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal, respect to the system of the Company, and, in many instances, success with which he acted in the government of Fort St. George, and to express their best wishes that his valuable qualities and honorable character may be employed, as they deserve, for the benefit of his country."

Lord William's plain, simple, energetic remonstrance presents a noble contrast to the laboured and contradictory reply of the Directors. They tell him that there was a universal impression in India and Europe that the Vellore mutiny arose from a wanton and needless violation of the religious usages of the Natives —yet in the course of the letter confess that they were "now

satisfied that Lord William Bentinck had no share in that measure." They say, that to vindicate the national respect for the religious usages of their Native subjects, and to make a sacrifice to their violated rights, to restore public confidence, and to relieve the executive body of the Company with whom so much responsibility rested, from the *anxiety* and *apprehension* occasioned by so unexampled and alarming a calamity,—here we have the true cause of the recall—it became natural and expedient for them to remove Lord William Bentinck and the Commander-in-Chief. They then proceed to state, that they had discovered from subsequent evidence, that those orders were not intended to trench on the religious tenets of the people, and *did not in reality infringe them;* and that Lord W. Bentinck was innocent of all participation in these orders, and that the charges originally advanced against the conduct of the Governor (by whom?) had been found, in the sense then attached to them, misapplied and defective, and that the charge of want of vigilance and intelligence was equally defective—still "as the misfortunes which happened in Lord William's administration, placed his fate under the government of public events and opinions, which the Court could not control, so it is not now in their power to alter the effect of them." In other words, the administration had been unlucky, and an expiatory victim was wanted. The Romans, in such circumstances, would probably have created a Dictator to drive in a nail, or have directed the priests to perform a sacrifice and appease the gods. The Directors sacrificed the unfortunate Governor, under whose administration the calamity had occurred. And it is difficult to discover whether Roman folly or British injustice is most deserving of censure. Such is the true character of this transaction. The Court distinctly acquitted Lord William Bentinck of all share in an event, for which they had previously inflicted on him the heaviest punishment in their power. If Mr. Thornton aspires to the character of an impartial historian, why does he omit to mention these circumstances? why does he harp on Lord William Bentinck's *errors* at Madras? why does he continue to leave the reader to infer that the recall fixed a stigma on his reputation, when it covered no one with disgrace but those who had so hastily ordered it?

We now return to Mr. Thornton's narrative.—After having dismissed the political and diplomatic measures of Lord William Bentinck's peaceful administration, he proceeds to discuss the internal arrangements which he made; and places in the foreground the retrenchment of expence, which "may be regarded as the most peculiar if not the most striking feature of policy

which marked the period under review." He then proceeds to trace the causes which "combined to impose on the Indian 'Government the observance of all practicable frugality," which were various. "The profuse expenditure of Mr. Pitt's administration was no longer countenanced either by official practise or public approbation." "Opinion on almost every question had taken a turn," and "even the necessary and unavoidable 'expenses of the state were yielded grudgingly." "Retrench-'ment and reform had become fashionable,—and the Ministry 'for the time being will generally be the advocates of the doc-'trines of the day." It would be difficult to discover any connection between these European opinions and the retrenchments which were made in this country. Our frugality in India arose from local and not from foreign causes. After two pages of such irrelevant remarks, Mr. Thornton approaches the point, and says, "but at this time there was a special cause in opera-'tion, prompting frugality in the management of the Indian 'finances—the pressure to which, from the state of circum-'stances, they were subjected. Great expences had been in-'curred, and the usual consequence had followed, that much 'difficulty was found in meeting them. Under a sense of this 'difficulty, new measures of retrenchment were thought to be 'demanded." This is neither a clear nor a satisfactory view of the case. Lord Hastings left the country with a full treasury, and a surplus revenue. Lord Amherst plunged into the Burmese war, and expended twelve millions sterling on it, and not only absorbed all the savings of the previous administration, but added no small amount to the public debt. In the middle of 1828, two years and a half after the extraordinary disbursement of the war had ceased, the annual expenditure exceeded the annual income by *one million sterling*. Government was rapidly moving down the inclined plane into the gulf of bankruptcy. It was not merely *thought* that measures of economy were demanded; the demand presented itself to his Lordship in the form of an imperious and inevitable necessity. He felt that a Government which was obliged to borrow a million a year for its ordinary expenditure, could not advantageously perform the duties of administration, and must soon cease to exist; and he made it the first business of his rule to bring the public charge within the limits of the public income. This is the plain common-sense view of his economical reforms. He adopted a system of frugality, not because it was fashionable or popular—for in India it was neither—but because it was necessary. He acted as every Governor-General in similar circumstances is bound to act, and the propriety of his measures is abundantly vindicated, if any vindication be ne-

cessary, by the conduct of his successors. He succeeded in restoring the equilibrium of the finances. He did more, he provided for a gradual accumulation of revenue. In the days of his successor that surplus was again absorbed in war, and the treasure which he amassed was sent across the Indus, and distributed through Affghanistan, and a few millions were added to the public debt, and the annual balance was again established on the wrong side of the account. Thus the Indian Government for the last quarter of a century has been going the same round of alternate profusion and frugality; and the same duty has devolved on Lord Auckland's successors which fell on Lord William Bentinck, that of reducing the public expenditure to a correspondence with the income of the state.

Among these measures of expenditure, Mr. Thornton assigns the first place to the Half-Batta Order, which from the resistance it encountered has obtained a prominent place in our Indian annals. He enters into a long history of this order, from which we gather, that it had been a favorite measure with the Court of Directors for fourteen years, during which time they had twice endeavored to enforce this peddling retrenchment on the Government of India, and been twice baffled by the remonstrances of their Governors-General. But their determination to enforce it appears only to have gained strength from disappointment, and the reasons urged against this measure only made them more obstinate in pursuing it. A period at length arrived, for the first time since the half-batta mania had possessed them, in which a revision of the public establishments became necessary, and they determined not to lose the opportunity of forcing their beloved measure. It has been affirmed by those who consider a hatred of Lord William Bentinck a substitute for obeying the decalogue, that he took office on the express condition of carrying out this obnoxious measure; that he purchased the Governor-Generalship by engaging to sacrifice the army. No idea can be more utterly groundless. It is questionable whether he had any idea of the existence of the order before he assumed the Government; it appears to have reached him for the first time at the Council Chamber. Mr. Thornton says, "a Governor-General was at length found ready to perform that from which his two predecessors had shrunk." A little farther on he remarks: —"In this case Lord William was indeed a mere instrument, but as he did not at all times exhibit a like measure of docility, it may be presumed that he was desirous of effacing the recollection of former errors by a signal manifestation of obedience. With regard to orders of such long standing, orders which had been so fully discussed and often repeated, there could be little hope of

changing the purposes of the home authorities by any fresh array of argument; but as diffidence of his own judgment was not among the weaknesses of the Governor-General, it is probable that this consideration weighed little in determining his course." How, after this display of ungenerous prejudice against the memory of a great man, can Mr. Thornton expect to be accepted as an honest guide to the History of India? Why, instead of indulging in all these detracting presumptions and probabilities, did he not evince his manliness by at once quoting the reasons assigned by Lord William Bentinck himself, which he might have seen, if he had chosen, by turning to Auber. "I have done my duty, and this conviction, as I know from dreadfully dear-bought experience, is the only consolation that defies all contingencies. I trust, however, that the Court will support their servant, who, upon principle alone, had deemed obedience to be a paramount duty under the given circumstances. In a new case, I shall always assume the utmost latitude of direction: but where a whole case has been more than once under consideration and returned for execution, I shall obey the orders: the responsibility does not rest with me." It must be evident, that if the orders of the Court of Directors are to be unceremoniously set aside, after they have been twice referred back to England, and twice confirmed, that body ceases to govern India. As to the sneer that Lord William Bentinck did not exhibit a like measure of docility at all times, Mr. Thornton ought not to have been ignorant that he invariably yielded the same scrupulous obedience to those above him, which he exacted from those below him. He ought to have known that he had no "former errors" to expiate, for the Court had fully and honorably acquitted him of all share in the calamity which was the occasion of his recall, except the accidental guilt of having been in the Governor's chair at the time. He ought not to have been ignorant that the certainty that no change could be effected in the minds of the Court by a third remonstrance, was sufficient reason with so practical a man as Lord William Bentinck for carrying the order into execution.

The next subject on which Mr. Thornton touches is the injury inflicted on the Civil Service by Lord William Bentinck's economy. "His Lordship had come to India as a reformer, and 'his zeal was quickened by repeated exhortations to economy from 'home. The Civil Service received the benefit of his Lordship's 'regulating hand, and if the amount of savings he was able to 'effect were small, his enemies cannot deny that the amount of 'change was considerable, or that the seeds of disorder were so 'liberally distributed as to ensure an abundant harvest through

'successive years." The "seeds of disorder so liberally distri-'buted," we shall look after presently. Our business now is with the economical reforms, which Lord William Bentinck introduced in reference to the pay and allowances of the Civil Service, and to which Mr. Thornton has devoted four pages and a half. We have read them through three times, with much attention, without being able to discover the fact which he intends to establish or exemplify. Perhaps the reader will be more successful; he will find them extending from page 228, volume fifth, to page 233. All we can gather from them is a general idea that his object is to censure Lord William Bentinck for disturbing the allowances of the Civil Service. The following is the clearest portion of the remarks:

"Whoever will take the trouble of making the requisite observation will observe, that on this, as on many other subjects, opinion, in a course of years, exhibits an alteration of ebb and flow. At one time the servants of Government are scarcely deemed worthy of remuneration exceeding that of the most ordinary labour. At another, abuses the most palpable and scandalous are permitted to exist without giving rise to the slightest alarm..... When adverse circumstances arise it is deemed extravagant to satisfy the claims even of justice and necessity. At such seasons the salaries of public servants are looked to, as a certain course of relief, and reduction is justified by reference to the public finances."

The chief exception, which we know, to this reasonable rule of regulating the salaries of public servants by the funds from which they are to be paid, is furnished by the allowances of the Civil Service of this Presidency. From the days when Lord Cornwallis hit upon the expedient of securing official honesty among Europeans by high official pay (he expected to obtain the same virtue from the natives by an opposite process) to the days of Lord William Bentinck—that is, during thirty-five years, the only two things that experienced no diminution were, the public debt and the pay of the Civilians. Even at the time when the existence of the empire appeared to hang in suspense, and Government was constrained to borrow money at twelve per cent., the salaries of the Civilians remained untouched. Nay, the only allowances which steadily followed the rule of arithmetical progression, through good fortune and through evil fortune, down to the days of Lord William Bentinck, were those of the Civil Service. Mr. Thornton has the rashness to assert, that the offices which were highly paid required great ability as well as experience, and were attended with great responsibility. If he refers, as we believe he must do, to the days before Lord William Bentinck, his reading is deficient. For a considerable period of time before his Lordship's reform commenced, the most highly paid offices were held, with some

brilliant exceptions by some of the merest dolts in India, by men below the average intellect of the service; and these offices involved the fewest responsibilities. The demands on the time of these well-paid functionaries scarcely extended, on the average, beyond two hours a day. We of course except the Members of the Supreme Council. Is Mr. Thornton really ignorant that the lazy leisure of an Opium Agent,—we are speaking of the past not the present—was rewarded with an income of £7500, a larger sum than the Prime Minister received for governing England, or the President for ruling the United States. Lord William Bentinck, finding the state sinking deeper in debt, reformed these extravagancies, and reduced the income of the Opium Agents and Salt Agents, to the same scanty measure which the President of the Board of Control received, or £5000 a-year. But what was the general result of those tremendous reductions to which Mr. Thornton devotes four pages and a half? Lord William Bentinck found the Civil Service of Bengal in the enjoyment of an aggregate income of *Ninety-seven lakhs, and forty-seven thousand* Rupees a year, and he reduced it to *Ninety-one lakhs thirteen thousand* Rupees. He still left the Civil Service the highest paid service the world has ever seen, with more than *Ninety lakhs* to be divided among Four hundred and sixteen men. After all those distressing reductions, he still left each Civilian, from the Writer to the Member of Council, on an average, the sum of 2200 Pounds Sterling a year. Was there ever so iniquitous and levelling a reformer?

Mr. Thornton proceeds to say:—

"It was not in financial affairs only that Lord William Bentinck was anxious to appear in the character of a reformer. Under pretence of improving the character of the civil service and providing for the advancement of merit, he sought to establish a system of universal espionage, better suited to the bureau of the holy office of the Inquisition, than to the closet of a statesman, anxious to be regarded as the representative of all that was liberal. Every superior officer, court and board, was required to make periodical reports on the character and conduct of every convenanted servant employed in a subordinate capacity. Like most of his Lordship's projects this plan met neither with approbation nor success, and it was soon abolished."

These remarks refer to the celebrated "merit-fostering minute," which by placing the members of the Civil Service under the same system of "universal espionage," which had long been in full operation in the Military branch of the service, and constraining the Civil functionaries to make the same report of the conduct and character of their subordinates, which the Commander of a Regiment was required to make yearly regarding

the Officers under him, gave so much umbrage to the drones and the "bahadoors" of the service. This order was generally understood to have been suggested by Mr. Mangles, by whom the draft was prepared. The object was to detect and correct negligencies, to bring the merits and demerits of the members of the service periodically under the eye of those to whom the distribution of its patronage was entrusted, and to counteract that relaxation of discipline and vigor which had crept into it. We trace the germ of this order in the following remarks of Lord William Bentinck: "The Government of the Bengal Presi-'dency, containing about fifty millions of people, is intrusted to 'about 400 individuals, not selected by any reference to qualifica-'tions, subjected hitherto to no subsequent weeding, exposed to a 'climate unfavorable to the European constitution, and particularly 'adverse to mental and bodily activity; not roused to exertion by 'the ordinary stimulus of competition; neither checked nor en-'couraged (except partially in the Lower Provinces, where the 'Press and the residence of Europeans have some small influence) 'by public opinion; and from the vast extent of our territories, 'placed, for the most part, at so remote a distance from the seat 'of Government, as to render the control and superintendence of 'official authority utterly inefficient and inadequate. I mention 'these circumstances with no desire to disparage the Civil Service, 'because it may be, I believe, boldly and confidently asserted, that 'no part of His Majesty's Colonial possessions is as well adminis-'tered as that of the East India Company: I state them as facts 'and truths, always to be borne in mind, and strongly enforcing 'the necessity of devising every possible contrivance by which 'the internal defects of this foreign agency, in an uncongenial 'climate, can be corrected and improved."

Of the necessity of some arrangement, which should render official control and superintendence more effectual, there can be no question. We think it may be affirmed without any breach of charity, that at the period of Lord William Bentinck's arrival, the Civil Service required the hand of a vigorous reformer. With many bright exceptions of zeal and industry, as a body, it was marked by a growing inefficiency. Idleness and neglect of duty had almost ceased to be the exception; no "moral turpitude was 'attached to such misconduct, and it entailed no dishonor in the 'estimation" of a body which stood too much on the privileges of its "order," and had become far too independent of the controlling authorities of the state. To illustrate this observation by a reference to individual instances of delinquency, must be a delicate and invidious task; we will therefore confine our allusions to those cases, the mention of which can no longer wound the

feelings of the living. One Judge of Circuit was known to have decided his cases by a foot rule; the party, who presented the longest document, was supposed to have most justice on his side, and obtained a decree in his favor. Another Judge was known to apply his ruler rather too often to the heads of the Vakeels, and to fine them for contempt of Court, when they ventured to quote a Regulation in opposition to his views, or rather those of his native master. One Magistrate, rather over fond of the chace, was in the habit of dragging his whole Court, suitors, witnesses and officers, with him for many days, when he went into the wilderness in search of the wild beasts. One of the Civil Judges held his Court on his budgerow, in his night-shirt and trowsers. A Judge and Magistrate in the North West shut up his Court for his own amusement for several weeks, and the Court of Circuit, that refuge of the destitute, never reported the case to Government. It was indispensable, therefore, that the agents employed in the Civil administration, should not only be rendered more diligent, but should also be brought into a state of greater subordination to the higher authorities; and Lord William Bentinck undertook the ungracious duty, and thereby incurred a degree of odium, which those who were not in India at the time, will find it difficult to credit. We will offer one instance, out of many that we could adduce, of the intensity of this feeling. One of the oldest members of the service, who had been in the habit of covering the path between his door and the gate with carpets for his carriage to pass over, who, though only a Judge of Circuit, never moved out without a richly mounted guard, on being asked whether he was not related to Lady William, replied, "No; unfortunately, to the 'brute himself." But though his Lordship excited these intense prejudices, he was undoubtedly the best friend the Civil Service ever had in India. By his timely and judicious reforms, he saved it from a more sweeping reform at the renewal of the Charter. There is every reason to believe that but for the new principles of vigor he infused into it, and the system of strict control and subordination which he introduced, the indolence, negligence, and inefficiency of a large proportion of its members would have been forced on the notice of Parliament, when the whole Indian question was reviewed in 1833, and seriously affected the position and prospects of the service. It was Lord William Bentinck who laid the foundation of that state of efficiency which it has now attained, and which presents almost as striking a contrast to its condition at the time of his arrival, as its state at that period did to its state in the time of Hastings, who found it so difficult to persuade a Civilian to accept office on 4000 Rs. a-year at the

presidency, when he could make a lakh of Rupees a-year in the interior by the judicious influence of his power.—Mr. Thornton is incorrect in saying that the Merit-fostering order was soon abolished. Under a modified form it is still in force, and contributes in no small degree to the exercise of a wise and salutary control over the public servants.

The last allusion we shall notice refers to the abolition of flogging in the native army. We believe this measure is generally considered injudicious by those who are most competent to judge of its results, and that Lord Bentinck himself, on maturer reflection, after his arrival in Europe, thought that, taking the opposition the measure had encountered, and all interests and prepossessions into consideration, a modified, or graduated, would have been preferable to a total and prompt abolition. On reaching England, the King directed a letter to be addressed to him, requesting an explanation of this measure. His reply was sent through the channel of the Board of Control, and furnished a full representation of the motives which had induced him to adopt it. On visiting the Continent, he renewed his acquaintance with Louis Phillippe, whom he had intimately known, and assisted in the days of his adversity, and who gave him the most cordial reception. The subject of this abolition was freely canvassed in the royal and military circles of Paris, and the result which the agitation of it produced on Lord William Bentinck's mind was, that the use of corporal punishment could not be safely abolished in European armies, and that the advantage of abolishing it among native troops, was not without its abatements. Mr. Thornton, as usual, finds some ignoble motive for this innovation. He insinuates that the certainty that no inconvenience which it might occasion would be encountered by his Lordship, who was on the eve of quitting India, was one of the leading motives of this order, and asserts that he bade high for popularity by the abolition. But when we find Mr. Thornton in doubt as to the purity of the motives which led his Lordship to abolish the burning of widows, it would be unreasonable to expect that his motive should meet with any consideration in a question of doubtful policy. However mistaken Lord William may have been in his views on this occasion, we will venture to assert that the purity of his motives was unquestionable. He was anxious to mitigate the severity of corporal punishment in the native army, more particularly at the Madras Presidency. In Bengal, these inflictions were mild and few; but at the sister Presidency they were not only frequent but excessive, as the reader will have already learned from the remark, that two of the Vellore mutineers were sen-

tenced to receive nine hundred lashes a-piece. It was a leading principle with his Lordship, to make the hope of reward, and not the dread of punishment, the incentive to good conduct, and to substitute moral for physical motives. The abolition of corporal punishment was therefore accompanied with proposals for instituting an Order of Merit among the native soldiery, and for the bestowal of rewards which might operate as a stimulus to meritorious exertions. He was anxious by these means to raise the sepoy in his own estimation, and to impart a higher character to the native army; and all his plans have subsequently been carried into full effect.

We have thus gone through the very meagre notice of Lord William Bentinck's administration, which Mr. Thornton has thought it sufficient to give, and have endeavoured to redeem the few measures he has noticed from the unjust obloquy cast upon them. We now enter upon a far more agreeable task. We shall endeavour to supply those omissions for which the History of India, now under review, is even more remarkable than for its prejudices, and to furnish a brief epitome of those measures which have secured for Lord William Bentinck's administration the applause of the wise and the good among his countrymen, and the gratitude of the natives of India.

The organic changes which were made in the internal economy of the government, during his Lordship's incumbency, form the most distinguishing feature of his administration; and his reputation as a statesman will stand or fall, as they are found to be adapted to the exigencies of the times, or the reverse. His administration constitutes a new era in the history of our Indian institutions. The modifications which had been previously made from time to time, on the spur of necessity, in the system established by Lord Cornwallis, with one or two exceptions, were altogether insignificant, in comparison with the alteration in the whole structure of the Government, made under Lord William's auspices. The experience of forty years had revealed many imperfections in the system, which yet did such credit to the talents and benevolence of the former illustrious statesman. In that long period, a great change had been silently effected in the character both of the European servants of the state, and of the natives themselves; and institutions which might appear adapted to the circumstances of 1790, were found unsuited to those of 1830. It became necessary to reconstruct some of the departments of public business, in order to give them greater simplicity and greater efficiency. Lord William Bentinck arrived in India in a time of profound tranquillity, when there was sufficient leisure for the calm consideration of those changes which

time, the great innovator, had rendered imperative. He had the benefit of his former experience, in the management of an Indian Presidency, at Madras. He had also the advantage of his experience in the island of Sicily, where he had introduced a system of government half a century in advance of the stage of civilization which the community had attained, and which failed from inevitable necessity. He had also the inestimable advice of three of the most eminent men, whose services India has ever enjoyed—W. B. Bayley, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Holt Mackenzie. With the advantage of this double experience and this invaluable aid, Lord William Bentinck sat down to the examination of our local institutions, and introduced reformations, the effect of which will long continue to be felt in India. Mr. Thornton touches upon no innovation—the burning of widows excepted—which he cannot find an excuse for censuring, and he passes a sweeping sentence of condemnation on the whole administration.—"Lord William Bentinck's enemies cannot deny that the amount of change was considerable, or that the seeds of change were so liberally distributed as to ensure an abundant harvest through many succeeding years.....He viewed nothing that existed with satisfaction, and although the short period of service usually enjoyed by the occupants of his high office did not enable him to change every thing, he made abundant use of the time and opportunities of which he was master.....His readiness to pull down commanded the approbation of those who think destruction the greatest effort of human talent, but his attempts at construction for permanent use entirely failed." These failures we shall now endeavor to trace.

One of the earliest objects which attracted his attention was the existence of only one Court of final appeal for the whole Presidency, planted at the distant extremity of the provinces which composed it. The inhabitants of Delhi, before they could reach the Court in which they might obtain redress for the partiality, ignorance, or injustice of local tribunals, had a thousand miles to traverse, and a climate to encounter, as different from their own as the climate of Scandinavia from that of Spain. His Lordship felt that this arrangement was not only calculated to produce disgust with our legal institutions among the high-spirited natives of the North West Provinces, but that it was tantamount to an absolute denial of justice. He therefore separated the Presidency into two divisions, and established a Court of Appeal at Allahabad; by which a more proximate and more efficient control was established over the local judicatories, in those provinces which had been previously without any supervision whatever, and eminent facilities of appeal were afforded to the inhabitants of the North

West Provinces, who exceed in number the inhabitants of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Before Mr. Thornton pronounces the administration of Lord William a blank, let him consult the opinion of the natives in the Upper Provinces.

Upon the same principle of public convenience, not less than of benefit to the interests of the state, his Lordship established a Revenue Board at Allahabad; but his deference for the Court of Directors led him to denominate it a Deputation of the Calcutta Board, until it should receive their approbation. And although Mr. Thornton says, that his attempts at construction for permanent use entirely failed, yet the new Board was confirmed by the Court, and is in existence at this day; and the abolition of it would be regarded as an act of insanity. The object proposed by the institution of the Board, was to place the controlling authority of the fiscal interests of a vast population in the centre of the provinces, and thus to prevent the inconvenience of a reference, on every revenue question, to a Board a thousand miles off. But a farther object in view was the establishment of a body on the spot, competent to superintend the settlement in the North West Provinces, which Lord William Bentinck was resolved to put in a train of completion. Mr. Thornton does not condescend to mention this all-important proceeding, in which the welfare of thirty millions of people was intimately bound up. We must supply the blank which his prejudice has created.

When the Provinces, which now form the North West Presidency, were originally obtained by conquest or cession, forty years ago, the Lieutenant-Governor, in a Proclamation dated in 1802, engaged, that a permanent settlement of the land revenue should be formed with the landed proprietors, at the end of ten years. The Court of Directors, who had been sufficiently disgusted with Lord Cornwallis's premature and irreversible settlement, lost no time in disavowing the engagement, and directed that quinquennial leases only should be granted, till a complete survey and valuation of the land had been effected. No provision was made for this survey and valuation; and the quinquennial settlements were found to be the bane of the province. They not only prevented any improvement of the land, but made it the interest of the land-holders to conceal, if not to retard the development of its resources; to close rather than to open the wells on which the fertility of the soil depended, and to exhibit their estates in a deteriorated condition. At the end of twenty years it was found that agricultural improvement, if it had not gone back, had at least stood still. The poverty of the landed interest, who had no motive for exertion, produced a reaction on the public revenue. Government was at length

roused from its apathy, and determined on the most energetic efforts to obtain a faithful survey and valuation of the lands, with the view to a more extended settlement; and the celebrated Regulation VII. of 1822, sprang into being. But unfortunately it was incumbered with so many details, and demanded such minute accuracy in the survey of the land, that the application of it to any practical purpose was, from its very origin, hopeless. The resolution of Government on this occasion, which ran out to the exorbitant number of three hundred and seventy-eight paragraphs, did not accelerate the execution of the enactment. It was unfortunate in its very cradle. *Eighteen* months elapsed between the passing of the law and the receipt of the Persian translation in the Territorial department. When the Regulation came to be acted on, one Collector asked three years to apply it to the survey and assessment of lands yielding a revenue of 15,000 Rupees a year. It was passed in 1822; in 1826, its parent, Mr. Holt Makenzie, reported that the advance of the settlement was inconsiderable. In 1830, when the Board of Revenue was asked what progress had been made, they said they knew nothing at all about the matter. In the mean time the curse of quinquennial settlements continued without abatement. It appeared utterly hopeless that the settlement of the North-West Provinces could be completed under this arrangement, by the existing, or even the succeeding generation. Lord William, contemplating this deplorable state of things, recorded his opinion that the "improvement of the country was thus indefinitely retarded, and the resources of the state materially deteriorated;" and he resolved at once to adopt the most vigorous measures to secure the accomplishment of the object. In 1831, he made a progress through the North West Provinces, chiefly with the view of ascertaining the cause which had retarded the settlement, and the means by which it might be expedited. He considered the scientific survey and valuation of the land of one-half the Presidency, with a view to the grant of long leases, to be an object second to none in importance. He brought all the resources of his powerful mind and his rich experience to bear upon the consideration of it: he invited the revenue officers, as he moved up the country, freely to communicate their views on the subject; and having at length collected all the information within his reach, established that arrangement which in the course of eight years brought the settlement to a close. Its early completion is owing to the zeal and energy with which Mr. Robert Mertins Bird carried his Lordship's views into effect. The settlement itself has afforded abundant scope for the cavilling of little minds. It has been attacked both in its prin-

ciple and its details. It is impossible that a measure of so vast and comprehensive a character should not present some weak points for the gratification of the captious. It will be fully conceded that in the determination of rights with which it was accompanied, some individual act of injustice may have been committed; and that in some instances the assessment may have been fixed too high; but, taken as a whole, it is the grandest fiscal achievement of our dynasty. It is a work which, with all its defects, has conferred the most indisputable blessings on thirty millions of people. It has defined their individual rights, which were the subject of perpetual collision: it has fixed and recorded the boundaries of estates, and cut off one of the most prolific sources of litigation. It has enabled Government to grant long leases, and thus to offer the strongest incentive to the improvement of the land. At the end of two hundred and fifty years, the reign of Akbar is remembered with gratitude, not for the magnificence of his conquests, but for the blessing he conferred on the country by his great settlement of landed tenures. At the end of two hundred and fifty years, the obligation due to Lord William Bentinck as the moving cause, and to Mr. Bird as the instrument, of the noble settlement of the North West Provinces, will not be forgotten.

At the period of his Lordship's arrival in India, the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit had subsisted for nearly forty years. To his Lordship belongs the merit of having extinguished them. It would be difficult to imagine a more cumbrous machine for the administration of civil and criminal justice, or one by which the two great objects of a Court, the cheap and the early decision of suits, were more effectually baffled. In the civil department, their decisions furnished no clear precedent for the guidance of the lower Courts. Their judicial reputation was extremely contemptible. They were in fact as Lord William aptly described them, "the resting place for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities." But it was chiefly in reference to criminal justice, that these Circuit Courts were felt to be a heavy incubus on our judicial institutions. They proceeded, once in every six months, to hold the Session and Jail delivery in each district; and the prosecutor and the witnesses were detained many months waiting their arrival. The intolerable grievance of thus separating a large body of innocent men, for a long period, from their families and the means of subsistence, requires no comment. The prisoner was equally consigned to a prolonged imprisonment before his trial, and, in every instance in which he was guiltless, was subjected to a glaring injustice. The very name of justice was made

to stink in the nostrils of the people; and the concealment of crime, being thus rendered indispensable to self-preservation, lost all its turpitude. Lord William Bentinck determined to break up this venerable and useless system. He entrusted the Sessions in the first instance to certain Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit appointed by him, who were directed to hold a jail-delivery every quarter; and when the discharge of their judicial functions was found to be incompatible with their fiscal duties, the system of improvement was completed, by transferring the charge of the Session to the Judge of the district, and directing him to hold a *monthly* jail-delivery. If the limitation of the Sessions, in the Supreme Court, to the number of four during the year, has been found injurious to the cause of justice, and unjust to all those who are involuntarily involved in criminal suits, the half-yearly session must have been infinitely more injurious to the interests of society. And if the recent establishment of seven Sessions in the Queen's Court in the year is considered a blessing, the establishment of *twelve* sessions in the country Courts is one still greater; and the reform deserves a different verdict from that which Mr. Thornton has thought fit to bestow on every measure of Lord William: "His readiness 'to pull down commanded the approbation of those who think 'destruction the greatest effort of human talent, but his attempts 'at construction for permanent use entirely failed."

The new system, which Lord William Bentinck introduced for the despatch of Civil business in the Courts, so far from proving a failure, has issued in simplifying, expediting, and cheapening the administration of Civil Justice. Great improvements have since been made in the system, in accordance with the principles laid down during Lord William Bentinck's administration, which were as much superior to those of Lord Cornwallis, as the Cornwallis system was superior to that which prevailed twenty years before. The intermediate appeal to the Provincial Courts, which served no purpose but delay, was of course swept away with them. Suits above 5,000 Rupees were entrusted to the Civil Judge, and under that sum to the Principal Sudder Ameens, and the appeal lay in the latter case to the Sessions Judge, and in the former to the Sudder. This recasting of the Civil Courts has infused greater energy and expedition into the management of Civil Justice, and it has brought the subordinate Courts more completely under the eye and control of the Sudder Court and of Government.

In connection with these mutations, there was, however, one innovation which has given less satisfaction to the public than it gave to Lord William Bentinck. We allude to the union of the

office of the Magistrate with that of the Collector. Under the old system, the magisterial duties were united with those of the Civil Judge, but when the labours of the Session were intrusted to that officer, it became necessary to relieve him from all Magisterial responsibilities, and the Governor-General could discover no better plan than that of intrusting them to the Collector. The tenacity, with which his Lordship always supported this union of offices, may be accounted for by a reference to his experience at Madras. It also appears to have received the sanction of the Court of Directors. Many plausible and some substantial reasons were adduced in favour of it; but experience has destroyed their validity. The country has not benefited by the new arrangement; the duties of the Magistrate, being the most irksome, have naturally been postponed to those of the Collector; the people have suffered quite as much from this union, as they did from the previous union of the office of Civil Judge and Magistrate; only the evil was not then so palpable, because the Press was not free. The objection is just as great to the one as to the other; indeed, the same objection lies against whatever plan may encumber a Magistrate with any duties which shall prevent his taking the field at any moment against the disturbers of the public peace. Lord William Bentinck was not prepared, perhaps from financial considerations, to give each district the benefit of a distinct Civil and Sessions Judge, a Collector, and a Magistrate. Since his time, public opinion has made such progress that we can no longer be satisfied even with the divorce of the Magistracy from the Collectorate. The union of the office of Judicial Magistrate and Police Magistrate in the same person, is now found to be objectionable; and if the Press is unanimous and persevering, we shall not be long in obtaining this further instalment of reform, —the establishment of a Police to hunt down crime, distinct from every other institution.

For the abolition of *Suttees* India is indebted to Lord William Bentinck's energy and benevolence. With numerous claims to public gratitude in India, the administration of Lord William in Christendom, will probably be characterized to the latest generations by this glorious deed. Yet the credit, which Mr. Thornton bestows on this act of unclouded brightness, is given with such caution and reluctance as to destroy all its little value. "*Let it be hoped*, let it not be doubted, that in abolishing the 'practice of Suttee, he was actuated by higher and better 'motives." For the honour of humanity we can assure the Historian that these doubts of the purity of his Lordship's motives, on this memorable occasion, are confined entirely to his own

bosom. In India, where the motives and the influence of Lord William's actions are better understood, no doubt has ever existed on the subject. He came out to this country with the firmest determination, if possible, to extinguish these murderous sacrifices. He approached the delicate subject, however, with the greatest caution. He had been deposed more than twenty years before, by the Court of Directors, under the mistaken notion that he had trenched on the religious prejudices of the natives. He had been selected as "the sacrifice to their violated rights." The remembrance of that transaction must have been vividly recalled to his mind, when he contemplated the abolition of a practice, which was said to have existed for two thousand years, and which was considered an integral and essential part of Hindooism. He directed letters to be sent to various individuals, both in the service and out of it, requiring their opinion of the safety and feasibility of this measure. Their replies, which formed a large volume, are now in the archives of the India House; and whenever an epitome of them may be laid before the public, it will furnish an interesting view of the state of public opinion at the time on this momentous subject. Some are said to have advised that enclosures should be erected in various places from which the mob should be excluded, and within the circle of which this infernal rite should be consummated by the friends and relatives of the parties, under the superintendence of the public authorities! Even Ram Mohun Roy's resolution was staggered, when Lord William Bentinck sent for him, and said that he had made up his mind to abolish the rite throughout India; and that great reformer advised that the prohibition should be confined to Bengal, and not extended to the North West Provinces, inhabited by a hardy and less tractable race. Lord William replied, that a partial measure would prove a total failure, and that to permit an act in one province, which was made illegal in another, would exhibit a degree of weakness fatal to the dignity of our national character. Dr. H. H. Wilson voted against the abolition. When all these replies had been received, they were arranged in three classes, the first consisting of those who were for immediate and total abolition; the second of those who doubted the safety of the measure; the third of those who deprecated it. On a calm consideration of all these opinions, Lord William came to the determination of passing an act for the total and instant suppression of the rite throughout the British territories. Strong as his nerves were known to be, his anxiety on this occasion, as the time approached for laying the act before Council, was observed by those about him, and was particularly obvious to those who could judge of the work-

ings of his mind from his countenance and demeanor. The only opposition it encountered at the Council Board had reference to the clause, which permitted the Nizamut Adawlut to punish the crime with death. It was reasonably urged, that to inflict the extreme penalty of the law on a transaction which our government had previously legalized, would be an act of inconsistency. But the clause was passed without alteration, as the Members of the Council were unwilling, by retarding the immediate enforcement of the Regulation, to afford time for remonstrances from the natives, which they knew would be warmly seconded by the European opponents of the measure, whose sympathies were entirely Hindoo. Lord William Bentinck's great merit, on this occasion, consisted in his moral courage. The most enlightened and courageous members of the Service had long since settled in their own minds that the rite must be extinguished; but there was wanting a Governor-General with sufficient *nerve* to carry these benevolent views into effect, and to bear unappalled the brunt of native and European opposition. The abolition not only put an immediate stop to this infamous rite, but it taught the natives the important moral lesson, that while the British Government was determined to remain neuter in all questions of a strictly religious character, no precept or practice of Hindooism which violated the laws of humanity would be allowed to stand.

Within two years after the abolition of this rite, Lord William proceeded farther to abrogate the law which inflicted the loss of ancestral property as a penalty on any native who might embrace Christianity. This unjust and intolerant rule had never been formally recognized by our legislators, but it formed a part of the Hindoo code of inheritance; which, in total ignorance of its character, our Government had unfortunately engaged, sixty years before, to make the law of the land, after it had been six centuries in abeyance. Lord William Bentinck's enactment taught the natives, that the period had for ever passed, when Hindoo prejudices and bigotry were allowed to bear sway in our councils, or were regarded as the rule and gage of our conduct; and that no intolerant or unjust enactment of their sacred books would any longer be recognized in our Courts.

The abolition of the *Transit Duties* is, perhaps, the greatest boon which has been conferred on the internal commerce of the country, and the greatest relief which has been afforded to its inhabitants, since we took the government into our own hands. The extinction of this odious impost is so recent, that its abominations may possibly be yet fresh in the memory of many who suffered from its operation. We need only remark, therefore, that

it subjected every bale of goods, in its transit through the country, to the liability of being stopped and opened at a dozen different stations; exposed the merchants to the extortions of unprincipled native officers: imposed the most vexatious restraints on the traveller, and subjected the female branches of his family to the insolent intrusion of the Custom House harpies, unless he was able to purchase their forbearance by a bribe. It was admitted by a well-known member of the Board of Customs, to be *the curse of the country*. Though the abolition of this duty, and the liberation of the highways of commerce from all interruption, belongs rather, accidentally, to the administration which succeeded that of Lord William, yet the largest share of the credit of this liberal measure is due to his Lordship. It was he who instituted the most extensive and laborious enquiries respecting the system, and who collected all the evidence necessary for its condemnation; and he bequeathed the question to his successor, ripe for judgment.

In the same manner, no small portion of the merit of that "crowning mercy," the freedom of the Press, is to be attributed to Lord William Bentinck's liberal policy. From the day he landed in India, he banished from the councils of Government all that troublesome jealousy of it which tormented his predecessor, and which led him, in the early part of his career, to undertake a crusade against the free expression of opinion. Lord William Bentinck considered the Press in India rather as the handmaid than as the antagonist of good government. He found that it exposed to view abuses which he could not otherwise have detected; that it pointed out imperfections in the system which had escaped his notice; and, by the friction of mind it encouraged, struck out suggestions which he found of no little value. In his public despatches he also alluded to it as a salutary check on the public officers of Government. From the day of his arrival, therefore, the Press was practically free; and there can be no question that the seven years of virtual liberty, which it thus enjoyed, prepared the way for that Charter of Freedom, which has rendered the name of Sir Charles Metcalfe so justly popular. The period of its probation was one of no ordinary difficulty; the recent abolition of Suttees had exasperated the native community to the highest degree, and the measures of reform and retrenchment executed by Lord William had thrown the Civil and the Military services into a state of universal excitement. It was during this dangerous crisis that the Press was left, for the first time, at perfect liberty to give expression to the public feelings of society. Yet it indulged in no licentiousness of remark which could even remotely affect

the security of our institutions, or render its legal freedom a matter of doubtful propriety.

Lord William Bentinck's views were equally liberal as respects the settlement of Europeans in India, and the purchase of lands by them. To estimate the value of this liberality, we must contrast his views with those which were entertained by the Court of Directors, who, in a letter to Mr. Canning, of so late a date as 1818, had said, "In proportion as facilities are needlessly multipled to Europeans to proceed to and remain in India, we depart from those principles of policy which are conservated by all authority, and we incur both the immediate inconveniences and eventual risk incident to a new system, which the wisdom and experience of the present and the past age have combined to deprecate." It was with such prejudices in the highest quarter at home, that Lord William Bentinck was required to grapple. In every instance he urged on the Court the adoption of a more liberal policy, and, though repeatedly baffled and sometimes rebuked, he persevered in inculcating the free and unfettered settlement of Europeans on the same footing as the natives, as indispensable to the full development of the resources of India. He declared that his only fear was lest too few Europeans could be induced to transport their skill and capital to India. The destruction of this last relic of the commercial monopoly was completed by the provisions of the new Charter; but the merit of the measure belongs in no small degree to the perseverance of Lord William Bentinck, and of his able co-adjutor, Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Lord William Bentinck, throughout the whole of his administration, and after his return to England, was the firm and energetic advocate of monthly steam-communication between England and India. To estimate the value of his services at that period, it must be borne in mind, that the Court of Directors, who in 1844 appear so anxious to devote the revenues of India to the maintenance of a regular intercourse between Suez and Bombay, in 1834 refused to permit the *Hugh Lindsay*, the only sea-going steamer in India, to be employed on that route, and repeatedly censured the Governor-General for having sent her up the Red Sea with despatches. Time and experience have wrought a gratifying change in the views of the Directors: and we would not now revert ungraciously to the prejudices which they have outgrown, except to illustrate the value of Lord William's exertions, at a time when he was obliged to swim against the stream of opinion in the highest and most influential quarter. To him belongs also the merit, and we may add the undivided merit, of having originated and car-

ried out the system of internal steam-navigation on our rivers, which has proved such a blessing to India. To the Court of Directors belongs the credit of having seconded his views with perfect cordiality, and placed the means of accomplishing them within his reach.

The Education of the country engaged the warmest attention of Lord William Bentinck. However we may lament that his views were exclusively confined to the communication of knowledge through the medium of the English language, it is but just to his memory to state, that this bias arose from the honest conviction, that an acquaintance with English, and with all the stores of knowledge it contains, was the shortest path to national improvement. He had witnessed the amazing progress made by many youths in the Hindu College, and in the General Assembly's Institution, both in general knowledge and in freedom from superstitious influences, and he was anxious to diffuse the blessings of such an education throughout the country. He gave every possible encouragement to the progress of knowledge among the natives, through those institutions which he believed to be the most efficacious. But that which above all has rendered his administration memorable, in this department of labour, was the establishment of the Medical College. No institution, which we have yet planted in this country, had apparently greater prejudices to cope with: none has been more successful in removing them. The diffusion of sound Medical knowledge among the natives of the country, to counteract the evils produced by ignorance and quackery, was always one of his most favourite schemes; and his mind had long been engaged in considering how these benevolent views could be most effectually carried into effect. It was after a most careful examination of the subject, and repeated communications with the most eminent surgeons on the establishment, that his Lordship determined to supersede the existing establishments, and at once to found a Medical College in Calcutta, upon the model of similar institutions in England, for the instruction of a certain number of Native youths in the various branches of Medical science. It was his final bequest to the country, which he had laboured for seven years to improve, and will long continue to be one of the noblest monuments of his benevolence and zeal.

We have reserved to the last our notice of those measures, for which Lord William Bentinck will continue to be most gratefully remembered by the native population. He felt that our institutions had been unwisely constructed, on the principle of excluding native agency from every branch of the public service, except in a very subordinate degree. He perceived that the unfriendly feelings,

excited by subjection to a foreign yoke, were exasperated by the systematic exclusion of the children of the soil from all participation in the government of the country. He felt that they had thus been deprived of every impulse of honorable ambition, and that the principle of the Cornwallis school, of conducting the administration by foreign agency alone, and which had been but partially modified, had resulted in a total failure. He saw that our administration was not only unpopular, but inefficient; and he resolved to provide for the largest possible introduction of native agency into every department of public business. He was aware that long exclusion from official labours, and a dreary despair of any amendment in their condition, had thrown the natives back, and that his new system must open under many disadvantages, and be worked at first by inferior instruments; but he was strong in the conviction, that the application of an adequate stimulus to national ambition would produce the usual results; and that in a few years the chief difficulty of Government, would be to find suitable employment for the talent and ability which would be developed. He, therefore, created new offices of trust and emolument for the natives; introduced them to a large extent into the judicial and fiscal administration of the country; and opened a new world of hope to the whole body of the people. The system of which he laid the foundation, on the ruins of that which had been reared by Cornwallis, has been carried forward by his successors with zeal and fidelity. The Natives as a body have been raised from the state of depression to which they had been consigned; and the ability which they have displayed in the performance of the duties consigned to them has fully justified the confidence of their great benefactor. The Native is no longer the 'hedge' judge of the lower classes of society; he holds the same post in our judicial institutions which was formerly occupied by the Provincial Courts; he takes the initiative cognizance of suits of the largest amount; the noblest and wealthiest are obliged to resort to his Court for justice; he is even allowed to examine cases in which Government is interested; and he communicates directly with the highest Court in the country. In every district, he occupies a post of the highest importance and consideration. The result is, that public offices are no longer filled up from the inferior orders of society. Families of the longest standing, and of the greatest distinction, are eager to provide for their members in the public service. By thus binding up the hopes and interests of the Native community with our government, Lord William Bentinck has done more to render it national and popular, than any previous ruler. While Mr.

Thornton can scarcely find terms too contemptuous for his administration, his name is never pronounced without affection and veneration, by the people of the country; and if the days of canonization had not passed away, he would be placed in the same rank of deified heroes with the Indian Munoo.

We have thus endeavoured to supply the omissions, which are so palpable in Mr. Thornton's sketch, and briefly to point out some of the the most prominent efforts made, during Lord William Bentinck's administration, for the improvement of India. We may safely leave it to the reader to determine whether the description which the historian has given of it, bears the most distant resemblance to the truth.—"But for the indulgence of extravagance in a variety of ways, his administration would appear almost a blank; and were all record of it obliterated, posterity would scarcely observe the deficiency while it is certain they would have little cause to regret it." But when he proceeds farther to affirm that his Lordship's "besetting weakness was vanity,—that the idol of his worship was popularity—that he sought to win its behest by an unrestrained sacrifice to what is called the 'spirit of the age,' —and that charity itself can assign no motives for the acts, (he enumerates) but a weak and inordinate appetite for temporary admiration," we naturally ask where he can have picked up the information which has led to conclusions so singularly incorrect. Those who have watched Lord William Bentinck's career from its beginning to its close, and have enjoyed the best opportunities of estimating the motives of his public conduct, will unite with us in testifying that if ever there was a Governor-General, exempt from the weakness of vanity, and the folly of courting popular applause, it was Lord William Bentinck. All his measures in India manifested the most rigid determination to do whatever he considered necessary for the welfare of the country, with the most perfect indifference to popular opinion. Indeed, there were few of his proceedings here, which were not calculated to make him eminently unpopular with those who influence public opinion; while those whose interest he was ever striving to promote,—the children of the soil—were unable to confer the smallest popularity on him. His contempt for popular applause was not more visible in what he did, than in what he forebore to do. The most popular measure of his successor,—the legal establishment of the freedom of the Press,—was fully within his reach, and would perhaps have been in accordance with his general policy; but he cheerfully waved the honor it would have conferred on his administration, and contented himself with the minor credit of having left the Press practically free. The great feature of his public character, was stern and unbending integrity; whatever

he considered necessary for the improvement of India, and the conciliation of its tribes to a foreign rule, he was sure to carry into effect, without the smallest reference to its popularity; and no love of applause would have led him for a moment to deviate from the straight path of rectitude into any line of dubious policy.

That his mind had a greater tendency to innovation than that of any of his predecessors, Cornwallis excepted, will not admit of a doubt. Such a temperament is inseparable from an ardor for reform. No man who cannot contemplate changes in the existing order of things, not only without dismay, but with feelings of satisfaction, is qualified to undertake the task of national improvement. It is possible, that in Lord William's anxiety to raise the character of our local institutions, he may sometimes, have been carried too far, and have made innovations which were not improvements. Every reformer is liable to such errors; but rarely have such extensive alterations as those effected by his Lordship been made in the structure and system of Government which have left fewer causes of regret. In no instance did he sanction a change, which he did not conscientiously believe to be calculated to promote the public advantage; and in few instances has his judgment been reversed by subsequent experience. Of this the best proof will be found in the fact, that, although many of his arrangements have been improved, we scarcely know of one which has been abandoned. The machine of Government is still worked upon the enlightened principles which he introduced. We attribute this honorable and gratifying result of his labours, not more to that happy union of zeal and wisdom, by which he was distinguished than to the great efforts he made to obtain the most trustworthy and impartial information on all the bearings of the questions which he took up, and to ascertain the opinions of the most eminent men in India.

But Lord William Bentinck's character was not without serious blemishes. The unnecessary harshness, with which he carried his measures of reform and retrenchment into effect, gave just offence to those who were affected by them. In the performance of what he considered a public duty, he seemed to lose his respect for the feelings of others; and it is not a little singular, that the charge which he brought against the Court of Directors, in reference to his recall from Madras, of having enhanced the severity of the stroke by the harsh and mortifying manner in which it was inflicted, is justly applicable to many of his own proceedings in India. He gave no little disgust, also, by the general suspicion which he manifested of the motives of those who had occasion to wait on him. That in his position as

Governor-General, he should withhold his confidence from those who surrounded him, will be no serious objection to his character among those who are opposed to a Government of favoritism; but there was an habitual exhibition of mistrust in his intercourse with men, which produced the most unfavorable impression of his character. There were also deeper defects. There was a degree of disingenuousness in his communications with those who approached him as the head of the administration, which was apt to be mistaken for perfidy. There was so much of the art of the politician in his manner and language, that he excited the deepest resentment in the minds of those who, having quitted his presence with a conviction of their success, subsequently learnt that the smiles of the Governor-General meant nothing. It was these deficiencies which led one who had served under him in Europe, and had occasion to wait on him in this country to say—but unjustly—that he had added the treachery of the Italian to the caution of the Dutchman. Yet in the general intercourse of society, where it did not appear necessary for the Governor-General to be on his guard, no man was more affable, or succeeded more effectually in conciliating the good will of others by his cheerfulness and urbanity. He had no prejudices against particular men, or particular classes. He considered every branch of the service as members of one administration, differing only in their functions, and he was anxious to improve the efficiency of all. He was ever ready to lend a willing ear to all who might wait on him; and his study was opened to all who solicited a private audience. He was as rigid a disciplinarian as the Duke himself. He was as strict with himself as with others. Whatever he considered it a duty to perform, no consideration or allurement could induce him to forego; and he exacted the same rigid performance of duty from others. He was judicious in the disposal of his time, and undertook a degree of personal labour, in the discharge of his public duties, which eventually affected his health. He was quite as lavish of his own money as he was careful of that of the state; and "Lady William's charities," will long continue to be held in grateful remembrance in the country, whilst the piety of her nature and the kindness of her heart endear her memory to a large circle of Indian residents, who esteemed her character and profited by her example.

ART. IV.—1. *Parliamentary Papers, Infanticide, India,* 1824.
2. *Parliamentary Papers, Infanticide, India,* 1828.
3. *Parliamentary Papers, Infanticide, India,* 1843.

INFANTICIDE is no new crime in the multitudinous catalogue of human guilt. Other flagrant transgressions of the moral law have been limited to particular ages or climes, to particular conditions of life or stages of society. The simplicity of primitive or patriarchal times exempted them from many of those forms of delinquency that spring spontaneously out of the multiplied relationships and conventional artificialities of later epochs. The enormity of *Sati*, or the burning of widows alive on the funeral piles of their husbands, is, in a great measure, peculiar to these Indian realms—being a natural sprout of the baneful superstition that overshadows it. The superabounding affluence of the noble and the mighty, speedily purchasing the gratification of every desire, saves them from temptations that hurry into violations of law, the contraction of ignominy and shame, and ultimate inevitable destruction, whole multitudes of the hunger-bitten sons of poverty. The horrible atrocity of cannibalism is restricted to hordes, which, having to contend with the elements and beasts of prey for a scanty and precarious subsistence, have become so sunk and brutalized as to retain little else than the insulted prerogative of the human form;—while the civilized crime of forgery can obviously have no existence among tribes that have no metallic currency, no paper circulation, and no knowledge whatever of the art of writing. To Infanticide, on the other hand, belongs the fell and the fatal pre-eminence of ubiquity as to time and place, and rank and condition. It is common to all ages—having been sanctioned by many of the "world's grey Fathers," as well as by their distant posterity of yesterday. It is common to all climes—staining alike the sands of the torrid, and the snows of the frigid zone, with the blood of innocents,—and replenishing the temperate regions between, with many a voice of lamentation and woe. It is common to all ranks and degrees of life—leaving the memorials of its sanguinary presence in the palaces of princes not less than in the cottages of the poor. It is common to all stages and gradations of society, from the lowest depths of savage barbarism to the topmost heights of civilization and refinement. But, probably, in no age or clime, in no condition of life or stage of society, has the unnatural crime prevailed so extensively and systematically, as for many generations,

it has done, among certain clans of feudatory Rajputs and other tribes in Central and Western India.

Before entering into details it may be well to glance at the geographical aspect or general "physiognomy" of the regions, within whose territorial limits, the unnatural crime, to a greater or less extent, is known or suspected to be perpetrated. For this end, let the reader, with a good map before him, suppose himself to start from Bombay towards the Bay of Cambay. Passing the river Tapti and city of Surat, on his right, let him advance to that part of the Bay, opposite to which the Nerbudda disembogues its waters into it. There, let him take his stand. Immediately *in front*, across the plains at the head of the Bay, at the distance of about three hundred miles, the insulated Abu—"the Saint's pinnacle"—"the Rajput Olympus"—the loftiest mountain in Hindustan—rears its head. Near it, a little to the east, commences the chain of the Aravalli (Ar-bali) or "mountains of strength," which stretch away in bold ridges, in a north easternly direction, towards the imperial city of Dehli—constituting, as it were, the back bone of Upper India—and separating the arid plains, and ever-shifting sand-hills of Marwar, Jaissalmir, and Bikanir from the fields and forests of Mewar, Ajmir, and other more highly favoured states of eastern Rajasthan. Immediately on his *left*, to the west, swells out the large peninsula of Gujarat (Guzzerat,) on whose shores, washed by the waves of the Arabian sea, stood the celebrated temple of Somnath. Beyond its western boundary, the Gulf of Kach (Cutch,) lies the country of that name, which extends to the great Delta of the Indus. Immediately on his *right*, to the east, is the magnificent valley of the Nerbudda, rising towards the crest or Highlands of Jabalpur, whose waters are drained off on either side, by the Ganges and the Nerbudda, into the Bay of Bengal and that of Cambay. The northern side of this valley is flanked throughout by the Vindhya chain of mountains. Between these and the Aravalli, extends the great plateau or elevated table land of Central India,—subdivided into the provinces or states of Malwa and Mewar, Harauti, including Bundi and Kotah, Ajmir and Khisengar, Kerauli and Jaipur, Bhopal and Gwalior,—and watered by the Chumbal and many other considerable streams which fall into the Jumna, between Agra and Allahabad.

These regions, as described by Colonel Tod, in his Annals of Rajasthan, Rajwarra, Raethana, or Rajputana, exhibit every conceivable variety of surface. Here, are fields of richest mould, watered and fertilized by many a meandering stream; there, is "a chaotic mass of rock with its splintered pinnacles rising over each

other, in varied form, or frowning over the dark indented recesses of its forest-covered and rugged declivities." Here, are low flat plains of black loam; there, lofty ridges that are "quite dazzling with enormous masses of vitreous rose-coloured quartz." Here, are districts in which genial nature shoots forth with exuberant and almost spontaneous luxuriance; there, are tracts of barren sand and still more barren salt, relieved only by an occasional oasis of doubtful and half-forced verdure. Here, cultivation is carried on with infinite ease—the whole country resembling a well-dressed garden; there, along the slopes of rugged hills, it is conducted "with infinite labour, on terraces, 'as the vine is cultivated in Switzerland and on the Rhine." Here, the hamlets of the peasantry lie scattered in peaceful seclusion amid groves and rivulets; there, the fortress of the proud chieftain scowls defiance from the summit of each lowering rock. Here, are lakes of fresh water, with banks and islets of surpassing beauty; there, are salt marshes, whose touch seems to be pollution, and whose exhalation, the very breath of the pestilence. And, what is still more rare—while there are large rivers of fresh water, there are large rivers of salt! Here, is the Chúmbal, "the paramount Lord of the floods of Central India," fed by a thousand streams and minor rills, from twice as many perennial springs—diffusing fertility and joy from the heights of Malwa and Mewar to its points of confluence with the Jumna; there, is the Luni, which, issuing from the sacred Lakes of Ajmir, and in its course becoming saturated with salt, spreads desolation as it rolls along, till it loses itself in the Run of Kach —in the rains, "a dirty saline solution," and, in the dry season, presenting nought to the eye but a vast "glaring sheet of salt, 'spread over its insidious surface full of dangerous quicksands."

In regions so exceedingly diversified, it is not to be supposed that there is a destitution of mineral resources. Accordingly, we are assured, that the Geologist and Mineralogist might there reap a rich harvest, if not of actual discovery, at least of illustrative and corroborative facts. But, this is a theme on which our limits will not allow us to enter. Neither can we venture to do more than simply to refer to the subject of their Antiquities—those wondrous remains of citadels, temples, palaces and triumphal pillars, which bespeak to the eye of the modern traveller, the glory and renown of bye-gone days—and which, amid many relics of still surviving barbarism, present monuments of an early civilization coeval with that of Greece and Rome, and decidedly surpassed only by the grandeur and magnificence of those proud commonwealths.

But, diversified as is the surface of these romantic regions, not

less diversified is the history and character of their inhabitants. Without entering into particulars, for which we have no space, suffice it to say that, agreeably to the legends and traditions of the Hindus themselves, "India within the Indus is not the cradle of their race, but west, amid the hills of Caucasus (Indu-cush or Kho, the mountains of the moon) whence the sons of Vaivaswata, or 'the sun-born,' migrated eastward to the Indus and the Ganges,—and that at different periods of time, different tribes or hordes in succession entered India for purposes of plunder, conquest, or peaceful settlement. Of these we may note the existence of three classes that are generally distinct, without detailing the specific differences by which they are respectively distinguished. There are, first, the aboriginal tribes such as the Mairs, the Minas, and the Bhils, who, driven from the open and more fertile plains by successive invaders, and increased in number from time to time, the outlaws of justice and refugees from oppression, have been compelled to seek for shelter in impassable forests and the inaccessible fastnesses of mountain ranges,—living in a state of wild and savage independence —wielding the bow and arrow—subsisting on the chace and lawless rapine—and scorning to own allegiance to any superior power. There are, secondly, the more peaceful and settled tribes, such as the Goala, the Jats and the Soni, which constitute the agricultural, the pastoral, and the mercantile communities—paying the exacted tribute and rendering due homage to the lords of the soil. There are, thirdly, the Rajput or Royal races, who, for ages, have exercised sovereign power. These are the Kshetriya or military caste, which in dignity, honour, and sacredness, rank next to that of the Brahmanical order. Originally there were but two races—known under the mythological designation of the *Solar* and the *Lunar*. These claim a stupendous and incredible antiquity—tracing their ancestry to the commencement of the fabulous era of the *Satya Yug*, upwards of three millions of years ago,—and professing to derive their pedigree, the former, from Ikshwaku, the son of Manu, "the sun-born," and the latter, from Budha or Mercury, the son-in-law of Ikshwaku. But these, in time spread out and multiplied into divers collateral races—subdivided into numerous branches or ramifications—and these again partitioned and cantoned into innumerable clans and rival dynasties. Of the "Race of the Sun," the most eminent surviving chieftains are the Ranas or Princes of Mewar, Jaipur, Marwar, and Bikanir; of "the Race of the 'Moon," the most important are the reigning families of Jaissalmir and Kach,—the Bhattis and the Jharijas. Respecting all

of these, Col. Tod tells us that each race has "its genealogical creed, describing the essential peculiarities, religious tenets and pristine locale of the clan"—that "every Rajput should be able to repeat this creed"—and that in point of fact, "there is scarcely a chief of character for knowledge, who cannot repeat the genealogy of his line;" though, in these degenerate days, many are satisfied with referring to the family bard or rhyming chronicler. These genealogical tables, which are the "touch-stone of affinities, and guardian of the laws of inter-marriage," include in the lines of unbroken descent from Manu, all the names that are most renowned in the national epics of the Mahabharat and Ramayan—the Purans and other heroic legends of India;—the names, not merely of giants and mighty warriors, but also of demi-gods or incarnate deities. And hence, beyond all debate, one chief cause of that inconceivable and almost superhuman pride which forms so distinguishing a characteristic of the Rajput tribes. Even in Christian and highly civilized countries how often is the *pride of birth* found to operate with a fell and deadly potency?—the ability to trace up a lineage through several centuries to some robber chief, or stalwart warrior, being supposed to confer the prerogative of stalking abroad with an air of loftiness that might make an Archangel pay the forfeit of his crown!—as if the poorest beggar or most clownish artizan could not, as well as they, trace his lineage still higher—even to Noah and Adam, the first and second father of the race of man! What, then, must it be among demi-civilized and Pagan races like the Rajputs, where each Rana and petty chief, down to the remotest member of his family or clan, believes, with all the intensity of an undoubting faith, that he is of a superlatively ancient and royal descent,—yea, that his genealogical tree mounts upwards for millions of years, from the present iron age, through the brazen and the silver, to the very commencement of the age of gold—and that, consequently, in his veins there literally flows the blood of those mighty kings and warriors, with the praises of whose magnificence and feats of unrivalled heroism all India has for ages rung.

Having thus glanced at the general features of the country and its inhabitants, let us at once proceed with our more immediate design, which is to point out the *prevalence* and *extent* of the horrid crime of Infanticide, as practised by the Rajputs and other tribes in Central and Western India—the *agents* and *means* employed in its accomplishment—the *causes* or *reasons* which may have led to its original perpetration, and which still tend to perpetuate it as a national custom—and the *measures* adopted or proposed for its *immediate or ultimate abolition.*

I. Let us attend to the evidence by which the *existence* and *extent* of the crime have been established beyond the possibility of being called in question even by scepticism itself in its wildest and most wanton moods. It rests on the sustained testimony of men whom the breath of slander itself cannot taint with the suspicion of bewilderment amid the scintillations of a wayward and fiery fanaticism—men, some of whom have been greatly distinguished in the Republic of letters, and all of them, high political functionaries of the British Government. It is a testimony which, for the most part, exhibits all the stately march of official form, with its train of stubborn statistics and arithmetical details.

The van in the phalanx of evidence is worthily led on by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who, as the successor of Sir William Jones in the Presidential chair of the Asiatic Society, first brought the subject to the notice of that learned body in 1794. In doing so, he feels himself obliged in the outset, on account of its novelty at the time, virtually to deprecate anticipated incredulity. "That the practice of Infanticide," says he, "should ever be *so general* as to become a *custom* with any sect 'or race of people, requires the most unexceptionable evidence to 'gain belief: and I am sorry to say that the general practice, as 'far as regards female infants, is fully substantiated with respect to 'a particular tribe on the frontiers of Jaunpur; a district of the 'province of Benares, adjoining to the country of Oude. A race 'of Hindus called *Rajkumars* reside here; and it was discovered 'in 1789 only, that the custom of putting to death their female 'offspring had long subsisted and did actually then very generally prevail amongst them. The Resident at Benares (Mr. Duncan, 'afterwards Governor of Bombay) in a circuit which he made 'through the country where the *Rajkumars* dwell, had an opportunity of authenticating the existence of the custom from *their 'own confessions:* he conversed with several: *all unequivocally admitted it,* though all did not fully acknowledge its atrocity." Sir John further adds, that it must be some satisfaction to know that the custom, "though general, was not universal; as natural affec-'tion, or some other motive, had induced the fathers of some 'Rajkumar families, to bring up one or more of their female 'issue; but the instances where more than one daughter had been 'spared, were very rare—and that *one* village *only* furnished a 'complete exception to the general custom." It was also soon afterwards discovered that "the same custom prevailed, though 'in a less degree, amongst a smaller tribe of people, also within 'the province of Benares, called *Rajbunses.*"

Our attention is next directed to Western India. In 1800, the subject was first introduced to the notice of Mr. Duncan, then Governor of Bombay, by the Minister of the Nawab of Surat, who reported that "among the tribe of Rajputs, and especially 'among the Rajahs of that class, the birth of a daughter in their 'house was considered as disgraceful"—that newly born daughters were accordingly "put to death"—that the practice was 'not general through all the sub-divisions of their tribe, though, 'in several places, they did thus stony-heartedly kill them." Again, in 1804, in a conversation with a daughter of one of the Guikowar Princes of Gujarat, he incidentally ascertained the fact, that the caste of Jharija Rajputs in Kach (Cutch) "*did* '*not* bring up their daughters." At the same time, a native of Kach said—"It is notoriously known to be the established prac-'tice among those of the Jharija tribe of Kach and the neighbour-'ing district of Kattiawar, not to bring up their daughters, 'but to put them to death at their birth." Once more, in 1806, a private messenger from Rajkote, the capital of Kattiawar, unequivocally admitted that, "daughters were never brought up in 'his master's family." All these incidental intimations were distinctly corroborated by Capt. Seton, stationed at Mandavi, who, after due inquiry, positively testified, that "every female 'infant born in the Rajah's family, if of a Rani or lawful wife, 'was immediately put to death."

It is easy to anticipate the effect of such successive disclosures on a benevolent mind like that of Mr. Duncan. And, happily for the cause of humanity, a co-adjutor, worthy of such a principal and such a cause, was providentially raised up in the person of Col. Walker—a name now indelibly engraven in the annals of philanthrophy. In 1808, he commenced those enquiries into the subject which he proposed with a vigour, an energy, and an earnestness as untiring in the pursuit as they were successful in the issue. And what was the immediate result? A relief from the previous painful surmises?—A contradiction to the antecedent distressing revelations? No such thing. His investigation opened up views of the extent of the criminal practice of a startling and appalling magnitude. After the fullest and most elaborate enquiry, his deliberate conclusion was that of the Jharija inhabitants of Kach, "the far greater part followed 'the practice without remorse"—that, throughout the country, there might be "six or eight houses wherein the masters of 'families brought up their daughters"—that, otherwise, "the 'practice was general," not only in Kach, but throughout the province of Gujarat—and that even in regard to the few fami-

lies which, in whole or in part, discontinued it, their motives were found to be none of the purest or the worthiest. By their own confession, "this act of humanity did not proceed from 'parental feelings. It appeared to be inspired not by motives of 'affection for the object, so much as by personal considerations, 'arising from the ideas of metempsychosis, which are so univer-'sally and rigidly observed by the followers of Jaina. These 'people consider it a sin to deprive any creature, however weak 'or noxious, of life; and their doctrines are said to have made 'an impression on a few of the Jharijas." In the absence of an accurate census, which, with the exception of one or two districts, Col. Walker had it not in his power to obtain, it was impossible to determine, with absolute precision, the *aggregate* of females that perished annually from the practice of Infanticide. From the reports of natives best acquainted with the country, "the 'number of Jharija families inhabiting Kach and Kattiawar was 'estimated at 125,000, and the number of female infants yearly 'destroyed, to amount to 20,000." This he was willing to admit bore the appearance of exaggeration. The lowest estimate, however, which he could form, on balancing the statements of conflicting authorities, and which he had every reason to believe fell as much short of the truth as the former might be supposed to exceed it, was, that in Kattiawar about a *thousand* were annually destroyed, and in Kach, about *two thousand*. Even if we take but the *half* of this supposed *minimum*, what a prodigious waste of human life! In a limited territory, with a population not exceeding a small English county, *fifteen hundred* annually meeting with an untimely end! or *forty-five thousand* in the course of a single generation! or, nearly *half a million* since the day that Luther sounded the trump of the Reformation in Europe!

Nor was this all. The custom of "*exclusively* murdering females and a systematic infanticide"—a custom, so peculiar and so wholly different from any among the nations of antiquity which tolerated or permitted the practice generally—did not seem to be confined to the Jharija Rajputs alone. However extraordinary it may appear, "the custom," says Col. Walker, "of putting their infant daughters to death, has also been discovered to exist with the Rhator Rajputs of Jaipur and Jaudpur; but this fact, when reported in Europe, was doubted and denied to be possible. It is confirmed, however, by every intelligent native of that country; nor does there appear any ground for questioning its existence. The custom is traced to other tribes of Hindustan, and in particular to the Jats and Mewats, which latter are a sect of Mussulmans." Indeed, says he, as the result of all his enquiries, "we may assume it as an

unquestionable fact, that the existence of female infanticide prevails to a greater extent in India than has yet come under the observation of the British Government."

For nearly thirty years these significant notices of Col. Walker, relative to other parts of India, were allowed to pass into comparative oblivion. Hints were occasionally thrown out by others; and isolated and partial discoveries were made in particular localities—but not of a nature to arrest general attention, or call forth the special interference of Government. It was reserved for the late excellent Mr. Wilkinson, when employed as political agent in different parts of Rajastan, to lay open the full and fearful extent of the evil, *first*, in a paper inserted in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1835, and *secondly*, in an official document, dated 1836, which now appears in the Parliamentary Papers for 1843. "An 'intelligent Rajput chief," says Mr. W. "in conversing with 'me on the subject some months back, stated it as his opi-'nion, that not less than *twenty thousand* infants were annu-'ally destroyed in the whole of Malwa and Rajputana, in-'cluding Jaudpur, Bikanir, Jaipur and Jaissalmir. We have no 'means of ascertaining the fact; the number may be exaggerated; 'but it is infinitely greater than that of the number of *Satis* 'ever was all over India since our connexion with it." This statement, with its various accompanying details, startled and confounded Mr. W.'s immediate superior, Mr. Bax, the British Resident at Indore. He with many others, had been lulled asleep by the too favourable verdict of Sir J. Malcolm, who, in 1821, thus reported to the Supreme Government—"Infanti-'cide in Malwa is not known among the lower classes; this shock-'ing usage still prevails among some Rajput chiefs of high rank 'and small fortunes, who, from a despair of obtaining a suitable 'marriage for their daughters, are led by an infatuated pride to 'become the destroyers of their own offspring. This usage is, 'however, on the decline, and every effort has been made to prevent 'the frequent recurrence of such crime." Mr. Bax, accordingly, expressed himself with considerable incredulity on the subject; and, as a complete set-off against one part of Mr. W.'s statement, announced that "an intelligent native," in his vicinity, "calcu-'lated that the utmost number of female childern annually put 'to death in these provinces would scarcely amount to *fifty!*" Here was a discrepancy even to hyperbole. Two estimates, one of which "assigns *fifty* cases of infanticide to a *whole year*, and the other assigns nearly *fifty-five* such cases to *each day* throughout the year!" No wonder though the Supreme Government should, in its reply, declare that it was obviously desirable that

"some attempt should be made at reconciling the conflicting statements"—adding, "that the cause of the discrepancy might perhaps be ascertained, and some means might be found of partially reconciling it."

Whether the parties themselves ever attempted to reconcile the difference does not appear from the Parliamentary papers. But it requires very little perspicacity to detect one main source of the discordance. Mr. Bax very honestly confesses, that he himself knew very little about the subject—and that he had "not even met with any one who professed to know much of the 'extent to which infanticide prevailed in Malwa." He had been told that Rajputs often gave away their daughters, "for the purpose of being brought up in less noble, though more wealthy families." And, in the total absence of authentic facts, he adds, with an air of easy good-natured simplicity, as rare as it is amiable, "It is but *charitable to believe*, that the proudest Rajput 'would prefer such an alternative to that of destroying his 'off-spring." The "intelligent native" evidently understood his man; and, in his ignorance, boldly ventured on a pleasing guess, or, in his astuteness, hazarded the utterance of a palateable untruth. Totally different was the case with Mr. Wilkinson. He could take high ground, because he could positively declare that "for five years, he had made constant and close inquiries with the view of ascertaining the extent to which the practice still prevailed" in Malwa and elsewhere. And the *facts* and *statements*, not the *charitable* conjectures, assiduously collected during that long period, thoroughly satisfied him that the crime was still very extensively practised. To impose on him, therefore, with any disproportionately diminutive number, was impossible. *His* informant, the Rajput chief, well knew this, and did not attempt it. But being fully aware of his warm temperament as well as personal interest in, and deep experimental acquaintance with, the subject, he at once put down a number, which might somewhat approximately correspond with both—a number, which, if erroneous at all, assuredly erred on the safe, because the right side—a number, which, if in excess, the actual observations of Mr. Wilkinson and others conclusively proved to be vastly nearer the truth than the worse than pigmy number of Mr. Bax's "intelligent native."

Only look at some of the leading and indisputable facts of the case! Wherever Mr. Wilkinson happened to be stationed, there he instituted inquiries, and there invariably did he find the practice, more or less extensively, to prevail. Beginning with the North Eastern State of Jaipur,—whose Rajah, the celebrated Jai Singh, by his exertions about a century ago, in

suppressing infanticide, shewed himself, as in other respects also, so superior to the spirit of his age,—Mr. W. testifies, that, in spite of these royal endeavours, the custom was not generally abandoned. "I knew," says he, "several recent instances of Kachwahas and Rajawats, of the Jaipur territory, who though publicly known to have destroyed their daughters, have met with neither punishment from the Jaipur Government, nor public and general condemnation from their neighbours." Passing southward, Mr. W. finds, that the Hara Rajputs, who give their name to Harauti, and the heads of which fill the thrones of Bundi and Kotah, "are much given to this horrifying practice." "I know," says he, "many cases in which individuals of this tribe have destroyed their daughters, but I cannot state the extent to which infanticide is practised throughout the whole tribe." Proceeding westward to Mewar or Udaipur, Mr. W. ascertains, that the Ranawal tribes of that province "still practise the crime." Instances of it came under his own direct and immediate observation. Advancing southward into the province of Malwa, Mr. W. found matters, if possible, still worse. The Thakur of Agra Burkhera, near Bhilsa, a chief of the Panwar tribe, frequently confessed to him that he had destroyed the two or three daughters that had been born to him. "And I doubt not," adds Mr. W. "but that several of his many kinsmen have followed an example exhibited in such high quarters." The Maharaja of Sutalia also admitted the fact of his having, many years back, destroyed his infant daughters. While stationed as Political Agent at Schore, Mr. W. requested the Raja of Khilchipur to institute an enquiry, with a view to ascertain the number of sons and daughters of all his Khichi kinsmen and other Rajputs on his estates, and to forward to him a detailed statement of the result. Similar requests were preferred to the Umut chief of Rajgarh and Narsingarh, and to the Thakurs of other petty states or principalities. They all readily forwarded to him the required returns. The inquiries and statements were all their own, but he had no reason to believe them inaccurate. From him they had nothing to conceal; for all parties were well aware of his knowledge of the existence of the practice, and many of the guilty had openly confessed the murder of one, two, or three daughters, as the case might be; and professed to lament the tyranny of custom which drove them to the perpetration of the shocking crime. Now, what was the result? By the simple spontaneous admission of the guilty parties themselves, it turned out that, in one tribe, the proportion of sons to daughters was 118 to 16; in a second, 240 to 98; in a third, 131 to 61; in a fourth, 14 to 4; in a

fifth, 39 to 7; in a sixth, 20 to 7; and in a seventh, 70 to 32. Now, as the most extended inquiries of Statists in Europe and Asia have all shewn one result, viz., "that the births of males and females are of nearly equal amount, the only inference to be drawn from this disparity is, that females, equal or nearly equal in number to the difference here exhibited, have been destroyed." The murders, therefore, perpetrated in the first of the above tribes, "were 77 per cent. of the females born." The aggregate result given by these censuses is 632 sons to 225 daughters. This is, at the average rate of 36 daughters to 100 boys; in other words, out of every 100 of the females born, on the sure supposition of the equality of the sexes. 64 have been cruelly destroyed by their parents; or, in round numbers, about *two-thirds* destroyed, and *only one-third* preserved. "I might," says Mr. W. "multiply examples of female infanticide; but the returns above given afford us a means of judging, I believe, with tolerable accuracy, of the extent to which it is carried, and of asserting that it still prevails to a most serious extent. Indeed, the Rajput families, in Malwa, in which no daughters have been destroyed, are, I suspect, but comparatively few."

Nor was the practice confined solely to the Rajputs. Mr. W. was informed, by the Nawab and Minister of Bhopal, "that a Sikh chief of rank and influence, and also Guru of the Sikhs in Bhopal, had destroyed all his daughters. Still further, as he passed along the frontier tracts of the country between Bundi, Jaipur, and Udaipur, he discovered, especially in the neighbourhood of the Parganas or districts of Jahazpur and Toukra, "that infanticide was generally practised by the Puryar Minas, a race of wild mountaineers, hereditarily addicted to plunder." The Minas, without reserve, admitted to him, that they had destroyed each, one, two, or three daughters." Of *eleven* of the villages he obtained an accurate census, which proved, that the aggregate numbers of boys under *twelve* years of age was 369, and of girls only 87; in other words, 282, or rather more than *three-fourths* of the girls had been destroyed in these villages within the brief period of twelve years. In one village there were only 4 girls to 44 boys; in another, 4 girls to 58 boys; and in a third, with a large proportion of boys, *no girls at all*—the inhabitants freely "*confessing that they had destroyed every girl born in their village.*" Well might Mr. W. conclude, that "the above details must fully satisfy every one that female infanticide is carried on to a frighful extent throughout Malwa and Rajputana."

But the existence and extent of the crime in these and other

regions do not rest on the testimony of Mr. Wilkinson alone; though none other can be needed;—since a more honourable or noble minded man has never entered the Service of the East India Company. Still, it is satisfying to find his statements amply corroborated by other competent witnesses. Col., afterwards Sir Henry, Pottinger, who paid the greatest attention to the subject, thus emphatically records his conviction:—"I quite concur with Mr. Wilkinson, that infanticide is carried on to an extent of which we have hardly yet a complete notion in India." The Bombay Government, from the information laid before it, declares that "the Rajputs in general are said to be guilty of the crime of female infanticide." Others duly reported to Government its existence in particular provinces or localities;—Mr. Cavendish, that it prevailed among the Rajput tribes in the vicinity of Gwalior;—Mr. Frazer, that the crime was not uncommon among the Rajputs of the Jabalpur district;—Mr. Montgomery, that it abounded in the territory of the Rajah of Rewah;—Captain Richards, that it was prevalent within the petty principality of Jhalawar;—Captain Ellis, that "in Scindia's territory the usage does not appear to be restricted to any individual class of inhabitants, or particular rank of life—that Gujirs and Jats, with the Rajputs, rich and poor, high and low, must be reckoned as different classes of people, who put to death all the female infants which are born in their families—that exceptions from this general principle are rare"—and that in the district of Sekarwari alone, "from *two* to *five hundred* are commonly put to death every year in pursuance of this usage;—Col. Speirs, that the prevalence of the "murderous crime throughout the districts, named by Capt. Ellis," is undoubted;—Col. Sutherland, that it "prevails to some extent among the inferior Rajputs of Marwar or Jaudpur, but only in one of the principal houses;"—The Marwar Vakeel, in a note addressed to the Political Agent, that "some of the Bhattis and Chanans of distinction destroy their infant daughters," and that a number, "averaging between 300 and 400 female infants, may have been destroyed annually in Marwar prior to the rule prohibitory to killing them being enacted."*

II. Having thus shewn the dreadful extent to which the crime

* Here we may anticipate a natural inquiry on the part of our readers in the words of Sir John Shore, "It will naturally," says he, "occur to the Society (the Asiatic) to ask, by what mode a race of men could be continued under the existence of the horrid custom which I have described. To this my documents enable me to reply, partly from the exceptions to the general custom which were occasionally admitted by the more wealthy; more particularly those who happened to have no male issue; but chiefly by intermarriages with other Rajput families, to which they were compelled by necessity"

has, for ages, been perpetrated, it is natural that the question should be put, *how* and by *whom* is it committed? Who are the guilty *agents* in this foul conspiracy against the simplest and most elementary right of humanity—*the right of existence?* What are the *means*, the *methods*, the *instrumentalities* employed in so sad and dismal a service?

Respecting the Rajkumars, Sir John Shore is satisfied with remarking, that "the mothers simply starved them (infants) to death." Mr. Duncan states, that "they killed their infant daughters, or allowed them to die, by denying them all sustenance from their birth." Mr. Shakespear declares, that "the infant was often strangled." Among the Rajputs in the Allahabad territory, the juice of the madár plant is usually administered. In the Gwalior districts, the new born infant is ordinarily put to death "by administering poison in the shape of the tobacco 'leaf, or that of the dutturea plant, but this object is said 'sometimes to be effected by violence." In the Rajput States, generally, the juice of the poppy is the ingredient by whose "mortal taste" so many unoffending victims meet with an untimely end.

In Western India, some difficulties were originally encountered in gaining authentic information on this head. Col. Walker's account is as follows:—"The common expressions for infanticide are, 'the *custom* of killing daughters,' or, 'the custom of killing young daughters.' In conversation, and in discussing the subject with the Jharijas, the term used was, 'the article of girls.' Although the Jharijas spoke freely of the custom of putting their daughters to death, without delicacy and without pain, they were more reserved on the *mode* of its execution, and appeared at first unwilling to be questioned on the subject. They usually replied, that 'it was an affair of the women; it belonged to the nursery, and made no part of the business of the men.' They at last threw off this reserve." From a Nagur Brahman, who attended the camp in the capacity of Vakeel from the Gondal chief, as also from the Chief Rajkote himself, statements, both oral and written, were obtained. From these it appeared, that there is no uniform and invariable mode or agency employed. The birth of a daughter is regarded as an insignificant event—a subject of regret rather than gratulation. "When a female," echoes Col. Tod, "is born, no anxious enquiries await the mother—no greetings welcome the new-comer, who appears an intruder on the scene, which often closes in the hour of its birth." "It is well known," re-echoes Mr. Bax, "that the higher classes of Rajputs look upon the birth of a son as a blessing, and that of a daughter as a misfortune. The former

event is ostentatiously promulgated, whilst the latter is passed over in silence, or studiously concealed." In the significant language of the people it is emphatically pronounced to be "nothing." When death is determined on, as in the case of the Jharijas it almost invariably is, the fatal act is consummated immediately on the infant's birth; as "it would be considered a barbarous action, to deprive it of life after it had been allowed to live a day or two."

So deep-rooted and established is the practice, that very often the child is put to death without so much as apprizing the father of its existence. Sometimes, a special message is sent to him, to which the ordinary reply is, "to do as is customary." Sometimes, he issues an express command on the subject. But, in general, such a sanguinary intimation is superfluous;—"a total silence on the part of the husband being considered 'to imply his unalterable resolution, that the child, if a female, 'should perish." If, however, the father should wish, as is rarely the case, to preserve a daughter, his injunction would be promptly obeyed; but if the mother entertained a similar wish, while the husband manifested any repugnance to comply, death is inevitable. Women of rank, it is added, "may have their slaves and attendants, who perform this office; but the far greater number execute it with their own hands. This compliance of the women must appear the more extraordinary, as they belong to castes who rear their females, and are brought up in families, where their own existence is evidence against the unnatural practice: but as they are betrothed at an early age, they imbibe the superstition of their husbands, and some of them appear even as advocates for this custom."

By these assistants or attendants, in the case of noble families, a hole is sometime dug in the earth; it is then filled with milk; and the child, being dropped into it, is drowned. Sometimes, as stated by Sir J. Malcolm in his report of Central India, the father prepares the fatal pill of opium. Sometimes, the infant is simply laid on the ground, or stretched on a plank, to expire. Sometimes, the umbilical cord is drawn over the mouth, so that by the check of respiration, life is extinguished. But, whatever may be the occasional or partial variations, whether as regards the modes or the agents, there is one point about which all are unanimously agreed, viz., that, however antecedently improbable or even incredible, "the mother is commonly the executioner of her own offspring!" It is the deluded mother that most frequently applies the fatal cup, with its narcotic draught, to the lips of the helpless and unsuspecting innocent; or, as if to lacerate the feelings of humanity in their

tenderest point, she "puts opium on the nipple of her breast, 'which the child inhaling with its milk, dies." Professing to open the fount of life to her own babe, she coolly and deliberately impregnates it with the elements of death! And, in the state in which it was ushered into the world, without form or ceremony, without even the decency of a covering, it is carried forth in a basket and speedily committed to its kindred dust.

What would the Orator, whose indignation was roused to an uncontrollable pitch by a *single* case of Infanticide on the part of an unhappy mother, when he so vehemently and yet so truly denounced it as "a crime, in its own nature detestable; in a 'woman prodigious; in a mother, incredible: it is perpetrated 'against one whose age calls for compassion, whose near relation 'claims affection, and whose innocence deserves the highest 'favour;"—what would he say, had he been made acquainted with the inveterately established and whole-sale system of murder now revealed? Our tenderest sensibilities are hurt—wounded—lacerated to the quick. The soul is seized with a secret horror, which stirs up such a struggling tumult of emotions, that language, with all its recources of antithesis, figure, and imagery, furnishes but a feeble and inadequate medium for their expression. We know not well what more can be said, or to better purpose, than has already been said by a celebrated Encyclopedist:—"Infanticide, or child murder," says he, "is an 'enormity that our reason and feelings would lead us to reckon 'a crime of very rare occurrence. That it should exist at all, is, 'at first view, surprizing;—that it should prevail to any extent 'is difficult of belief;—that parents should be its perpetrators 'is in a high degree painful to imagine;—but that mothers should 'be the executioners of their own offspring, nay their habitual 'and systematic executioners, is such an agonizing contemplation, 'such an outrage on humanity, as every amiable feeling of our 'nature sickens and revolts at."

III. Curiosity, if there were no higher or nobler principle in our nature, would now impel us to inquire into the *causes* of so revolting a practice—so systematic an outrage against the dictates of reason, the voice of conscience, of the finest sensibilities of our æsthetic nature. What, it may be asked, are the motives—the reason—the subjects—the ends—fraught with a predominance of force and a sufficiency of interest, to lead to its establishment? How came the annals of humanity to be stained with the records of a phenomenon, not disgraceful merely, not even simply inhuman, but positively anti-human?

Does it proceed, as some have surmised, from *a love of cruelty*? There is no adequate reason for thinking so. Indeed the expres-

sion "love of cruelty" is an extremely vague and ill-defined one. If it be employed, as it often seems to be in common parlance, to indicate a state of mind that is passive rather than active—a negative rather than a positive quality;—then, is it simply a misapplication of terms. For, if all that is really meant by it, be, that there is such a thing as a weakness or distortion of the mental powers—a paralyzation of the moral feelings—a brutalization of the sensitive propensities;—and that, as the results of all this, there is such a thing as obduracy of heart, and scaredness of conscience, followed by their inseparable consequence, a heedlessness of pain and suffering, and a general indifference to the calamities of others:—then, is it undoubted that such a state of mind has too often existed, and may too often exist again. But the proper designation for such a state is "*insensibility*," and not the *love of cruelty* or *any thing else*.. It is a rank soil in which that, or any other malignant passion, may luxuriantly sprout forth. But, not being itself endowed with activity, it cannot, whether correctly predicable of Rajputs or not, directly lead to action of any kind, however much it may favor the development and growth of that which is evil. If it be employed to denote *a love of cruelty for cruelty's sake*, that is, an active passion indicative of a positive delight in the infliction of pain, simply and nakedly as pain—a positive gratification in the suffering of a sentient creature, simply and nakedly as a suffering—we trust, for the honour of humanity, that it is far more rare than is often supposed. Doubtless, cases have arisen for which it is difficult to account, except on the supposition of such inherent or acquired love of cruelty. Who has not heard of the barbarities of a Caligula and a Nero, and of the zest and joy with which they directed and watched the perpetration of them? And, in our own day, who can hear, without having his feelings lacerated, of the atrocities of such a man as Deftardar, son-in-law of Mahomet Ali, and Governor of Kordofan, in Upper Egypt,—a tyrant, or "human 'tiger" rather, whose thirst of blood allowed not a single day to pass without its victim—flogging a servant to death simply for taking a pinch out of his snuff box—blowing a peasant from the mouth of a cannon, merely for complaining that a soldier has robbed him of sheep—ordering iron horse-shoes to be nailed into the feet of his domestics for respectfully hinting at some of their felt wants;—in a word, a monster, who was "quite a 'genius in the invention of new tortures, and seldom failed to 'impart a character of novelty to each succeeding execution?" Poets, also, in singing of battles and bloody frays, have noted "a ruffian thirst for blood" as among the various motives that

" fired the strife." And Historians have gravely recorded the experience of warriors, in other respects chivalrous and humane, who were at times conscious of a strange and " undefined pleasure in carnage." The desperate torments inflicted by savage tribes often baffle and confound us; as well as the proceedings of popish inquisitors and all the myrmidons of relentless persecution. The records of Lunatic Asylums acquaint us with forms of madness, in which the unhappy subjects have been seized with an incontrollable fury—an insatiable propensity to mischief, cruelty, and destruction—and an apparent delight in pain, suffering, and death. To these might be added the pains and the agonies involved in the pastimes of the chace, the investigations of physiologists conducted amid the cut and parted nerves of quivering and tortured animals, and the thousand other modes in which cruelty is unquestionably manifested. But, whatever may be alleged of the cases of particular individuals, whose disposition to cruelty may be inseparably connected with mental or moral insanity, it cannot be doubted, that, in the majority of instances in which cruelty is clearly involved, it is not the naked love of cruelty, for cruelty's sake, which constitutes the actuating cause. If time and space permitted, it would be easy to shew, that though the reality of cruelty be there, and its outward symptoms be patent to the senses, the pain and the suffering may not be the immediate object of the faculties of the mind, or the desires of the heart. Revenge, ambition, the love of fame, the fervency of a false zeal, the excitements of an exhilarating exercise, the pleasures of science, and the panting after brilliant discoveries;—these, these, and such like feelings and emotions of the soul, are the true causes that fix and absorb its attention exclusively on the objects of their own gratification—the real impellent forces that hurry it on, at all hazards, and at the cost of every sacrifice, to the attainment of their proper ends—the over-mastering energies, which, in their onward career, overpower, if they do not extinguish, its finer emotions and kindlier sensibilities. In all such cases, cruelty is not the direct object of the mind's attention, or the heart's desire and delight. Rather, it is lightly passed by, as a venial offence, because of its undesired but unavoidable connection with the attainment of other ends; or, perhaps, the infliction of it is wholly unheeded, amid the pursuit of more engrossing objects—the rush of more vehement desires—and the exuberance of more exciting joys. So comparatively rare a phenomenon is cruelty, for cruelty's sake, that Milton, with his usual consummate judgment, represents Satan as loath to exhibit a disposition so utterly fiendlike—preferring to attri-

bute his seducement of our first parents to his determination to be revenged on God, and the necessities of his hellish policy, rather than to any positive delight in their destruction and misery. On beholding them so lovely, innocent and happy in the bowers of paradise, he thus gives vent to the conflicting emotions of his troubled spirit:—

> Ah happy pair! ye little think how nigh
> Your change approaches, when all these delights
> Will vanish, and deliver ye to woe—
> ——————— Hell shall unfold,
> To entertain you two, her widest gates.
> ——————— If no better place
> Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge
> On you who wrong me not, for him who wrong'd.
> And should I at your harmless innocence
> Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
> Honour and empire with revenge enlarged,
> By conquering this new world, compels me now
> To do what else, though damn'd, I should abhor.

But, be all this as it may, what we are chiefly concerned with, is to know and be assured that, whatever amount of actual cruelty may be involved in the horrid practice of Rajput infanticide, and to whatever cause it may be fairly ascribed, it is not to aught so Satanic as a sheer love of cruelty. It is not possible for any one who peruses the elaborate, but somewhat tedious, Annals of Rajasthan by Col. Tod, to doubt this. That cruelty exists to a fearful extent is but too evident. But it exists, as in numberless other cases, not because of any positive love for it; but because of the absence of certain principles, and the presence of others, sufficiently potent to account for an utter regardlessness of it.

How, then, are we to account for it? Does it arise from a *total destitution of maternal affection*—or that love of offspring—that attachment to their young, which, as it is totally distinct from benevolence or any other of the higher sentiments, is common to human beings with the lower animals? We have no reason to think so. It is true that this is a feeling or instinctive propensity, which, like every other feeling, propensity, or higher faculty, whether intellectual or moral, exists in *very different degrees* among different individuals, and even different tribes or communities. It is also true that particular cases have occurred in which the feeling seemed scarcely to exist. We are told of a lady, at Vienna, "who loved her husband tenderly, and who managed the concerns of her household with intelligence and activity, but who sent from home, as soon as they saw the light, all the nine children to whom she successively gave birth, and for years never asked to see them—that, being somewhat ashamed of this indifference, and being

unable to account for it herself, she insisted upon her husband seeing them every day and taking charge of their education." History has also recorded instances of mothers, who, as in the case of the mother of the poet Savage, "conceived an unac-'countable and seemingly causeless hatred against their own 'offspring, and who persecuted them with relentless severity." But the comparative rarity of all such cases proves them to be exceptions from the general rule of the all but universal existence of the parental feeling; even as cases of deafness or blindness are but exceptions from the general rule of the all but universality of the endowments of vision and hearing. All observation goes to satisfy us that the love of offspring is more than ordinarily strong among Hindu mothers, viewed in their aggregate or national capacity. Even the mournful annals of Rajput infanticide furnish sufficient evidence to prove, that,—however much it may be kept in abeyance by other considerations, or however much it may be overborne by other more active impulses,—it is by no means extinct in the breast of the Rajputni mother. In the striking case of a Jharija chief, which was subjected to judicial investigation, it was clearly brought out in evidence, that, while the mother, in obedience to a tyrannous custom, made no effort to preserve her child, she was observed to weep bitterly, saying, that her "fate was a hard one;" —and, being found still crying on the second day after delivery, she confessed it was because her babe "had been murdered." And if the shroud of impenetrable secrecy, in which every such scene has hitherto been enveloped, were torn aside, who can tell how much of the genuine relentings of nature might be found mixed up with the cruelties of a barbarous usage? In other cases, mothers, giving way to the gushings of parental affection, have been known to plead, and plead successfully too, for the life of their new-born babes. An affecting instance of this description is related by Mr. Wilkinson.—"Apji Hárá Jagirdár of Koila, and a near heir to the throne of Kotah, had destroyed several of his daughters. The last that was born to him was preserved by the maternal affection of his lady. When the child was born and announced to be a girl, the Thakur issued the order for its immediate destruction. The mother interceded. The proud Thakur indignantly repeated his order, that the madár juice be forthwith administered to the innocent babe. The mother still besought for the infant's life. The day happened to be the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, the tutelary Deity of the Hárás. 'For Sri Krishnaji's sake spare the innocent babe,' cried the fond mother, 'oh pollute not this sacred day by the commission of so black a sin.' The Thakur

relented, and this single daughter of the house of Koila lives to bless the name of Krishna." And in those cases in which parents were persuaded to spare their children, the parental feeling, uncoiled from all entanglements, soon manifested itself. When Col. Walker visited the station of Dherole, and summoned into his presence those who had yielded to his humane suggestions, he remarks, that "it was extremely gratifying on this occasion to observe the triumph of nature and parental affection, over prejudice and a horrid superstition; and that those who, but a short period before, would, as many of them had done, have doomed their infants to destruction without compunction, should now *glory in their preservation, and doat on them with fondness.*" Still, it ought to be remembered that, even where the maternal affection decidedly exists, it admits, like every other original feeling or tendency of the human mind, of being contracted or expanded—depressed or elevated—crushed or developed—according to the geniality or uncongeniality of surrounding circumstances. Probably it is weakest, in most cases, at the very hour of birth. The general prostration of strength usually renders any vivid manifestation of it, or of any other primordial feeling or power, impossible. It is a feeling, too, which the subsequent wants and weakness and helplessness,—the watching and the nourishing, not less than the little endearments and winning smiles, tend powerfully to strengthen and mature. Hence the supposed language of a mother in directing the father's attention to her babe newly awakening from its slumbers:—

> Oh—! Look on him; see how full of life,
> Of strength, of bloom, of beauty, and of joy.
> How like to me,—how like to thee, when gentle,
> For *then* we are *all* alike: is't not so,—?
> Mother, and Sire, and Son, our features are
> Reflected in each other.
> Look! how he laughs, and stretches out his arms,
> And opens wide his blue eyes upon thine,
> To hail his father; while his little form,
> Flutters as wing'd with joy. Talk not of pain!
> The childless cherubs well might envy thee
> The pleasures of a parent! Bless him,———
> As yet he hath no words to thank thee, but
> His heart will, and thine own too.

It is natural to conjecture, that an experimental knowledge of the fact so touchingly represented in these lines, has had much more to do with the invariable practice of destroying infants the instant they are born, than the alleged sinlessness of the deed at the hour of birth, and its admitted sinfulness a few days after. It must be patent to the common sense of the dullest and most obtuse, that the criminality of the act depends not in any way on the element of *age*, whether longer or shorter, but

solely on the fact—the bare and naked fact—of cruelly and causelessly taking away innocent life at all. And it could not escape the most sluggish apprehension, that the life of a living babe, an hour old, is as real and substantive an entity in kind, as the life of a child, days, or months, or years old. Experience, therefore, could not fail to teach the prudence of *immediately* making away with the child, before the parental feeling had time to rally, develope itself, and gather strength. For then, the perpetration of the deed might be accompanied with such agonizing pain, or even remorse, as might render the general execution, or frequent repetition of it, morally impossible.

If, then, the commission of the crime cannot fairly be attributed to any innate love of cruelty or to any radical destitution of the parental affection, to what motive, influence, or cause are we to ascribe it? Does it owe its origin to *gross and perverted notions of religion*, which, whether true or false, has always exercised the mightiest and most lasting influence on the mind of man and the destiny of nations? Has it sprung from the imperious dictation of a sanguinary superstition, which,—transforming, in its ignorance and under the impulse of its guilty fears, the bland and benignant aspect of a gracious God into features that bespeak nought to the trembling votaries, but the frowns of cruelty and revenge,—prompts the deluded parent to offer "his first born for his transgression, the fruit of his body, for the sin of his soul?" As regards the *Rajput* tribes *generally* there is no evidence whatever to prove this to be the case. The wild hill tribe of *Minas* is the only one that pretends to plead any thing like divine authority for the commission of the crime. Of them the Political Agent at Kach, 1833, remarks, that they are "distinguished from the rest by their very general observance of what they regard as *the command of heaven* to destroy their female children." "The Minas," says Mr. Wilkinson, "have a tradition, inculcating the duty and propriety of destroying their daughters; and adduce *divine authority* in favour of the practice." Again, "They plead in justification of the practice, the authority of a *Sati*, who commanded the practice on ascending the pile, and of *the goddess Bhauwani herself who enjoined* it." And to shew that this was no idle theory—no mere abstract inoperative dogma—Mr. W. relates the following incident:—"As I was riding out one morning," says he, "accompanied with Lieut. C., I passed through the Bundi Mina village of Umur. I was there beset by the cries of a Mina woman, who clamorously demanded of me to forbear all endeavours to procure the suppression of an *ancient custom, and a religious*

rite, enjoined upon them by divine authority. When I endeavoured to reconcile the unfeeling woman, she boldly averred, that daughters in their tribe had been foretold to bring, if preserved, only trouble and misfortune to their families, and that the event could not be but calamitous." But, even as regards this tribe, the probability is, that the appeal to the sanction, or patronage, or command of Deity is an after-thought—an *ex post facto* reason,—suggested by the lamentable frequency of the all but incredible sacrifice, and designed at once to screen, palliate, or efface its enormity, and silence or wholly prevent the clamours of conscience. Thus it was with the Greeks and Romans, who, not satisfied with fastening the dishonour on any of the existing deities, coined and fabricated a new one, under the appropriate designation of *Infanticida.* But, be this at it may, none of the Rajput tribes profess to extenuate their conduct under an appeal similar to that of the Minas. On the contrary, Col. Tod positively testifies, that, "although custom sanctions and religion rewards, a *Sati*, the victim to marital selfishness, yet, to the honour of humanity, neither traditionary adage nor religious text can be quoted in support of a practice so revolting as infanticide." Yea, more than this;—they themselves unequivocally admit that their own *shastras*, instead of favouring, do, with more than ordinary emphasis, condemn the practice as one of aggravated criminality, and one which, consequently, must entail an aggravated condemnation. In a style, singularly characteristic of the genius of Hinduism, it is said to be declared in one of the Purans, "that killing even a fœtus is as criminal as killing a Brahman; and that for killing a female or woman, the punishment is to suffer in the *narak*, or hell, called Kat Sutal for as many years as there are hairs on that female's body; and that, afterwards, that person shall be born again, and successively become a leper, and be afflicted with the Jakhima." And from another of the Shastras a sloke is often quoted to this effect:—

> To kill one Brahman is equal to one hundred cows;
> To kill one woman is equal to one hundred Brahmans;
> To kill one child is equal to one hundred women;
> To kill one hundred children is an offence too grievous for comparison.

All this accords with the actual observation and experience of Mr. Wilkinson, who declares it as "fortunate for the cause of humanity," that the Rajputs "do not plead any religious sanction or authority, in any way, in defence of their barbarity. They all admit that it is a crime, and a crime even of a heinous nature. In such light the Hindu Shastras always speak of it." Moreover, "when a Rajput murders his infant daughter, he is so

far conscious of having incurred sin as to believe some expiation necessary. The poverty and brutalized hardihood of the Rajputs has reduced this expiation to the Sidha Sarrrimyam, or a single meal of flour to the family *purohit* or priest."

It thus appears, that the practice of infanticide prevails, in the absence of any innately cruel disposition; in spite of one of the strongest instincts of sentient being, the love of offspring; and in contravention of one of the most binding obligations, that which is enforced by the rewards and retributions of religion. Our inquiry, therefore, may conveniently assume this form:—What cause or causes can be found, sufficiently powerful to keep in abeyance, overmaster, or temporarily suppress one of the strongest of instincts and one of the most binding of obligations?

Some of the causes alleged wear a legendary aspect, and are self-evidently aprocryphal; or, even if allowed to be authentic, must be regarded as altogether inadequate to account for the phenomena. Of this description is the following, narrated by Col. Walker:—"The Jharijas relate, that a powerful Rajah of their caste, who had a daughter of singular beauty and accomplishments, desired his rajgor or family Brahman, to affiance her to a prince of desert and rank equal to her own. The rajgor travelled over many countries without discovering a chief possessed of the requisite qualities. In this dilemma the Rajah consulted his rajgor, and he advised him to avoid the disgrace which would attend the princess's remaining unmarried, by having recourse to the desperate expedient of putting his daughter to death. The Rajah was long averse to this expedient. The rajgor at length removed his scruples, by consenting to load himself with the guilt, and to become, in his own person, responsible for all the consequences of the sin! Accordingly, the princess was put to death, and female infanticide was, from that time, practiced by the Jharijas."

Other causes have been alleged, which, whether allowed to be authentic or not, never could account for the prevalence of the practice in *all its extent* and *permanence*. Of these the following may be taken as the most favorable specimen:—"It is said that one of the early Mussalman invaders of the Jharijas' country, who experienced the determination with which they defended their liberties, united policy to arms, and sought to consolidate their interests in the country, by demanding the daughters of the Rajahs in marriage. The high spirited Jharijas could not brook the disgrace, and pretended they did not preserve their daughters; but fearful of the consequences, and that force would be resorted to in order to obtain what was refused to

entreaty, they listened to the advice of their rajgor in this extremity, and, deluded by the fictitious responsibility which they accepted, the practice of infanticide originated, and has since been confirmed."

But, leaving the region of fable and doubtful conjecture, we may at once proceed to state, on the *unanimous concurrent testimony of European and Native authorities,* that the *real* causes may be resolved into two leading generic ones, viz. *the difficulty in procuring suitable matches for their daughters, were they allowed to grow up, coupled with the supposed disgrace of their remaining unmarried, and the difficulty of defraying the marriage expenses which immemorial usage had sanctioned.*

Whence, it may next be asked, does the difficulty of procuring suitable matches and of defraying the marriage expenditure arise?

As regards the *former,* a few sentences may explain it. In the first place, intermarriage, according to Col. Tod's statement, is prohibited "not only between families of the same clan, but between those of the same tribe; and though centuries may have intervened since their separation, and branches thus transplanted may have lost their patronymic, they can never be engrafted on the original stem: for instance, though eight centuries have separated the two grand subdivisions of the Gehlotes, and the younger, the Seesodia, has superseded the elder, the Aharya, each ruling distinct States, a marriage between any of the branches would be deemed incestuous: the Seesodia is yet brother to the Aharya, and regards every female of the race as his sister: every tribe has, therefore, to look abroad, and to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females." In the second place, in looking abroad for suitors, the laws of caste do not allow them to go beyond the Rajput races, or those who, through lines more or less direct, profess to trace their genealogies to the Sun and the Moon. But, though all the tribes claim this high descent, all are not equally noble. The more direct lines are of course the noblest; while the less direct lines with their various collateral and subordinate branches, possess gradations of rank that are endlessly and capriciously diversified. And no tribe of superior rank, that is, superior in its own estimation, or in that of the community at large, will ordinarily allow its blood to be deteriorated by inter-marriage with another inferior to itself. Here also regard for purity of lineage takes different directions. Some tribes will accept in marriage the daughters of Rajputs that are deemed superior, though they will not give their own daughters in marriage to them. In other cases again, this practice is exactly reversed; they will give but will not

take. In the third place if the temptations to infanticide be great, in proportion to the pretensions of any tribe on the score of honour, these are still more enhanced and multiplied in the case of those that are "out of the pale of feudalism, and subjected to powers not Rajput, from the increased pressure of the cause which gave it birth, and the difficulty of establishing their daughters in wedlock." In the fourth place, the obstacles are vastly augmented, should there be, not merely inferiority of rank and remoteness of position, but also a contracted taint or impurity of blood. To this cause, chiefly, Col. Tod attributes the almost universality of the practice among the Jharijas. These, according to him, "were Rajputs, a subdivision of the Yadus; but, by inter-marriage with the Muhammadans, to whose faith they became proselytes, they lost their caste. Political causes have disunited them from the Muhammadans, and they desire again to be considered as pure Rajputs; but having been contaminated, no Rajput (of superior rank) will inter-marry with them. The owner of a *lyde* of land, whether Seesodia, Rhator, or Chohan would spurn the hand of a Jharija princess. Can the '*sic volo*' be applied to men who reason in this fashion?" It is natural that the Jharijas themselves should represent the matter in a form less unfavourable to their lofty claims. A Jharija, when interrogated on the subject, promptly replied, "Where have we an equal to whom to be bestowed in marriage?" Accordingly, the Bombay Government, in a letter to the Court of Directors, from the statements laid before them, remark, that "the chief motive with the Jharijas to the commission of infanticide is the pride which leads them to consider the other tribes of Rajputs *unworthy* of receiving their daughters in marriage; and as no Rajput can marry a female of his own tribe, they prefer putting them to death, to the prospect of dishonour which is likely to result from their living in a single state."

The difficulty connected with the marriage expenditure operates as widely, and, if possible, with still more fatal influence than the former. It is a prominent and never failing ingredient in every statement which has been put forth by competent Natives and Europeans on the subject. By what is the expenditure occasioned? In some cases, there are tribes that will not condescend, from an overweening idea of their own importance, to receive the females of certain other tribes, as wives, without obtaining a very large dowry along with them. Inability to advance the marriage portion demanded, prompts to the commission of crime, as an alternative preferable in the estimate of the Rajput, to the dreaded dishonour and degrada-

tion of an unequal alliance. In other cases, "the sums were payable by the male side, ever unalterable, equal to the rich and the poor. What first established the payment is unknown; but it was so sacred, inviolable, and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessitous of the tribe would not incur the imputation. Hence arose infanticide. The sums payable were beyond the means of so many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after maturity, entailed disgrace, and thus imposed a necessity on all female progeny of becoming victims to their family honour." Another very general cause is to be found in the inveterate persuasion that all nuptials *must* be celebrated on a scale of magnificence, prescribed by hereditary usage, and proportioned to the real or supposed rank of the contracting parties. To abate aught of this nuptial profusion and extravagance, would be to acknowledge a decline of fortune, and a virtual lapse into an inferior grade or rank. And rather than brook this imaginary disgrace the innocent must suffer, to obviate the necessity of providing for them, and prevent too palpable an exposure of the curtailment of family resource and ancient renown.

But, by far the most general and characteristic source of expenditure is to be found in the exorbitant demands of *Bhats* and *Charans*, on the celebration of marriages. From Sir John Malcolm we learn, that the Rajputs in general "pay comparatively little attention to Brahmans—that a holy man of this tribe has a share of their respect and veneration, but their priests are the Charans and Bhats, who, to the direction of their superstitious devotions, add the office of chronicler of their cherished fame and that of their ancestors. These classes have rank as the genealogists of proud and ignorant chiefs, but more favoured individuals combine with that office the station of counsellors, and establish an ascendancy over the mind of their lord, which is stronger from being grounded on a mysterious feeling of awe. Both Charans and Bhats boast of celestial origin. The former are divided into two tribes—merchants and bards. These latter apply their skill to the genealogy of tribes, and to the recital of numerous legends, usually in verse, which celebrated the praises of former heroes, which it is their duty to chaunt to gratify the pride, and rouse the emulation, of their descendants. The Bhats, as chroniclers, or bards, share offices with the Charans. They praise and give fame in their songs to those who are liberal to them, while they visit those who neglect or injure them with satires in which they are reproached with spurious birth and inherent meanness. Sometimes the Bhat, if very seriously offended, fixes the figure

of the person he desires to degrade on a long pole, and appends to it a slipper as a mark of disgrace. In such cases the song of the Bhat records the infamy of the object of his revenge. This image usually travels the country, till the party or his friends purchase with money the cessation of the ridicule and curses thus entailed. It is not deemed in these countries within the power of the first ruler, much less any other, to stop a Bhat, or even punish him for such a proceeding. He is protected by that superstitious and religious awe, which when general among a people, controls even despotism." Now, for ages, it has been the established custom for Bhats and Charans, not only to attend and be regaled at all marriage festivities, but also to be dismissed, laden with pecuniary and other gifts, corresponding to the rank and reputed wealth of the entertainer. If their expectations or demands on these occasions, remain unsatisfied, they bitterly reproach the recusant Rajputs, and write satires against them which they circulate throughout all the cities and towns of the country. To avert so disastrous a calamity, what sacrifices will not the proud and haughty Rajput be ready to make? But scarcely any amount of sacrifice is sufficient to meet all the claims preferred. These bards, minstrels, chroniclers and genealogists "pour forth," says Col. Tod, "their epithalamiums in praise of the virtue of liberality. The *bardais* are the grand recorders of fame, and the volume of *precedent* is always recurred to, in citing the liberality of former chiefs; while the dread of their satire (literally, *poison*) shuts the eyes of the chiefs to consequences, and they are only anxious to maintain the reputations of their ancestors, though fraught with future ruin. 'The Dahima emptied his coffers (says Chund, the pole-star of the Rajputs) on the marriage of his daughter with Pirthirjaj; but he filled them with the praises of mankind.' The same bard retails every article of these dowers, which thus became precedents for future ages; and the *lac passao* then established for the chief Cardai, has become a model to posterity. Even now, the Rana of Udaipur, in his season of poverty, at the recent marriage of his daughter, bestowed "the gift of a lac, on the chief bard; though the articles of gold, horses, clothes, &c. were included in the estimate, and at undue valuation, which rendered the gift not quite so precious as in the days of the Chohan." In like manner, Capt. Ludlow, Political Agent, at Jaudpur or Marwar, reports, that "upon occasions of an unexpected confluence of this class, their exactions have sometimes amounted to three-fourths of the year's income—and that the estates thus became involved in debt and difficulty, which for a season of course threw insur-

mountable difficulties in the way of future marriages in the same family." To the same effect, but with still greater particularity, the Jaudpur Vakeel states, that "there are perhaps *twenty thousand* Charans within the limits of Marwar. On occasions of nuptial ceremonies in the families of the principal nobles of the state, as many as *four thousand*, or even *five thousand*, assembled; and it became a difficult task to satisfy the demands of such a host. One or two Charans coming from a village, uniformly brought with them barbers, washermen, and others in number about *twenty*, all of whom they wrote down as Charans. When portions were distributed, it was the practice for the masters to retain what had been received on account of these persons, who in reality were only entitled to partake of the marriage feast. From these causes, marriages in families of Thakurs (persons of rank) became a great source of expenditure; nay, the Charans refused to go away unless their demands were satisfied, and they were capable of perpetrating various acts of coercion through violent conduct, or the utterance of abusive language; and thus it was placed beyond the power of the Thakurs to resist their demands." Both the Vakeel and Colonel Sutherland relate an extreme instance of the extortionate demands of these insatiable harpies, because of its date being recent and the belief in it universal:— "Nahur Khan, the Thakur of Ashop, at the time of the nuptial ceremony of his daughter, made a vow that he would, during a whole year, deliver to the Charans what they might demand of him. He accordingly satisfied the claims of all comers; some obtained a horse, others articles of clothing, cash, bracelets of gold, strings of pearls. At length all was gone, and the year was not yet expired, when a Charan came, and finding the Thakur's substance exhausted, demanded of him his head, upon which, in fulfilment of his vow, he severed it from his body with his own sword. From this cause, the descendants of the house have, from the time in question, destroyed their daughters at their birth." So severely and extensively is the scourge felt that the Vakeel goes the extreme length of affirming that "female infanticide among the Rajputs, which has existed from time immemorial, *originated* in the heavy demands made upon them at marriages of their daughters by the Charans."

From all this we gather, that the GENERAL RULE, applicable alike to ALL the tribes composing the Rajput community, is, that *whencver and wherever there is no reasonable prospect of obtaining suitable marriages for daughters, or of defraying the customary nuptial expenses, there and then, must the life of the female infant be considered as forfeited.* Now,

it requires no stretch of ingenuity—no subtlety of analyis—to discover, that the real root of the whole difficulty, in both these respects, is PRIDE—pride, in one or other of its varied modifications—pride, with its kindred ally, false honour—pride, vastly more soaring and extravagant than any ever generated by the feudalism and chivalry of demi-barbaric Europe. For, what is pride? It is that state of mind which has been not unhappily defined "the illegitimate offspring of complacency violated by self-love." Or, to express the matter more plainly, it is that feeling, affection, or emotion of the soul which springs from erroneous or exaggerated conceptions of ourselves—our state or condition, our talents or acquirements, our rank or possessions, our sayings or doings—or, in short, any thing unduly magnified and prized in which we may have directly or indirectly a personal interest. In the case of the Rajputs the chief source of their towering pride, is that of *family descent*. They believe themselves to be so many royal races—bearing the stamp of an incredible antiquity—and exhibiting a nobility of lineage, such as is not to be matched in all the world besides. When a Rajput casts his eye along the roll of past ages, he sees, or what is the same thing, fancies he sees, a long and unbroken line of ancestry—an ancestry, distinguished by god-like qualities and heroic deeds, that blaze through the ancient epochs and classic realms of Indian song with an effulgence of surpassing glory. And as he gazes with wondering admiration at the mighty personages that flit across the brilliant horizon of his vision,—and contemplates, with excited interest, the awe-inspiring scenes in which they shone so pre-eminently,—he is led, with unquestioning faith, to view himself as still one of their genuine descendants and representatives, amid these latter days of eclipse and degeneracy. The view transports him beyond all reasonable bounds. He instantly feels as if their very being were mingled and interblended with his—as if their honoured country were his country—their exalted rank and dignity, his rank and dignity—their unrivalled achievements, his achievements;—in a word, as if the very splendour of their glory and renown were reflected with undiminished radiance on himself! His self-elation—his pride—now swells, till, speedily exceeding all ordinary dimensions, its head is lost in the clouds. The real question is not, whether the whole of this gorgeous superstructure be not as devoid of solidity above, or foundation underneath, as the fantastic towers and battlements of a dream. It may be, and, in *our view*, truly is, as utterly baseless as "the fabric of a vision." But what of

that, if,—from immemorial tradition, hereditary faith, and the sacred annals of the State,—it be, in *the view of the Rajput*, the chiefest and most precious of all realities? To one who thinks thus loftily, feels thus fervently, believes thus intensely, how natural, though fallacious and melancholy, are the practical conclusions to which he is led! Under the predominant influence of excessive pride, the master-passion thus generated, the lordly aristocratic Rajput,—rather than brook the fancied disgrace of unequal alliances, and thereby break the line, by contaminating the blood, of so noble a descent,—will quench the very instincts of his nature and doom to death his unoffending offspring! Rather than brook the fancied disgrace of celebrating a daughter's nuptials in a style of pomp and magnificence disproportioned to his lofty pretensions, he will extinguish a life which, if preserved, would load him, when living, with the caresses of fondest affection, and follow him when dead, with the flowers and offerings of a filial and grateful remembrance! Rather than brook the fancied disgrace of having his name sullied and his honour tarnished by the silence or dispraise of bards and genealogists, whose favourable verdict must be purchased at a rate of liberality that would plunge him into irretrievable poverty and distress, he will steel his heart against the yearnings of parental love, and deface these "climes of the sun" with the systematic commission of one of the foulest and most unnatural of crimes!

Having thus briefly noticed the nature and extent, the causes and the instruments of the Rajput system of Infanticide, it is well to pause and note its extreme *singularity*—its absolute *uniqueness*. Other tribes and nations have been, or still are, deeply stained with the guilt of shedding innocent blood; and all of them plead their own specific reasons in justification. Did the ancient Spartans consign all children that were weak or sickly or deformed to destruction? It was because, for the sake of preserving its liberty and independence, the state demanded that *all* its citizens should be trained up as hardy warriors. Were the ancient Arabians often accustomed to bury their daughters alive? It was, in cases of sudden emergency and surprize, to prevent their falling captive into the hands of a hated foe. Do the women of China and Japan often suffocate, and that to a frightful extent, the tender babes at the breast? It is under the plea of hunger or threatened starvation. Is it the invariable practice of the inhabitants of Greenland and New Holland to commit the sucking infant to the same tomb with the deceased mother? It is on account of the difficulty, in regions so sterile, or where the means of subsistence are so pre-

carious, of providing for those who cannot earn a livelihood by their own personal exertions. In Tunkin, and elsewhere, are children, born out of the pale of lawful matrimony, universally destroyed? It is because of the excessive severity of the laws against illegitimacy. In the island of Formosa, is it the uniform custom to put to death all children, legitimate or illegitimate, that are born of mothers under the age of 35 or 36 ? It is because of the "impression which they receive from their priestesses that it were a great sin and shame to them to bear children under that age." Do the Bushmen and other African tribes often strangle or smother their children, or bury them alive, or cast them away in the desert, or throw them into the jaws of hungry lions? It is under the pressure and confusion of hostile attack, or sudden flight from the rage of cruel beasts, or still more cruel fellow-men. Do the Arreoys, of the South Sea Islands, enter into a mysterious association for the express purpose of dealing out indiscriminate destruction to their helpless offspring? It is under the phrenzy and delirium of a profligacy, which, with all its wild and systematic revelries, has certainly not been surpassed in the annals of human depravity. Do the women of different tribes, in South America, often put to death their infant daughters? It is from the impulse of a strange compassion, and misdirected sympathy—to save them from a life of unceasing pain, labour, and misery. "Would to God," replied one of these, when earnestly expostulated with on the heinousness of the offence, "would to God, that my mother when she brought me forth had shewn as much compassion and regard for me as to have preserved me from the pain I have endured, and must endure until the end of my days. Had she buried me alive when I was born, I should not have felt death, and it would have saved me from all I am indispensably subjected to, as well as labours more cruel than death is terrifying. Would to God, I repeat, would to God that she who gave me life had shewn her affection by depriving me of it at my birth; my heart would have had less to suffer, and my eyes less to weep." Have almost all nations, at some stage or other of their existence, been addicted to the practice of immolating infant victims, during seasons of public disaster and calamity? It was the unbounded ascendancy of superstition, which, under visitations of the hurricane or drought, famine or pestilence, or exterminating war, succeeded in stifling the feelings of nature and drenching the altars of remorseless Deities with the blood of propititation—leading one of the ancients indignantly to exclaim, "Tell me, if the monsters of old, the Typhons and the Giants, were to expel the Gods, would they exact a service

more horrid than those infernal rites and sacrifices?" Thus has the parental affection been overpowered by superior impulses, arising from the teeming brood of ignorance with its mistaken tenderness, and lust with its riotous excesses, and physical want with its indurating appliances, and superstition with its relentless cravings. But it was reserved for the high-souled and chivalrous tribes of Rajasthan, to exhibit to the world a spectacle of wholesale destruction continued from age to age —a system rather, by which it is demonstrable that millions and millions of female children have prematurely perished! Perished!—how? By the famine that pines in empty stalls, or the pestilence that walketh at noon-day? No. That were, in some measure, a merciful death; as it would be by the righteous, though severe, ordination of an all-wise Providence. How then?—amid the remorseless atrocities of barbaric warfare? No. That, too, were comparatively a natural death, as it would be inflicted by the hands of an enemy exasperated by deadly hate. How then?—and when? In times of peace, when the trumpet hangs quietly in the hall, as well as when it peals the shout of battle;—in times of plenty, when earth, air, and ocean, fling stores of affluence from their teeming bosoms;—amid the retirements of home, amid the stillness of domestic privacy, have the thousands of hecatombs of helpless innocents been cruelly sacrificed!—sacrificed!—massacred!—butchered! Butchered by whom?—By the midnight assassin, wielding the Indian scalping knife and savage tomahawk? No, no. Let humanity shudder! They are the mothers,—the unhappy mothers,—who, in the name of false honour, demon pride, and hereditary fictions connected with rank and purity of lineage, have no compassion on the fruit of their own womb—who imbrue their hands in the blood of their new-born babes! Surely, surely this must be the very consummation of the triumph of the great Adversary over poor, ruined, infatuated man! Who would not desire to remove such ignorance,—alleviate such wretchedness? Who would not desire to stem such torrents of blood,—seal up such yawning graves? Who would not desire to wipe away such a reproach from the empire of Britain,—extirpate such foul pollution and guilt from the earth,—annihilate such monuments of the supremacy of the prince of darkness? Tell us, ye British mothers, who have fondled your smiling babes, and clasped them to your bosoms, as the most precious gifts of heaven, if ever such a tale of woe has sounded in your ears? Surely, were it only possible to cause your ears to ring with but a faint and distant echo of the groans and dying agonies of myriads of infantile victims, that, from year to

year, impurple with their gore the hamlets and the palaces of India, ye would arise, and, making joint cause with philanthropists of every name, resolve, with one spontaneous and universal impulse, to take no rest till ye had done all that in you lay, to sweep such horrid and abominable cruelties from off the face of the earth!

IV. This naturally brings us to the subject of a *remedy*. For as Mr. Fox, in reference to another class of criminal enormities, once observed, "True humanity consists not in a squeamish ear; it consists not in starting or shrinking at such tales as these, but in a disposition of heart to relieve misery. True humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to use real and active endeavours, to execute the actions which it suggests."

The practice of infanticide appears to have occasionally attracted the attention of the Muhammadan rulers of India. The Emperor Jehanguire, having heard of a village in which the inhabitants were wont to put their daughters to death, ordered "the barbarous practice to be discontinued, and enacted that whoever should commit it in future should be put to the torture." But such attempts as these were but partial, fluctuating, and dependent on the wayward humour or fitful caprice of a single man. The same remark applies to the humane attempts of such of the native princes as endeavoured from time to time to check or mitigate the evil. The plan proposed, and in some degree followed, about a century ago, by the great Jai Singh, of Amber or Jaipur, is thus stated by Col. Tod:—"He submitted to the prince of every Rajput state a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective vassals, in which he regulated the *dueja* or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, limiting it to one year's income of the estate. This plan was, however, frustrated by the vanity of the Chandawat, of Salembra, who expended on the marriage of his daughter a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded; and to have his name blazoned by the bards and genealogists, he sacrificed the beneficent views of one of the wisest of the Rajput race. Until vanity suffers itself to be controlled, and the aristocratic Rajput submit to republican simplicity, the evils arising from nuptial profusion will not cease."

To the British Government and its servants belong the honour of instituting vigorous, sustained, and wide-spread attempts to abolish the inhuman custom. Mr. Duncan, after discovering, in 1789, its existence and extent among the Rajkumars, prevailed on such of them as were situated within the British frontier

to renounce it in future. For this end they were induced to enter into a solemn written engagement. Subsequently, in the year 1795, a Regulation was passed by the Supreme Government, to the effect, that within the British Territories, infanticide must be judicially dealt with as wilful murder;—in other words, that "any person taking the life of his own child will be punished by the law as if he or she committed murder on a grown up person." In 1808, in Kattiawar, Western India, Col. Walker entered fully on the philanthropic undertaking with sanguine expectations of success. He very naturally "conceived that reason and feeling would effect the relinquishment of a barbarous custom unconnected with the principles of Society; and which all the passions of the human mind, and all the forms and maxims of religion, were combined to destroy." But he soon found, to his sore regret, that "sentiments of nature and humanity had no influence with the Jharijas;" and he felt himself, "however reluctantly, obliged to relinquish the favourable expectations he had formed of success." Still, his ardour in the good cause being unquenchable, he persevered in his course of argument and persuasion with some of the leading chiefs. He appealed to every imaginable motive of humanity, morality, and religion. For a long period of time, it was "*the daily subject of letters, messages, and conferences.*" At length he bethought him of a change of tactics. "The humanity and tenderness congenial to the sex," says Col. Walker, "induced me to expect the assistance of the women of Jchaji (the chief of Murvi's) family. The preservation of their offspring appeared peculiarly their business. I conceived that my appeal to wives and mothers, and women who came from tribes who rejected infanticide, would be attended with every advantage. I was farther led to entertain great hopes of this plan, on account of the high character of the mother of the chief, for prudence, propriety of conduct, and a benevolent disposition. My overtures to this lady were, at first, received with the feelings natural to her sex; and she seemed disposed, with the rest of the women, who held several consultations together on the subject to unite their influence for the abolition of infanticide. But these ebullitions were of short duration; the Jharijas were alarmed, and the *women contended for the ancient privilege of the caste:* they were led away from the path of nature by the influence of their husbands. The mother of the chief of Murvi requested that she might be excused soliciting her son on this head, and referred me for farther information to Jchaji." At this period, the Colonel confesses, that his prospect of success was "very obscure and distant." But his brave spirit was not to be daunted. With

increasing earnestness did he labour, in public and in private, to expose the enormity of the practice, "as contrary to the 'precepts of religion and the dictates of nature"—bringing, at the same time, the whole weight of his personal and official influence to bear on its abolition. Nor did he labour in vain. A gracious providence overruled his benevolent efforts. As the fruit of his burning zeal and indomitable perseverance, "a deed of the most solemn, effectual, and binding nature was executed," before the close of 1808, and subscribed by most of the Jharija chiefs "renouncing for ever the practice of infanticide." This deed, after admitting that the practice was a great offence and transgression against the divine law, thus concluded,—"We do hereby agree for ourselves and our offspring, as also we bind ourselves in behalf of our relations and their offspring for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindu faith, that we shall from this day renounce this practice, and, in doubt of this, that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the Sircars (the British and the Guikwar Governments). Moreover, should any one in future commit this offence we shall expel him from our caste, and he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the two Governments, and the rule of the Shastras."

Thus, in the east and the west, was it fondly supposed that the practice was wholly extirpated. The double triumph of the cause of humanity, among the different and distant tribes of Rajkumars and Jharijas, was hailed with unbounded satisfaction and delight. So shocked and horrified were the minds of men by the discovery of so revolting a system, that they seized with avidity the first symptoms of a return to the path of right reason and right feeling.

The treaties, signed by the chiefs, were regarded as conclusive evidence of contrition for the past and amendment for the future; while the names of Duncan and Walker were deservedly enrolled in the bright catalogue of this world's most honoured benefactors. The battle having been fought, and the victory supposed to be gained, and the champions crowned with honor, it was naturally believed that all might sit down quietly to enjoy the fruits of the conquest with feelings unharrowed, and peace of mind undisturbed. So undoubting, so absolute, was the general conviction of the completeness of the triumph! Major Moor dedicates his great work on the Hindu Pantheon to Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, as the individual to whom humanity was indebted for "the *voluntary abolition* of that extraordinary practice, *Infanticide formerly* and *lately* so unhappily prevalent among some misguided classes, both in the East and West of India." "*Thousands* of infants," says he, "owe a continuation

of their existence to you:—as many mothers, that they, when with Nature's tenderness nurturing their offspring, have not been forced to *tear the nipple from their boneless gums, and dash their brains out.*" The author of an article in Rees' Encyclopedia, says, of the Rajkumars, that Mr. Duncan "succeeded in persuading this deluded people to relinquish their barbarous habit and *so effectually, that no instance has since been discovered* of an infringement of the written penal obligation that the chiefs and other individuals of that tribe voluntarily entered into." Again respecting the Peninsula of Gujarat, the same author remarks that "Mr. Duncan, through the able and zealous co-operation and agency of Col. Walker, again succeeded in *the entire and effectual abolition* of the custom." In like manner a writer in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, edited by Sir David Brewster, says to Col. Walker that "many difficulties opposed his wise and benevolent exertions; but he had at last the felicity of seeing them *crowned with complete success.* The chiefs renounced a practice, which they defended as having been interwoven with the existence of their tribe for thousands of years." After such a statement, well might the writer add, that "it must certainly appear singular that prejudices so deeply implanted, and passing, as it were, by inheritance, could be rooted out by the efforts of one individual, and thus admit a benefit of such magnitude being conferred on humanity!"

Singular, indeed, must all this have appeared to those who could persuade themselves to believe it to be *true.* But, alas, subsequent experience served but too surely to prove, that the whole was a mere illusion, under whose dazzling and deceptive colours, realities were mistaken for shadows and shadows for realties. Time, with its new revelations, but too amply demonstrated that the real depths of the evil had never been fathomed—that the roots which, for centuries, it had been striking into the soil of Rajput society, penetrated deeper and ramified farther than it had entered into the imagination of European philanthropists to conceive—and, consequently, that the treaties of supposed abolition, formed under the direction of Walker and Duncan, instead of extirpating the evil, only had the practical effect of casting a veil over it, and thereby concealing it from the eyes of men, by lulling their suspicions and rocking their wakeful energies into sleep.

Upwards of *twenty* years after the supposed "entire and effectual abolition" of the practice in the East, and *nine* or *ten* years after its reported extirpation in the West, men began to awake as from a dream. Instead of being entirely abolished, as was universally believed, they were startled and amazed, on opening

their eyes to the actual realities of the scene before them, to find that the practice, was scarcely even mitigated in its virulence or abridged in its extent. In the *East*, Mr. Shakespear, acting superintendent of Police, in 1816, testified, that,—though the regulations of 1795 and 1804, "contain provisions for the prevention and punishment of the inhuman practice prevalent among the tribe of Rajkumars of causing the female infants to be strangled to death,—there is reason to believe that *this practice still obtains among them to nearly the same extent as formerly*; though a great degree of caution is observed to prevent detection." In the same year, the Governor General in Council expresses his regret to find, by information received from official sources, that "the measures adopted by Mr. Duncan, when Resident at Benares, and the provisions of the Regulations had failed to prevent the inhuman practice," and that "the crime itself had not in any degree diminished." In 1818, Mr. Ewer, the Acting Superintendent of Police, reiterates the declaration, that "the practice of the Rajkumars was, he had reason to think, but little checked by the enactment." In 1819, Mr. Cracroft, Magistrate of Juanpur, reports, that "eight Rajkumars, married men, whom he called before him, had among them, *seventeen sons and only one daughter*—that there were *some* families who would willingly rear their daughters, but these were *very few*—and that, if by any misfortune their circumstances should become reduced, they would *not hesitate to have recourse to the practice of the caste.*" Turning to the *West*, we find precisely the same mournful results. In 1816, Major Carnac, Resident at Baroda, reported to the Bombay Government, that "the abolition of the inhuman practice in Kach had not been accomplished." In 1817, Capt. Ballantine, in his official report, thus writes,—"I much fear the object of our interference for the suppression of this singular custom has too generally failed, to select any individual party for the just vengeance of Government and offended nature." To put the matter, however, beyond a doubt, this gentleman, in his laudable zeal for the interests of humanity, prepared a "complete register of all the Jharijas known in Kattiawar, together with the age and number of their female offspring saved, or now living, since the introduction of the infanticide arrangement by Col. Walker, in 1808"—being the *first* paper of the kind that had yet been obtained—and one of peculiar value, as furnishing the best data on which to watch, with better effect, the progress of remedial measures. From this official statistical document it appears that, during the space of *ten years*, throughout the whole of

Kattiawar, only *sixty three* female infants had been preserved!—that, in none of the taluks or estates of Jharija chiefs, was more than *one* female child found living, and in some of them, such as Draffa, *not even one*, though containing as many as *four hundred* families! At the close of *ten* years, *subsequent to the supposed total abolition of the practice*, this was an astounding discovery. No wonder that all parties at home and abroad were taken utterly aback by it. No wonder that the Governor in Council, in addressing the Court of Directors, while rejoicing in the fact that even *sixty-three* female children had been preserved by their interposition, should be constrained sorrowfully to add, that Capt. Ballantine's report "exhibited a melancholy picture of the *almost universal continuance of the horrid practice, and that to an extent beyond what they had anticipated.*" No wonder that the Court, in its official despatch to the Governor of Bombay, should deem it expedient to reiterate its previously expressed wishes on the subject, adding with peculiar emphasis,—"and we must again enjoin you, in the most serious and earnest manner, to be unremitting in your endeavours to accomplish this humane object in the countries where the British influence can be felt or exerted."

It thus appeared, so many years after conclusive arrangements were believed to have been effected, that the whole work, instead of being consummated, required to be *begun anew*. But after the experience of so dismal and hopeless a failure, *what was to be done*, was the question of questions. At home, Col. Walker, who, by this time had retired from public life, to enjoy the sweets of repose on the banks of the Tweed, addressed the Honourable Court of Directors—expressing the extremity of his sorrow at the lamentable result of his former exertions—and offering various suggestions that could not fail to be valuable to his successors in India. He repeats what he had advanced before, that, "from the peculiar habits of the people of this part of India, the practice of destroying the children cannot be overcome by the mere dictates of natural affection"—that, "when this tie was once abandoned, it would be long before it could be recovered; and it would be necessary that they should be continually watched and urged to the performance of a duty, which is seldom neglected even by the brutes." He strongly urges it as a first principle, that "the authority of Government must be maintained, and the engagement, which had been mutually contracted, exactly fulfilled"—that "the servants of Government, Native or British, should have instructions to watch over the operation of the engagements in their several districts, and to report upon every occurrence of a birth

among the Jharijas, or even the surmises of its consequences"—that "the whole system should be supported by rewards and punishments, the displeasure of Government and the correction of society"—that "various marks of regard" should be shewn to the observers of the engagement, and "honorary medals, &c." conferred—that "the names of those who had been faithful to their agreement, and of those who had been proved to violate it, should be published in the kutcherries and places of public resort, after a report had been transmitted to Government"—that, in the detection of any case of delinquency, "a fine, proportioned to the case, and the ability of the parties, should be proposed"—and that "the fines recovered from delinquents should constitute a fund, sacred to the benefit of those who had saved their daughters, which should be distributed by the Resident according to the merits and wants of particular cases." Abroad, the Government and its agents were not idle. Various remedial measures were proposed and rejected. These, for the most part, consisted of "small details," which suggested the idea of "a conqueror proposing to lay a vast region under his feet by merely disarming or taking captive a few of the videttes or out-posts." The chief, the insuperable difficulty in following out any measures of a penal character, lay in the impossibility of establishing the guilt of any party on sufficient evidence. A few detections, vigorously dealt with, might do much to check or arrest the practice. But every plan for the attainment of this end had hitherto failed. Major Carnac proposed, that rewards, varying from a hundred to a thousand rupees, be given to informers who should establish a single case. He even "established several *mehtas, carcoons*, or *writers*, in the principal Jharija towns, with instructions to communicate the birth, preservation or murder of female children; but the jealousy with which these men were regarded rendered their exertions almost abortive; and, while no Jharija would himself communicate the condition of his wife, they found it in vain to ask information from his neighbours. The duties of these mehtas were of that unquestionable nature that gave general dislike, and were likely to produce a feeling of opposition that would defeat all their inquiries." These, accordingly, and other kindred measures submitted to Government for consideration, "with a view of discovering how far the Jharija chieftains adhered to their engagements," were successively abandoned, "under the persuasion that they would prove extremely offensive to their feelings," as "leading to an intrusion into domestic privacy very foreign to Indian notions." From the *spontaneous* exertions of the people themselves nothing could be expected.

"So long," reported the Political agent truly, "so long as the feelings and interests of the people render them disinclined to afford aid in discovering it, few are prompted to make it known by a sense of humanity, or even of interest. Though all classes are ready to admit the barbarity of the practice, still they view it with so passive a spirit, that they feel indisposed to encounter the odium or animosity that the consequences of a disclosure might occasion." Thus was the discovery of the crime, which yet was acknowledged to prevail almost universally, "opposed by difficulties that defeated the utmost vigilance," on the part of the ruling authorities and their agents, while no rational hope existed of its being brought to light by the voluntary disclosures of any of the inhabitants.

At this time, after so many strenuous efforts, succeeded by so many baffling failures, a feeling of despondency began to creep over the spirits of the most sanguine. The calmest and most deliberate expression of this feeling we find in the language of the Hon. M. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay—than whom a shrewder or more philanthropic man has not often sat at the helm of our Indian administration. In 1821, we find him thus disburdening his mind on the subject:

"There is one point of great importance in which we are already entitled to exercise the right of general superintendence. This is in checking the crime of female Infanticide, and in imposing the fines authorized by Colonel Walker's agreements on those who may be guilty of it. It is greatly to be regretted, that the difficulty of detection should secure the perpetrators of this crime so effectually from punishment, as to render the article against it a dead letter! There has been no instance of punishment for Infanticide since the agreements were concluded; and this is so far from being owing to the diminution of the crime, that from the best information Major Ballantine could obtain, it would appear, that not more than 100 females born since the agreement are now in existence; and it is not easy to say, how many of these might have been spared, if the engagement had never been entered into. No effectual check can be imposed on this atrocious practice so long as it is so completely congenial to the general feeling of the people; unless, by employing hired agents, as proposed by Major Ballantine, whose duty it should be to detect offenders of this description; and such a measure would lead to so much intrusion into the most private and domestic proceedings of the superior castes (among whom alone Infanticide prevails,) and would be open to so many abuses on the part of the informers, that I do not think the chance of success would compensate for the disaffection which it would create. It may also be doubted, how far we have a right to interfere to such an extraordinary pitch with the private life of a people, with whose civil government and internal police we do not pretend to have any concern. We must therefore, be content to follow the footsteps of our predecessors (without attempting to go beyond them) in their most meritorious endeavours to discountenance this enormity; and we may safely flatter ourselves, that, as the manners of the people become softened by a continuance of tranquillity and good order, they will gradually discontinue a practice, which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct."

Fourteen years later, we find Colonel, now Sir Henry, Pottinger, thus strongly setting forth his own impression of the still apparently unconquerable difficulties :—

"The suppression of Infanticide appears to me by far the most difficult subject that we have ever had to deal with in India: *satis*, or the immolation of children on the Ganges, were nothing when compared to it. They simply required the fiat of the Government to put a stop to them in our own territories, but to even check infanticide we have to oppose not only sentiments which are strong enough to suppress the common feelings of human nature, and I may even say of the most savage wild animals, but to interfere in the most secret and sacred affairs amongst the higher classes of natives, of women; for no one who has been a short time in India, and has used his powers of observation, can have helped perceiving how scrupulously every man pretending to respectability refrains from any allusion to his females old or young.

When I first came to Kach, 10 years ago, I strove with all the zeal of a new comer to root out the practice, but I soon discovered my mistake. The Mehtas, sent at my request, by the then regency, were either cajoled by false returns, or expelled from towns and villages, not only by the classes charged with the crime but by the other inhabitants whom long habit had taught to view the business with indifference, if not absolute approbation, I next got the Durbar to summon all the Jharijas to Bhuj, and partly by threat and partly by persuasion, arranged with them to furnish quarterly statements of the births within their respective estates. This plan I saw from the outset was defective, but it was the best I could hit upon at the moment. It proved, however, an utter failure; within six months most of the Jharijas declared their inability to act up to their agreement, even as far as regarded their nearest relations.

Several fathers, for instance, assured me that they dare not establish such a scrutiny regarding their grown up sons, and the few censuses that were furnished, I found to have been drawn up by guess work, what may be termed the tittle tattle of the village. My next idea was, that, as all the Jharijas profess to be blood relations of the Rao of Kach, they might be requested to announce to him as the head of the tribe, as well as government, the fact of their wives being enceinte, and eventually the result. The scheme appeared feasible to the ministers, but when we proposed it to the Jharija members of the regency they received it with feelings of equal disgust and horror. Two modes further suggested themselves of carrying our object. The one to use direct authority and force; but that would no doubt be at variance with the spirit, if not the letter of the treaty. The other to grant portions, to every Jharija girl on her marriage. This latter method, proposed to the Bombay government by my predecessor, (Mr. Gardiner,) had been explicitly negatived, and that negative had been confirmed by the Honourable Court of Directors; under these circumstances I was obliged to remain quiet. Sir John Malcolm came to Bhuj in March 1830. He made a speech to the assembled Jharijas on the enormity of the crime, and told them the English nation would force the East India Company to dissolve all connexion with a people who persisted in it. The Jharijas of course individually denied the charge, but they afterwards inquired from me how the Governor could talk so to them at a moment when we were courting the friendship of Scinde, in which child murder is carried to a much greater extent than even in Kach, for it is a well known fact that all the illegitimate offspring born to men of any rank in that country are indiscriminately put to death, without reference to sex. Subsequent to Sir John's visit, an impostor of the name of Vijjia Bhutt,

went to Bombay, presented a petition to Government setting forth my supineness, and offering, if furnished with some peons, to do all that was required. This petition was referred to me to report on, which I did as it merited, and matters lay in abeyance till the young Rao was installed in July, 1834, when he adopted the most decided steps to enforce that article of the treaty which provides for the suppression of infanticide. He took a paper from the whole of his brethren reiterating that stipulation, and agreeing to abide the full consequences if they broke it. I officially promised the Rao our support in all his measures, and we have been watching ever since for an occasion to make a signal example, but the difficulty of tracing and bringing home such an allegation will be understood from this letter, and it would be vain to attempt to do so on uncertain grounds and fail."

These statements of Col. Pottinger are extremely valuable, not merely as demonstrative of the stubborn nature of the obstacles which remained in almost undiminished force after nearly thirty years of continued effort, but also as indicative of the nature of measures adopted, with little effect, for their removal. But Pottinger was not the only philanthropist who toiled throughout this long and dreary period of despondency. The names of Col. Miles, Major Barnewall, Mr. Blane, Capt., afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes, and others, preserve unbroken the succession of disinterested abolitionists. And though their labours were, in a great measure, ineffectual, they had the satisfaction of knowing that they were not wholly so. This will appear from the reported returns of female children preserved. In 1808, the number preserved in *Katiawar*, was 32. In 1817, it had increased to 63. In 1824, it was found to be 266. In 1823, in *Kach*, 93 were shewn to be preserved; and in 1826, the number amounted to 143. A few years later, from a minute and accurate census, by Capt. Burnes, of about a hundred and ten villages including a population of about *four thousand*, it appeared that there were 211 girls alive. The number of boys was ascertained, at the same time, to be 1167—that is, the male children exceeded the females in the proportion of *six to one*. In other words, only a *sixth* part of the females were saved; while the remaining *five-sixths* were cruelly consigned to death. All these results indicated that, although the horrible practice might be somewhat subdued, it was still far, very far indeed, from being, in any adequate degree, relinquished. The only instance of even temporary success, recorded throughout this long and dreary period is the relinquishment of the practice by the Mairs, or hill tribes of Mairwarra, in 1827, at the instigation of Capt. Hall. This was effected principally in consequence of a general agreement to "lower the sum payable on marriage contracts," and thereby bringing the amount of the nuptial expenses within the reach and convenience of all. To this, the only other fact of a gratifying nature that can be added is, that in 1829, Col. Miles was enabled to report that "several

chiefs attached to his agency had preserved their female children."

From the preceding statements the ten years subsequent to the supposed final settlement of Col. Walker, may be regarded as the period of *delusive slumber*. The next eighteen or twenty years may be viewed as the period of *partial reviviscence* and *mingled despondency*. We now come to the third period, commencing about the year 1834, which may well be reckoned that of *wide spread energetic action*. It was ushered in, almost simultaneously, by the vigorous exertions of Mr. Wilkinson, in Central India, and of Mr. Willoughby and Capt. Melvill, in the Western Provinces of Kattiawar and Kach. Let us briefly glance at the proceedings in each of those regions.

When Mr. Wilkinson was labouring to sound the depths of the evil, he strongly felt that "its continuance in the states of Malwa and Rajputana could not but reflect disgrace on that paramount power, before whose eyes the crime was daily being perpetrated." He accordingly strove to devise means for its extirpation. In so doing, he "confined himself to persuasion and appeals to the better feelings of the people, not considering himself to have any right to exercise authoritative interference in foreign territories." The Rajputs were not subjects, but allies of the British Government. Coercion, even if expedient in other respects, was therefore felt to be incompatible with existing political relationships. This consideration alone ought, in justice, to exempt the Supreme Government from the heavy charge of being "accessories," merely because it did not instantly resolve to put down the practice by the high hand of power. All that could reasonably be expected of it, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, was, that it should cheerfully lend the entire weight of its authority to any feasible plan of procedure which might be suggested—any practicable scheme of "dealing with the deep-rooted prejudices of superstition or policy from whence the custom originated," which might be pointed out. That, to this extent, it was willing, yea anxious, to interpose its high authority, cannot well be doubted. Proceeding on these principles, and with the assurance of support from his superiors, Mr. Wilkinson's first aim was, by all manner of arguments, to procure renunciations and prohibitions of the practice from all the Chiefs of his agency. These he at length succeeded in obtaining. Still further, "with a view to create a deeper and more general interest in the question, and to add to the solemnity of the individual renunciation of the chiefs, he determined, if possible, to procure a general assemblage of all the chiefs, and the adoption by this assembly of such measures

as would prevent the future recurrence of the practice." Such a meeting was accordingly procured. The chiefs came "attended by all their jagirdars and kinsmen. They met and continued the discussion for a whole day, and at length adopted certain resolutions, by which they were of opinion the practice might be suppressed." At his earnest recommendation, also, the most powerful Rajahs throughout the country—the hereditary and independent sovereigns of ancient kingdoms and petty principalities—agreed to prohibit the shocking practice, and were led to issue proclamations in accordance with such resolution. Of this description were the Rana of Udaipur, the Rao Rajah of Bundi, the Raj Rana of Kotah, the Rajah of Rewah. About the same time Mr. Cavendish reported, that the Bai of Gwalior had strictly prohibited infanticide within her dominions. Subsequently, Capt. Richards, Col. Sutherland, Capt. Ludlow, and others, made similar reports respecting various other chiefs. In order to give the greatest eclat and effect to these renunciations, the Governor General addressed letters of congratulation, written and signed by himself, to several of the leading chiefs. The following is a specimen:—

"*Extract letter from the Right Honourable the Governor General to the Maha Rana of Udaipur, dated Fort William, 23rd Jan.* 1834.

"It is with pleasure that I now advert to a subject which excites in my breast, feelings of pure and unmixed satisfaction. It appears from Mr. Wilkinson's Report, that about three years ago your Highness issued an order prohibiting the practice of female infanticide among the Minas of Jahazpore. It is true that owing to the culpable indifference of your local officers the order was not carried into effect, but the fact of its having been issued by your Highness furnished a proof that your personal conduct is influenced by genuine philanthropy; and the circumstance is accepted by me as a pledge of your readiness to use your best endeavours to put down a crime, the entire suppression of which is an object which the British Government has much at heart. I need not add, that your Highness' exertions in the cause should not be confined to the Minas of Jahazpore, but should also be extended to all classes of people by whom the crime is supposed to be practised in all parts of your dominions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK."

This is not a mere dry official note—cold and freezing to the soul—as barren of sentiment, as the blasted heath, of verdure. It is a note which reflects, as in a mirror, the hearty, honest, straight-forward purpose of the noble writer,—a note, alike worthy of the representative of British Majesty in the East, and the Christian Head of the most powerful empire in Asia. Nor was the Court of Directors wanting in its duty on the occasion. It, too, directed special messages to be conveyed to the principal chiefs, expressive of the great satisfaction and pleasure which it had derived from their humane determination.

So far, then, as the renunciations, prohibitions and proclamations of Ranas, Rao Rajahs, and Chiefs—followed by the marked approbation of Governors-General and Sovereign Courts—were concerned, we might well conclude that infanticide was for ever abolished in Rajasthan. But, alas, the evil was too deeply engrained in the habits of the people to admit of being suddenly removed by any mere state decree or royal ordinance. Its total abolition, remarked a gentleman high in office, "is more to be hoped for than expected under the present Governments." Seven years after the Gwalior prohibition, the practice was found to be as prevalent as ever. Fresh orders were then issued to the local officers for its suppression. But the next year, 1843, the complaint was renewed, that the measures adopted proved as ineffectual as ever. It was much the same in most of the other States. In some cases it turned out that the Chiefs themselves, who had entered into engagements, were by no means sincere in their professions or intentions. Mr. Wilkinson confesses, that the prohibitions against infanticide, entered into by certain chiefs, "had not arisen from any conviction on their part of the cruelty of the practice"—and that two, whom he names, put their own daughters to death, a few months after he had explained to them the enormity of the crime, and after they had agreed to abandon it. Their professedly favourable resolves had evidently been extorted by the earnest and reiterated intreaties of the British Resident, and from the two-fold desire of deprecating the displeasure and securing the favour of the British Government; —and not from any fixed moral principle, or any settled conviction either of the heniousness of the offence or of the righteousness of the resolution to wipe away its guilty stains. And even in cases where we may suppose the chiefs to have been actuated by more honourable and upright motives, the orders issued by them were found for the most part to prove wholly nugatory through the indifference, neglect, or corruption of the local agents and officers, who, far from seeing them carried into execution, seldom even gave them publicity at all. Mr. Wilkinson, in his circuits, often dicovered that the subjects of particular States had not even heard of the prohibitory proclamation. On one occasion, some few of the Minas, under the jurisdiction of the Rana of Udaipur, admitted that they heard it faintly rumoured that "female infanticide had been prohibited some time before, along with the killing of peacocks!" In short, it soon became obvious to the candid and observant mind of Mr. Wilkinson himself, that, "formal renunciations of the practice by the Rajahs and Chiefs, and prohibitions issued by

them to their subjects and followers," however desirable or even useful, as a commencement, "did not appear likely to prove by any means efficient for the extinction of the practice—that penal enactments, not supported by public opinion, were a dead letter, as far as the generality were concerned, or, if enforced, were enforced chiefly at the instigation of a rancorous and partial malice." "That these rulers," says he, on another occasion, "will exert themselves to enforce, for any length of time, the execution of the orders which they have now issued, my past experience does not authorize me to hope. Generations must elapse, before they or their subjects contract that general cordial abomination of the practice necessary to secure its thorough eradication."

It will be remembered that some of the chief causes, which instigated to the commission of the crime, were the extravagance of the expected dower, and the extortionate demands of the Bhats and Charans, on the celebration of marriages. To remove these, measures of a sumptuary character were proposed and partially adopted. A number of chiefs in Malwa agreed that a *maximum* should be fixed, of what was to be paid to these privileged classes, who had claims from of old against the Rajputs, according to the rank and circumstances of the different parties —that this maximum, bearing a reasonable proportion to the rental or income, should never be exceeded—that if any one should be "poor and destitute of means, his family and friends ought to give him assistance to enable him to marry his daughters suitably to his name—that, if destitute of powerful friends, the Rajah and Chief in whose territory he resides should give him assistance and provide for the marriage of his daughter." To what extent, or whether to any, such proposals were practically acted on, does not distinctly appear; though there is every reason, on general grounds, to fear that they remained a dead letter. Even in Ajmir, which is a British province, the every utmost which the Political Agent, Mr. Macnaghten, can venture to assert is, that "the feeling entertained against the practice by our Government, and the punishment it would draw down on the offender, if discovered, is well known to every Rajput in the country"—and that "it is not, therefore, *common* among the Thakurs," at least, "*prepetrated in the light of day, nor in the presence of witnesses.*"

And if, as Mr. Bax has remarked, "the difficulty of eradicating the crime is so great in our own provinces, it must be considerably greater in provinces, which are governed by a variety of chiefs in whose internal administration we profess not to interfere."

At Jaudpur or Marwar, Col. Sutherland succeeded in "organizing a system through which the householders of a village agreed to pay the fair demands of the Bhats and Charans on the celebration of marriages; the Bhats and Charans themselves engaging to receive this contribution, and confessing that it would put more into their pockets than they received through their irregular levies." This measure, if generally adopted and vigorously persevered in, would overcome one difficulty connected with the expense of marriages, but it plainly afforded no remedy against the still greater difficulty inseparably associated with "the disgrace attending a family where a daughter, after having attained mature years, remained unmarried." On the contrary, this difficulty "must be augmented in proportion to the number of females reared in the country." How was this formidable obstacle to be removed? Capt. Ludlow, Political Agent at Jaudpur, after giving the subject the fullest consideration, can only report as follows:—"It has naturally been my object to ascertain in what way the apparent difficulty is to be combated, and I am led to suppose that, *when all* alike preserve their infant daughters, the marriages generally of a principal Thakur of rank will be with daughters of houses of corresponding importance with his own, instead of with persons of inferior birth, on all occasions subsequent to the first marriage; and that reciprocal alliances will be suffered to take place between younger sons with daughters who in point of birth are their equals." And thus the most promising case recorded in the Parliamentary Papers terminates, after all, in contingency and mere probability!

Another cause of infanticide, previously stated, was, that many families of Rajputs would "receive in marriage the daughters of Rajputs of certain other tribes, but refused to give to them their own daughters in return;" though, in other cases, the converse of this was the established order. The obvious remedy for this particular difficulty would clearly be, a general resolution to the effect, that "no Rajput should give his daughter in marriage to another who was not ready to give him his daughter in return," and conversely, that "none should take daughters in marriage from those families who would not receive their daughter in return." Such an agreement was entered into by a few of the Malwa Chiefs; but, like every other of a similar nature, was apparently destined to drop into instant desuetude. And, as for the rest of the Rajput tribes, it seemed utterly vain to expect even its *formal* adoption.

That no influence should be left untried, Mr. Wilkinson employed some learned and intelligent Brahmans to write pam-

phlets in the strongest condemnation of the crime. These were printed and widely circulated. But, from this source, no great or permanent result was to be anticipated. "With regard to the prospect of producing an abhorrence of the crime," says Mr. Bax, Resident at Indore, "through the instrumentality of the Brahmans, I entertain no such expectation." This is the unequivocal admission of Mr. Wilkinson himself. He freely confesses, that "though the Brahmans have a monopoly in expounding their sacred histories and declaring fortunate and unfortunate, &c. they still exercise but little influence in regard to established usages. Each caste is a law to itself, and the attempt of Brahmans to interfere with old customs, that might appear to them objectionable, would incur the title and disregard usually given to antiquated upholders of impracticabilities." As another instance of the inventiveness of Mr. W.'s mind, and the fertility of his benevolence, we may note the following suggestion:—"It has frequently struck me," says he, "that any pictorial representation exhibiting the actual perpetration of the crime with all its horrors, or one emblematically exhibiting the British Government of India, using its influence in the cause of humanity, would, if displayed in the Agency House here, serve to keep men's hearts alive to the feelings of our better nature, and that a sight of such a picture would send every man to his home bent on the future more strict fulfilment of the dictates of natural affection."

Amid the general dreariness of a subject so exuberant in promises and so sterile in preformances, it is cheering to be enabled to contemplate at least one example, not only of vigour, but of apparent success, within the British Territories. In 1841, Mr. Montgomery, the Magistrate of Allahabad, having ascertained that the crime of infanticide was common among the Rajputs of certain villages within his jurisdiction, lost no time in proceeding to the district. Assembling the heads of the different familes, he soon saw that exhortation would be of little avail, and determined to adopt prompt measures:—

"In the first place," says he, "I appointed a Chupprassee to reside in each village, whose sole duty it was to report the birth of a female child in the families of any of the above classes of Rajputs. I also bound the Gorait, chowkydar and midwives, under a heavy penalty, to report separately each birth at the Thannah, the four thus acting as a check on each other. I directed the Thanadar on the death of any female infant being reported, to hold an inquest on the body, and afterwards to transmit it to the civil surgeon for examination. I associated the Tehsildar with the Thanadar, in order to ensure a more efficient superintendence; I promised them both handsome rewards if I should he hereafter satisfied that they, by their joint efforts, had put a stop to the horrible practice.

I am happy to state, that as far as I am able to judge, the method I have

pursued has been attended with perfect success. It is only two months since the plan came into operation, and of four female infants that have since been born, three are alive and one dead."

Will the success thus realized prove permanent? All past experience renders such a conclusion more than doubtful. Only let the pressure of a vigorous magistracy be relaxed or removed, and the old habit will, almost inevitably, revive. But, even were it otherwise, this is but an isolated solitary case, on a very small scale—a drop in the circling ocean—an atom in the mountain mass. Looking over the vast regions of Central India we meet with little else than a swift succession of disappointments, and difficulties apparently swelling in magnitude as we draw near to grapple with them. Mr. Wilkinson's sober estimate of the result of *all* his own measures for the extermination of the shocking practice may well close this division of our subject. "It has," says he, "been my object to excite such a general and genuine feeling of execration as should lead to a voluntary abandonment of the practice: still, when we reflect on the inveteracy of habit, and the extreme tardiness with which new ideas are spread in the world, it would be idle to hope that the abandonment of the practice will be effected by the measures already taken."

It is now time to glance at the movements in *Western* India. As already stated, though the crime was no where effectually, or even to any considerable extent, suppressed, some progress continued to be made in the number of female children preserved. In 1834, Mr. Willoughby gave in his admirable report of retrospective proceedings and prospective measures. By circulars issued to the Chiefs of *Kattiawar*, a census was obtained of the entire number of males and females alive *under the age of twenty*. The names of the villages, the heads of families, individual males and females alive, with various minute particulars, are recorded in these elaborate returns, which extend over *twenty-eight* districts. The aggregate result gives 1,422 boys and 571 females—proving that, while the increase of the number of females was slowly progressive, the unnatural crime still prevailed to a lamentable extent. The rate of increase will appear from a comparison of different periods. In 1808, as formerly shewn, the number was 32; in 1817, 63; in 1824, 266; in 1834, 571. Or, taking the period of twenty years comprehended in the table of Returns, it will appear that 68 were preserved during the first five years of it, 102 during the second, 176 during the third, and 225 during the last five years of the period. Or, looking at the matter in still another point of view, —the Government of 1817 justly remarked that "the continu-

ance of infanticide in Kattiawar was placed beyond doubt by the simple fact that no instance had occurred of a Jharija having saved more than one daughter;" whereas the present return shews—

Two instances of a Jharija's having *four* daughters alive.
Thirteen instances of Jharijas having *three* daughters alive.
Eighty instances of Jharijas having *two* daughters alive.

In the midst of such a frightful destruction of human life it is gratifying to meet with even a few such facts as these. Many of the districts, however, exhibited nearly as unfavourable an aspect as ever. In *ten* of them, containing an aggregate of 385 boys, there were only 73 females; that is, nearly *five-sixths* had been destroyed;—while in particular instances only *one in eight*, or even *one in fifteen*, was preserved alive. No wonder that the necessity of resorting to still more vigorous measures was keenly felt!

The specific measures suggested by Mr. Willoughby, and substantially approved of by Government, were the following: —*First*, that adequate steps should be taken to obtain a *full* and *complete census* of the Jharija population, as without it no data could exist for computing, according to the generally received rules of population, the number of Jharija females which were born, and thence deducing, with reference to the number actually preserved, how far existing engagements were observed by the tribe. *Second*, that every Jharija chief should be required to furnish a half-yearly register of all marriages, betrothals, births, and deaths, occurring among his tribe residing in his district; and that, if he omitted to do so, or furnished a false return, he should be severely punished. *Third*, that the political agent in the province should be directed to consider it to be his imperative duty to furnish an annual report on the last day of each year on the subject of infanticide, accompanying the same with a register of all marriages, betrothals, births, and deaths that have occurred among the tribe within the year of report. *Fourth*, that a proclamation should be promulgated by government throughout Kattiawar, requiring the Jharija chiefs to enforce the observance of the infanticide engagements within their respective jurisdictions, announcing the determined resolution of Government to suppress the crime, noticing, either in terms of approbation or of condemnation, those chiefs who, by the present census, are proved to have either adhered to or departed from their engagements, and guaranteeing to any one, who should afford information sufficient to convict any Jharija of the crime of infanticide, the protection of Government, and a recompense in proportion to the rank and consequence of the party convicted. *Fifth*, that every Rajput in Kattiawar should, in a circular

letter from the agent, be himself enjoined, and be requested to enjoin all Rajputs subject to their authority, to make it a stipulation in every marriage contract of their daughters with a Jharija, that the issue of the union shall be preserved; since, though but faint hopes could be entertained of such a circular being generally attended to, it would afford another striking proof of the intense anxiety felt by Government completely to suppress infanticide. *Sixth*, that presents of cloths and money should be made to the chiefs and inferior members of the Jharija tribe, who had adhered to their engagements, to preserve their female issue, out of the *Infanticide Fund*—a fund established in 1825, consisting of all fines imposed upon the tributaries for misconduct and breaches of their engagements, and amounting, in 1834, to upwards of *eighty thousand rupees*. From this fund, also, occasional pecuniary assistance had been furnished, and was still designed to be sparingly extended, to chiefs who preserved their female children, towards the celebration of marriages of these children.

Such were the leading measures, propounded and illustrated at great length by Mr. Willoughby—measures, which, though exhibiting nothing essentially new or untried, yet presented, in improved and more comprehensive forms, the matured suggestions of his predecessors—measures, which called forth the highest encomiums both from the Local Government and the Court of Directors, who declared, that these were "conformable in all respects to their conception of the most efficacious means of obtaining the desired result;"—the chief or central principle of the system being, according to them, "the imposition, after a full investigation, of a moderate but adequate penalty upon every chief, who, after having signed an engagement not to practise or countenance the crime, violates that engagement." The author himself, though fully admitting that the progress hitherto made "must be regarded as partial," was yet "sanguine that, through the Divine blessing, complete success might be ultimately attained."

It is very natural for authors to be sanguine about the sucess of their own favourite schemes. Without the hopes which an honest and generous enthusiasm inspires, where would be the motives for exertion, amid thankless opposition; or for perseverance, amid comparatively fruitless and abortive efforts? Without a due proportion of that buoyancy which uplifts the soul above the clouds and thick darkness of the present, and that fervency which hurries it onwards into bright visions of the future, what great or lofty undertaking could ever have been prosecuted to a successful termination? In 1834, Mr. Willoughby felt sanguine, but not more so than Col. Walker did in

1808, or nearly *thirty* years before. And had the hopes of the latter been realized, the former would have had nothing to hope for;—fruition would have taken the place of hope. But what of that?—the joys of fruition are often less vivid, and scarcely more real, than the pleasures of hope. When frail men, tabernacled in clay, are called on to labour for the attainment of great ends—and often apparently to labour very much in vain—it is at once a wise and beneficent ordination of Providence which encircles the season of sorest travail with a halo of beams that reflect the glories and the joys of anticipated triumph.

Mr. Willoughby's measures, both sumptuary and coercive, were not only proposed and adopted, but instantly prosecuted with an energy, boldness, and promptitude which evidently produced a deep impression on the Jharija population of Kattiawar. This was evinced by the fact, that during the eighteen months subsequent to their enforcement under the awakened vigilance of the British functionaries, seventy-three female infants were preserved, upwards of forty of whom would, in the absence of these exertions, have met with inevitable destruction. Still, even in the midst of proclamations, profuse rewards, and summary punishments, it is melancholy to find that at least *one-half* of the female infants born were put to death! Up to this period of quickened activity, the unceasing lamentation of the government was, that "the difficulties opposed to the detection of the crime were so great that a clear case of conviction could hardly be supposed." Now, however, a few decided cases were at length detected. A charge of infanticide preferred against the chief of Rajkote was, after the fullest investigation, incontestably established; and, as "the barbarous insensibility evinced by him on the occasion proved him to have little claim to forgiveness," a fine of 12,000 rupees was imposed upon him, to be credited to the infanticide fund, and his taluk or estate continued under attachment till it should be paid. This was speedily followed by the conviction of another petty chief, against whom the crime was established in the completest manner. In his case, there was little to justify any mitigated punishment; the accused personally was not a fit object of clemency; no plea existed in extenuation of his offence, nor could he urge inattention on the part of the British Government in enforcing the agreements of his tribe to renounce infanticide, or plead ignorance of the measures adopted to put down the inhuman practice. He was accordingly sentenced to suffer twelve months' ordinary imprisonment in the goal of Rajkote, to pay a fine of 3,000 rupees, or in default thereof, to be imprisoned for a further period of two years. These were soon followed by

several other cases of detection and penal visitation. 'Inflictions of so decisive a kind could leave on no mind a lingering doubt as to the real intentions, and fixed determination of Government. And yet, when in 1837, Mr. Erskine, the successor of Mr. Willoughby, in the Political agency, gave in his able and elaborate Report, with a corrected census of *twenty-seven* districts, it was shewn that the practice, though somewhat abated in later years, still greatly prevailed. Indeed, this, by far the most accurate census yet obtained, clearly proved that the one previously furnished by the chiefs themselves to Mr. Willoughby was much too favourable. The latter, for 28 districts gave 1,422 boys to 571 girls, under 20 years of age; Mr. Erskine's, for 27 districts, gave 1422 boys to 409 girls. In 1841, Capt. Jacob, Mr. Erskine's successor, gave in his Report of the progress of measures. It exhibited some extremely distressing cases. In one district out of a population of 122, only *seven* were females, that is, the proportion of females to males was only as 1 to 17. In another, during the four years reported on, "not a single female had escaped the ruthless effect of Jharija pride." But, on the whole, it appeared so favourable as to lead the author to remark, that "it must be highly gratifying to those benevolent men who had laboured for the suppression of infanticide to see the progressive return to the order of nature, in the relative proportion of sexes, that must be attributed to their labour alone." The total male population was shewn to be 5,760, female 1,376; the proportion, therefore, of all ages was a fraction more than *four* to *one*; but the number of both sexes under 20 years of age, was, males 2,923, females 1,209, showing a proportion of *two and a quarter* to *one*, which favourable diminution chiefly arose from the preservation of female life during the few years preceding the census. To such an extent did this progressive improvement appear to proceed that, during the *last* year, the official abstract of the returns shews "an actual excess of females over males;"—there being, of one year and under, 96 males and 128 females! On this, the Bombay Government remark, that though "the complete suspension of the crime, originating in ignorance, prejudice, and false pride, must doubtless be the *work of time*, yet, looking back to the past, and seeing how much had been accomplished within the last few years, they were encouraged strongly to hope that a steady and constant perseverance in the measures in operation would, *in the end*, be rewarded by full and complete success."

If, however, the accuracy of Capt. Jacob's return could be relied on, instead of regarding "the complete suspension of the crime" as the "work of time"—as an object to be "ultimately,"

or "in the end," accomplished, they might rather congratulate themselves on its being already attained. But, the truth is, that, to our mind, nothing can well be more utterly unsatisfactory than the *proportions* exhibited in the whole of these returns, and the consequent conclusions deduced therefrom, relative to the supposed rate of the diminution of crime. If there be any one fact more indisputably self-evident than another, it is surely this, that, in every country in the world, a very large proportion of mankind die in infancy and childhood. The tables of mortality for every city and nation, where registers are properly kept, prove, that of those born alive, the number annually diminishes at a certain rate of regular and uniform progression—at first more rapid, and afterwards more slow. The degree of mortality varies in different countries, and at different periods, in the same country; but the ratio or proportion of mortality at different ages always exhibits an average uniformity. Dismissing decimals, fractions, and other details, for the sake of brevity and simplicity, we extract from various European tables the following statements as best calculated to illustrate our meaning:—

Dr Halley's tables of the probabilities of life in the chief cities of Europe.		*Probabilities of life in London by Dr. Price.*	*Probabilities of life in Northampton, by Dr. Price.*	*Probabilities of life in Brandenburgh, Germany.*	*Probabilities of life at Vienna.*	*Probabilities of life in Sweden.*
Ages.	Persons living.	Persons living.	Persons living.	Persons living.	Persons living.	Persons living.
Born alive	——	284	116	100	149	100
1 year	100	194	86	77	81	81
2 „	85	164	72	71	70	76
3 „	79	148	67	68	64	74
4 „	76	136	64	66	59	72
5 „	73	128	62	64	56	70
6 „	71	123	60	62	53	69
7 „	69	120	59	60	51	69
8 „	68	118	58	59	50	68
9 „	67	117	57	58	49	67
10 „	66	115	56	57	48	67

From all these tables are we not perfectly warranted in saying, that of all children born alive, or children of the age of *one year and under*, scarcely *one-half* survive till the *tenth year*. Indeed, Daubentou's tables of the probabilities of human life, deduced as an average from various statistical sources, shew that

in *eight* years, one-half only remain. Contrast these accurate returns and deductions with the following:—

	Mr. Willoughby's census 1834.		*Mr. Erskine's census* 1837.		*Captain Jacob's census* 1841.	
Age.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1 year	130	44	123	60	46	128
2 „	103	46	102	32	122	95
3 „	108	35	125	16	140	111
4 „	118	40	95	25	143	116
5 „	89	53	93	12	165	70
6 „	93	36	105	25	176	56
7 „	76	43	85	32	201	58
8 „	96	34	97	28	225	65
9 „	41	30	35	12	150	54
10 „	125	33	108	22	232	73
	979	394	968	264	1650	826

It is impossible not to be struck with the extreme—the unnatural—irregularities of these numbers. In Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Erskine's census there is a decrease from the age of one year and under to ten; but not a decrease at all corresponding to what the experience of all other lands would warrant us to expect. Leaving out the females, with respect to whom *infanticide* may account for any irregularity, and looking at the males only, we find, that instead of diminishing by *one-half*, before the age of *ten*, the diminution in Mr. W.'s table is only *one twenty-fifth part*, and in Mr. E.'s about *one-eighth* part—the respective numbers being 130 to 125 and 123 to 108. Moreover, there are such fits and starts in the series! Instead of exhibiting any thing like a uniform progression, it is rather an alternate series of progressions and retrogressions. Take one or two examples:—In Mr. W.'s census there are 108 alive at the age of *three*, and 118 at the age of *four*; 41 at the age of *nine*, and 125 at the age of ten;—and it is the same with Mr. E.'s census. Now, all this wears the air and stamp of utter improbability, and tends to generate the suspicion that these returns are untrustworthy, and, therefore, practically worthless. But this is not all. In Mr. W. and Mr. E.'s returns, there is a fitfully irregular and disproportionate diminution;—but what are we to make of Capt. Jacob's census? Its number of males, instead of diminishing by *one-half* from the age of *one* year to *ten*, actually *increases to more than double*—there being 96 of one year, and 232 of ten years of age! This is the oddest and most inexplicable defiance of

all probability with which we have ever met. And it is only by this outrage on all credibility that, during the last year, the number of females alive was shewn to be in "excess of the males!" As the table now stands, we have no alternative but to believe, either that it is egregiously inaccurate, or that for every female child preserved, at least one male child, by way of equipoise, has been put to death—and thus the crime of infanticide, instead of being diminished, has only been transferred from one class of unhappy victims to another! We might, indeed, suppose the table of males to be reversed, or turned upside down. It would then give 232 males of *one* year old and under, and 96 of *ten*—a proportion certainly not far from the truth. In that case, however, the number of female children, of one year old and under, being stated as 128, the tables, far from shewing an "excess of females over males," would only indicate that *half* of them had been destroyed, and, consequently that infanticide still continued to prevail to an enormous extent! Whatever supposition, therefore, we may be disposed to make, the conclusion cannot be regarded otherwise than as a mournful one, after more than *thirty* years of systematic and persevering effort to extirpate the heinous offence!

The foregoing measures, so ably propounded by Mr. Willoughby and so energetically prosecuted by his successors, were restricted in their operation to Kattiawar alone. Let us now look across the Gulf, and note the state of matters in *Kach*. Here the spectacle presented is still more deplorable.

In 1819, a treaty was concluded between the Durbar of Kach and the British Government, in which it was stipulated, that the Jharijas would no longer destroy their female children; and in 1835, the engagements on this subject were solemnly renewed. And yet, in 1839, exactly *twenty* years *after* the *original treaty* was *formally signed*, Capt. Melvill thus reports:—

"A very superficial inquiry is sufficient to establish the fact, that infanticide is still practised among the Jharijas of Kach to a lamentable extent, and that very little way has yet been made towards the suppression of the crime. The Jharija population of this principality may number about 12,000 adult males, and it is the opinion of well-informed persons that it would be difficult to produce 500 females born in Kach, of Jharija blood. Nor is the crime, I fear, confined to the Jharijas properly so called. Many *branches* have from time to time, been detached from the genuine stock; some by degradation and intermixture with foreign classes, and some by conversion to the Muhammadan religion. These separated tribes pass under the general denomination of "the dung," their number may be about 5,000 men, and in all the practice of infanticide, to a greater or less extent, has been continued through every change of name and habit, and exists at the present hour."

With such a statement officially laid before them, well might the Government of Bombay remark, that "although fully alive

to the great difficulties which exist against the full accomplishment of the views of the British Government, for the final and complete extinction of infanticide, still, when the unbounded influence and power it has for many years exercised in Kach are considered, the little progress which has been made in extirpating this sad blot on humanity in that province is very lamentable."

Happily, the Rao, the feudal head or chief of the Jharijas, was very favourably disposed towards the eradication of the crime. Taking advantage of his favourable disposition, Capt. Melvill, as a preliminary measure, proposed to his Highness to "take periodically a census of the Jharija population, as the surest test for ascertaining whether infanticide still prevailed among the tribe." To this proposition the Rao, in the first instance, demurred—objecting that "the rigid scrutiny it involved into the privacy of Rajput life would be very displeasing to his subjects, and would be considered by all his tribe throughout Hindustan as an unwarrantable stretch of authority on the part of a Rajput Prince." The Rao, at the same time, suggested that a meeting should be convened of the Jharija Chiefs, and that after mutual consultation on the subject, some plan might be devised to satisfy the anxious and often-expressed desire of the British Government. A general meeting of leading chiefs was accordingly convened, at which Capt. Melvill attended; and the result which was "very discouraging and disappointing," is thus described by him:—

"The chiefs assembled in considerable numbers, and at the Rao's particular request I attended, assuring them of the universal horror with which the crime that unfortunately distinguishes the Jharijas is viewed, and urging them, by every motive I could suggest, to unite in an earnest effort to remove the stigma which rests upon their name. A long conversation enabled me to ascertain, and to estimate with sufficient precision, the sentiments and feelings of the assembly; the continued perpetration of the iniquity was not denied; it was lamented indeed, but extenuated, and almost defended; and I withdrew, after an interview of several hours, with the conviction forced upon my mind, that of all the Jharijas assembled, not one man, his Highness, the Rao, alone excepted, entertained a sincere wish to put an end to the foul practice of infanticide, or, if left to himself, would stir a finger for the purpose.

Discussions long and earnest followed, and continued for many days. I was at one time very hopeful that a plan for the formation of a general fund, out of which to defray the marriage expenses of the daughters of the poorer class of Jharijas, would have been brought to bear. The Rao supported the scheme warmly and ordered a liberal subscription; and I took upon myself to promise that such an indication of a genuine desire to eradicate the evil in question, would not lack the aid of the British Government. But though many of the chiefs were ready to acquiesce, the proposal could not gain the general concurrence essential to its adoption; it fell to the ground, and the final result of all the deliberations of the meeting was communicated to me in these terms; viz. "That the assembled Jharijas are ready and agree to

furnish a census of their population if required; but they would be better pleased if the British Government would continue to repose in their prince, the Rao, and in themselves, the same confidence as heretofore; and they, on their part, promise to exercise a stricter watch in their several districts, and duly to report every case of infanticide which may come to their knowledge."

Notwithstanding the sad disappointment and bitter regrets which such an unsatisfactory conclusion could not fail to occasion, Capt. Melvill, still determined to persevere in his praiseworthy efforts, very promptly and properly advised the Rao to take advantage of "the consent yielded, though reluctantly, by the chiefs, and to institute the census." He gave this advice, as a *dernier resort*, but with little real expectation of success. The Rao, in his own person, set an admirable example to his people, and in the exercise of his authority, was ready to co-operate in any practicable way, with the British authorities. But past experience had taught Capt. Melvill, that, in regard to the Jharijas generally, "little dependence could be placed on the power of example or the force of persuasion"—and that "the hopes built upon the exertion of the Rao's influence upon his subjects, were, he feared, destined to be disappointed; not, indeed, because the influence would not be exerted, but because the exertion would prove powerless to accomplish the purpose."

In a subsequent despatch, dated May 1839, Capt. Melvill reported that "His Highness the Rao had commenced adopting measures for taking a census of the Jharija population of Kach; but that a party of considerable rank and influence made an urgent proposition to this effect, viz., that the collecting a census was a measure very distasteful to the feelings of their class, and not in their opinion calculated to bring about any desirable result—that the most feasible plans for checking infanticide were, first, to diminish by common consent the customary and heretofore compulsory expenses to be incurred in marrying a Jharija girl; second, to create a fund for assisting the poorer Jharijas to defray the necessary charges in the marriage of their daughters. They earnestly besought, therefore, that the measure of a census should be postponed—and that a delay of a few months should be allowed to enable them, if possible, to arrange matters amicably with the tribe. The Rao immediately complied.

With the exception of the detection and punishment of a case of infanticide, in which the offender at once acknowledged his guilt, but defended himself, on the plea of immemorial usage and the general prevalence of the crime, nothing further was done, till the departure of Sir Henry Pottinger from Bhuj, in March, 1840. On that occasion, his Highness, the Rao, gave him a final

audience, at which there was a very large assemblage of Jharijas, and other persons of weight in the country. With consummate judgment, tact, and good feeling, Sir Henry seized on the favourable opportunity thus presented, for delivering a solemn and energetic appeal on the subject of infanticide. In the course of this well-timed and effective address he told his Highness "that there was one subject on which he looked back with the deepest regret, on quitting Kach, which was, the small progress which had been made during his long residence at the Bhuj Durbar, towards the abolition of infanticide." He then took a review of all the measures that had been proposed and adopted during the preceding fifteen years, and concluded a lengthened discourse by distinctly stating to all who heard him, "that the day would not be far distant when the British government would insist on the rigid fulfilment of that humane stipulation of the treaty which abolished child-murder—that the Jharijas could not doubt its ample power and means to enforce that engagement—that the government had been anxious to leave it to them to devise the best manner of proceeding, but that they must not mistake the forbearance and patience which had been evinced for indifference, or suppose there was any intention to abandon the great object in view."

This admirable and well-timed address produced a deep and salutary impression, which issued in important practical results. Soon afterwards, the Rao caused a paper to be drawn up, and submitted to the assembled chiefs for their acquiescence. This was at once accorded. The deed of agreement, which was duly signed, comprised four articles. By the first, each chief bound himself to render an exact annual census of the Jharija population in his district; by the second, to give, (under liability of pecuniary penalties in the event of failure) information of every case of infanticide within fifteen days of its occurrence; by the third, the Durbar engaged to keep the amount of all fines inflicted, to serve as a separate fund to assist the poorer Jharijas in defraying marriage expenses; by the fourth, the Durbar stipulated that it should send one or two of its own *mehtas* round the country to direct and assist the chiefs in framing the census.

At the close of 1840, Col. Melvill gave in the census thus prepared by the Chiefs themselves. It extends only to the Jharija *Bhaiyad*, the royal brotherhood or clan—amounting to about a *third* part of the entire Jharija population, pure and impure. It exhibits a truly lamentable evidence of the extent to which infanticide had prevailed in times past; for, out of a population of 5,247, there was 4,912 males, and only 335 females, including females of all ages—daughters, grand daugh-

ters, and great grand daughters! In other words, only *one* female child out of every *fifteen* was preserved, while 14 out of every 15 were mercilessly destroyed. These numbers are of course exclusive of the wives of the Jharijas and the mothers of their children, because these are all foreigners, belonging to other tribes, and therefore have no part in the present calculation. At the same time, under the penal and other measures adopted the census exhibited, if it could be relied on, a marked improvement during the last year; for there were reported as then living 149 male and 45 female children, under *one* year of age—importing, that about a *third part* had been in the course of that year, saved, while *only two-thirds* were cruelly destroyed! —destroyed, too, in the face of pledges, promises, and written agreements—persuasions, threatenings, and punishments! And yet, not one case of murder was so much as reported, though rewards were publicly offered by proclamation, which in many instances, would enrich a poor man for life!

So much for the *Bhaiyad*, or royal brotherhood. But what of the remaining branches and offshoots of the Jharija tribe? With respect to them, the case was worse, and apparently still more hopeless. Let us hear Col. Melvill himself on the subject:—

"It would be very satisfactory could we believe that infanticide was confined to the Bhaiyad; but unfortunately it is but too certain, that the baneful example has spread among other and more numerous tribes. It is calculated that the various families which have from time to time been separated from the stock of the pure Jharijas, and which are now acknowledged only as spurious and degraded offsets, amount at least to 7,000 males; to these must be added 3,000 for the Muhammadan tribes, which have been similarly parted; and amid *all* this population the crime of female infanticide is *systematically and ruthlessly practised*. What steps can be taken to check and extinguish this horrid vice, amid so large a number of people, is a question of the gravest moment. The Bhaiyad is but a third part of the number; the larger portion is not comprehended on the British guarantee, and cannot be brought under the operation of our existing treaties with the Kach state. To the Rao alone therefore, we must look for the application of any coercive measures; and his Highness is startled at the idea of criminal proceedings against so powerful a body of his subjects. Nor indeed do I know that such stringent measures are immediately desirable. I would rather seek to persuade the Rao to call upon the leading men of each tribe, where such can be found, to enter into compacts binding themselves and all their followers and relations to abandon the dreadful habit, and thus to obtain upon them such a hold as may justify the infliction of summary punishment hereafter. This is the best plan which I can at present devise, but my information is not yet sufficiently extended or my views matured, to enable me to speak with confidence on this momentous branch of the subject."

Soon afterwards, the Rao, seized with a fit of more than ordinary courage, boldly resolved to issue a proclamation, warning every tribe and family, tracing their descent in any way from,

and thereby claiming any affinity with, the Jharijas, that, "as the evil practice of infanticide which had hitherto prevailed among the Jharijas had been at length put down (by law,) it would not be permitted to continue among the other tribes which had followed the bad example, but that every case, which might come to the knowledge of the Durbar, would be severely punished." And in order to facilitate the detection of the offence, it was further declared, that "an informer should receive as a reward one-fourth part of any fine which might be inflicted on conviction of an offender." The proclamation was, as might be expected, for the most part sullenly submitted to. One tribe however, the *Hothis*, estimated about 3,000 males, openly, boldly, and fearlessly resisted it. The Rao, after using every endeavour to persuade them, but in vain, at last plainly intimated to the new political agent, Mr. Malet, "the vanity of his efforts at persuasion and his inability to use coercive measures; at the same time stating, that he hoped the British Government would assist him, and that his best assistance might be relied on in whatever way the prejudices of his tribe might allow." Against the united expostulations and threats both of the Rao and the representative of the British Government, the Hothis remained sternly inflexible. At length a decisive, or rather a desperate measure was resorted to, which was nothing less than a decree of virtual banishment. Mr. Malet addressed letters to the Hothi chiefs, in which, after stating the reasons of his interference, he informed them, "that it was his Highness's firm determination not to allow persons guilty of infanticide, and disobedient to his orders, to reside in his dominions, and that they were allowed *fifteen* days for preparation to leave the province." A measure of such imperial rigor could not fail to operate with resistless force on the strongest feelings and interests of humanity. The Chiefs, accordingly, yielded a forced and nominal consent to the written agreement, which pledged them, in common with the other Jharijas, "not to destroy their female children, but to keep them alive."

In July 1842, Mr. Malet transmitted the census for the preceding year. But, from the insertion of some villages omitted in the former returns, and a different mode of entering others, the agent admits that there is considerable difficulty in drawing any comparison. He also candidly acknowledges "that he does not consider the means made use of by the Rao, and those at his disposal, sufficient to ensure perfect accuracy." On the whole, however, he thinks the returns "as satisfactory as could be expected." "The proportion," says he, "of females to males has risen from 1 to 14.6 last year, to 1 to 10.5 this year." Still,

although infanticide *must*," according to his own expression, be inferred,"—aye, and we would add with emphasis, *extensively* inferred—it is very remarkable that, throughout the whole year, only *one single solitary* case had come to the notice of the authorities, so as to be judicially investigated, detected, and visited with proportional punishment, agreeably to the terms of the treaty! The success attained however, or supposed to be attained, as well as the imagined prospects of ultimate triumph, appear to have inspired the Bombay Government with a degree of satisfaction, for which, with the same official documents before us, we find it utterly impossible to account.

We have now brought down our narrative of facts, without omitting one of any importance, as far as the "Parliament Papers" carry us. What progress has been made, or if any, within the last two or three years, we have no means of ascertaining; though probably there may be lying among the records of the Council Chamber, within a few hundred yards of us, papers and despatches which might bring up our intelligence almost to the present hour. For these, however, we must patiently wait, according to the existing order of things, till some fresh demand of the Imperial Parliament reveal their contents to the British Public. That there are subjects, particularly those involving political consequences, the documents relating to which it would be inexpedient to produce, till the measures contemplated or in progress have been finally rejected or consummated, is what the common sense of every man must at once freely concede. But that, on a subject like the present, involving no risks or hazards of policy or of empire, but affecting simply the great catholic interests of civilization and humanity, there should be any reluctance to gratify the earnest longings of an awakened and active philanthropy, does appear to us passing strange. Say not that the forms of office allow of no such exception. Are these forms, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable? Are they like the eternal forms of Ancient Philosophy, self-created or uncreated essences, which were viewed as the unchanging models and archetypes of all visible, tangible things? Or are they simply rules or regulations, prescribed by those who instituted the office, for the practical direction of business, and the insurance of harmony and order? If so, while all things around are in motion—transition—change;—the old becoming obsolete, and the new as rapidly springing into being; —some disappearing altogether from the horizon of actual vision, and others multiplying indefinitely in their stead;—are these forms of office alone to remain fixed, stationary, stereo-

typed, unchanged—the things formed usurping the mastery over those who formed them—the reasonless rules dictating terms of unconditional submission to the intelligent rule-makers? Be this as it may, sure we are, that never was there a subject, the papers connected with which might be produced, not merely with less damage, but with more real and positive honour to the State and its servants, than the present. The Parliamentary Papers on infanticide we are inclined to regard as perhaps the noblest monument which the British Government has yet reared to itself, since it became the Paramount power in India. The establishment of its ascendancy over the mighty dynasty of the Moguls, and amid the rivalries of European States, is an enduring monument of its skill in the cabinet and its prowess in the field. The employment of a reasonable proportion of its vast resources in the clearing of jungles, the draining of marshes, the construction of roads, and the excavation of canals, would in time become a monument of its intense desire for the agricultural and commercial improvement of the country. The reformation of the Police, the rectification of barbarous legal codes, and the facilitation of cheap and speedy justice, would raise new monuments of its Legislative, Administrative, and Judicial wisdom. But, next to the universal organization of a wise and enlightened system of National Instruction, we know not what nobler monument it could possibly rear, than that which it hath reared already, in its earnest, persevering, and long-continued efforts for the total abolition of the horrible system of Rajput Infanticide. It is a monument reared and consecrated,—not to the perpetuation of ephemeral secular triumphs,—but to the genius of British—Christian—Catholic Philanthrophy. If ever Political Agents, Members of Council, Governors, Governors General, and Courts of Directors, shall be arraigned at the bar of an impartial posterity,—there to render an account of the discharge of their awful responsibilities in wielding the sceptre of this mighty realm—they may rest assured that their best exculpatory evidence will be found—not in the brilliant records of their civil diplomacy or military exploits—but in such humble, noiseless, and unpretending volumes as those which, like the Parliamentary Papers on Infanticide, pourtray their strenuous and unwearied exertions in the sacred cause of humanity. In these volumes we behold a monument, on which have been engraven, in ineffaceable characters, the names of our leading Indian authorities, associated with aspirations and designs of the most disinterested benevolence. And standing out from among the rest, as stars of the first magnitude, blazing in a galaxy of splendour, do we find

the earlier names of Shore and Walker and Duncan, and the later names of Wilkinson and Willoughby, Erskine and Jacob, Pottinger and Melvill,—names which shall be embalmed in the purer Literature of regenerated Rajasthan, when the fame of those who have founded or swept away its successive dynasties, together with the songs of the Bhats and the Charans and all the antiquated legends of the Solar and the Lunar races, shall have been consigned for ever to the tomb of oblivion.

But, while we would thus bestow no stinted eulogy on the men—the purity and disinterestedness of whose motives reflect honour on humanity, and the strenuousness of whose exertions in the cause of defenceless innocents is beyond all praise—we must be excused for expressing the gravest doubts relative to the *adequacy* or *ultimate successfulness* of their *measures*. These, we at once admit, appear to have been the very best *of the kind* which, in the circumstances, could have been devised. Still, we cannot but demur on the score of their *sufficiency* for the *full* attainment of the philanthrophic end in view. They labour under sundry intrinsic evils or disadvantages, which the peculiarities of the case seem to render unavoidable. Though already partially noticed, we may now glance at a few of these, in a connected form.

For many years it was earnestly believed that a few cases of actual detection and punishment would go far to extirpate the crime. And such might be the result, were there a concurrent public feeling to "assist the penal machinery established for its suppression." But the general feeling of the community at large happens to be in the converse direction. "Of all the population," says Capt. Jacob, "the most tender of life are the Srawnks or Ivens, the monied classes, who possess great influence throughout the peninsula; they have in several places forced the Rajput, and other chiefs, to enter into agreements not to permit the slaughter of sheep, &c.; but though child murder within the same district was notorious, they have not so much as attempted to stipulate for the preservation of human beings." Accordingly, Mr. Erskine positively testifies, that when Suraji, the chief of Rajkote, was convicted and severely fined, the conduct of the British authorities, instead of being extolled for its humanity, was very generally denounced as "harsh and unjust," while the chief himself was considered "all over the province, among Rajputs," not as a deservedly punished culprit, but "*as a martyr!*" And really, when it is borne in mind, that "the crime was almost universally practised in every Jharija family, great and small, without the slightest compunction," it is not difficult to understand how their sympathy, and not antipathy,

should be manifested towards one, who might be more unfortunate than themselves in being detected, but not more guilty.

In order to detection at all, there must be the testimony of witnesses. But in a community so constituted, with the general feelings actually enlisted in favour of the delinquents, who can be expected to proffer information, from abhorrence of the crime or motives of humanity and benevolence? Long experience replies, not one. It is only from mercenary motives, or, if possible, still worse, motives of hatred and revenge, that informers have ever been found to prefer an accusation against any. In such circumstances, the evils inseparable from "a system of informers," must be patent to all. Mr. Erskine considers it as "both destructive of the social system and embarrassing to Government. It involves a bad principle, as well as dangerous consequences; it encourages enmity and the gratification of evil feeling, destruction of a peaceable and social system, and creates a great risk of confounding the innocent with the guilty." Every instance of a rigorous scrutiny leads, of necessity, to an invasion of the privacies of the domestic system, which not the Rajputs alone but all oriental tribes regard as sacredly secret and inviolable. In this way, the spleen, the spite, and other evil dispositions of an informer, may have free vent from "the mere investigation of a case of suspected infanticide; for, even if he does not succeed in establishing the case, he has gratified his revenge by the destruction of the honour *(las)* of his enemy whom he has accused." "The distress caused to families," says Capt. Jacob, "by the feeling, that whenever accidendal death may have occurred, they are laid open to be the victims of any one who owes them a grudge, and the entire tearing down of the Rajput curtain which inquiry inflicts, give rise to heart-burnings and animosities, even when the result is a conviction of the innocence of the accused. The whole system in force is, moreover, one of perpetual and harsh inquisition into the domestic affairs of a proud tribe, carrying alarm into every family; if a wife be pregnant, if a child be born, if a daughter be sick, a messenger must be dispatched to give notice to some superior power, who, if feud exist—and where does it not among a people like this?—may make each occasion a fresh handle for oppression or annoyance. If an infant perchance die, the family is kept in a state of apprehension for an indefinite time, as they can never be certain where an enemy may, or may not, prefer an accusation against them; and it is needless for me to mention that in a state of society like this, subornation of evidence is a matter of daily occurrence." Who may not perceive in all this the ebullient

source af a wide-spreading irritation, the inevitable tendency of which is to enlist the sympathies of the rest of the community, and alienate the feelings of the whole from the British Government? Another defect in the system of informers, largely dwelt upon by Mr. Erskine, is, that "it is quite impossible that we can protect the informers and witnesses from the vengeance of, the delinquents. The death of three out of the five witnesses in the Rajkote case, is a melancholy illustration of this, although they were all in excellent health and of middle age. The general impression in the country is that they have been murdered, and there is nothing which can satisfactorily disprove such a supposition, while the known custom of the country, and the bad character and almost irresponsible power of the chief, render such a result most probable. The informer in this case has been ejected from his house in Rajkote by the chief, and the wife of one of the agency establishments treated in the same way, for assisting in the conviction." Another evil of still more portentous magnitude, connected with the system, and clearly and strikingly illustrated by Mr. Erskine, is, that the "rigorous investigations ordered by Government, and consequent punishment on conviction, lead *to stricter vigilance in the commission of the crime by those who still adhere to its practice.* This principle contains in itself the *elements of perpetuating the crime for ever*, if we rely solely on conviction and punishment for its abolition. A deed of this description loves darkness better than light, and who will commit the crime in such a manner as to leave any probability of his ever being detected? The mother and two old women are generally the sole witnesses, And when the wickedness of the benighted people of the province is taken into consideration, how can any one doubt, whether a chief contemplating the commission of the crime, would hesitate in silencing the testimony of the witnesses by the poisoned cup or the uplifted sword? In several instances that were brought before me, the females declined altogether to give any evidence whatever. They said, 'I know nothing about this, and shall answer no more questions: do with me as you please, I am ready to suffer death. It is not wonderful, that after years of almost total silence on the subject, on the part of the British Government, when every Jharija was lulled into security by the want of notice taken on the subject, and committed the crime with the same nonchalance that the manager of an English kennel would drown a litter of unfavourable looking dogs, several cases were brought home to the delinquents. But the case is now widely altered, and such caution is now exercised, not only in the commission of the act

at the present day, (for it is impossible to doubt but that it is still committed), but towards concealing former acts of transgression, that there is hardly a hope of being in future able to bring home any case of the nature to any perpetrator. After a few years have elapsed, and no instance of detection and punishment has taken place, the natural consequence will be, that if no more effective steps are resorted to by Government, those who from fear had abandoned the custom will revert to it, and those who have in the face of Government continued it, will persevere in its commission. Knowing the security with which they can act, they will secretly despise the abortive efforts of Government."

The system of the census is liable to many drawbacks. "The imperfection of our instruments," says Capt. Jacob, "must ever throw some degree of doubt on returns of population. A further cause of hesitation in receiving the census, as entirely to be depended on, exists in the difficulty that has been found in getting the Jharijas, of respectable ranks, to show their females to a male censor. Their prejudices in this matter are so deeply rooted, and supported by public feeling and sympathies, that I conceive we should err in attempting to force them." And what is the result? That a considerable portion of the females, entered in the returns from which the last tables are framed, "have no other guarantee for their existence than the word of their male relations." Hence an extreme facility for "fictitious report, to screen guilt." And when this facility becomes habitual, and the chiefs have learnt that "they have the power of deceiving the British Government," they only become more confirmed in the commission of the crime. This is no vague hypothesis; but an actual statement of facts verified by experience.

The sumptuary, not less than the penal system, labors under many serious defects. "With respect," says Mr. Erskine, "to the funds supplied to Jharijas for the marriage of their daughters, the propriety seems more than questionable. The advance of money to a Jharija for the marriage of his daughter, to an amount more than three times as great as is recognized to marry others of the same condition of life, who, in the Rajput list, stand higher in rank than the former, is keeping alive one of the greatest causes of infanticide—the presumptuous arrogance of the Jharijas. These sumptuary measures appear to me to tend to the perpetration of the custom, by shewing a sympathy with the perpetrators; as why should we acknowledge the necessity for a Jharija spending five or six times the amount on his daughter's marriage that any other Rajput does?"

"The principle," says Wilkinson, "of granting assistance to men to perform a necessary moral duty, seems liable to objection, as conveying our sanction to a relaxed scheme of moral duty." As to the scheme for placing limits to the fees exacted at marriage festivals by Charans, Bhats, and other members of the eleemosynary community, Capt. Jacob doubts the expedience of introducing it under British sanction. "The custom," says he, "of importuning for presents is injurious both to giver and receiver, by encouraging pride and mendicity. We might slightly diminish present mischief by fixing a standard, but the doing so would only give perpetuity to an evil which the hand of time is gently eradicating."

As to the promises and stipulations of the chiefs, experience has proved that no reliance can be placed on them. "Complimentary letters or remarks," says Capt. Jacob, "in reply to strongly expressed opinions by persons in power, are no criterion of real feelings, which must be judged of by acts. I can trace eye-service to Government, but no real service to humanity, in the profession of such of the community as pretend to take any interest in the matter. All the Rajputs who rear their daughters feel a direct interest in the continuance of the crime by others; they might at once prevent it, by stipulating before marriage that their daughters' children should be preserved; yet, though pressed to take this step, I am not aware of an instance in which it has been done." The very chief, who was the *first* that professed to be a convert to Col. Walker's humane views, still clung with tenacity to his 'immemorial custom and right' to kill his children. "After having," says Mr. Erskine, "succeeded in deceiving Col. Walker by preserving one daughter, and *signing the agreement to relinquish the practice*, he not only continued in the commission of it himself subsequently, but permitted it to be carried on to the same extent among his own relations, and over his whole taluk." Yea, such is the obtuseness of intellect not less than scaredness of conscience amongst this semi-barbarous people, that they seem utterly incapable of comprehending the very rudiments of Political or Judicial Ethics. Referring to the case of a Jharija Chief, who was arraigned, but acquitted from insufficiency of evidence, Mr. Erskine remarks, that "the very circumstance which was hinted at as one likely to benefit the cause of truth and virtue, viz. the fact of his not being convicted from want of evidence, being likely to impress the Rajputs with a sense of the justice of Government, has had an effect of a totally opposite nature. I have been frequently asked, how it was that he was the only man who had been detected in the commission of the offence

having been pardoned? When I replied, 'from want of evidence of the fact,' the answer was, 'every child knows it in the town, as well as the very spot where the infant was buried.' The principles of impartial justice and beneficence which pervade the criminal code of Great Britain, may, by the assistance of Almighty Providence, be appreciated in this province after the lapse of another century, but at present are as incapable of being understood by their ignorant minds as the deciphering of a Chaldee manuscript."

Col. Walker had hoped, with something like the absoluteness of assurance, that "even a temporary disuse of infanticide would assist towards its entire aboliton, by *allowing nature and feeling to recover the ascendancy.*" But the illusiveness of such a hope must at once appear from the profound remark of Capt. Jacob, that "we have no warrant for supposing the voice of nature to be alone sufficient to prevent falling back into a custom that was not sufficient to prevent its adoption." And if any thing could add to the resistless force of such a remark, it is to be found in the very striking fact brought to light by Mr. Erskine. It was before noticed, on the authority of Mr. Wilkinson, that on the commission of the atrocious deed, the Rajput considered himself so far polluted as to require the purification used by Hindus on the occasion of any offence being committed against his spiritual rules, and that such was usually performed by a present of food to the Brahman who was his family priest. "I made inquiries," says Mr. Erskine, "if that were the case in this province (Kattiawar) and I find that *such was the custom formerly, but, for purposes of concealment, it was never now resorted to.* The committers of the crime now, therefore, do not possess even the show of conscience."

What impression may now be left on the mind of our readers we cannot tell; but we must confess that our own is a strong and melancholy persuasion, that the whole of the anti-infanticide measures have not unitedly succeeded in reaching the root of the gigantic evil. All imaginable expedients, whether of a coercive, persuasive, or sumptuary character, have been tried. By all the ruling authorities, supreme and subordinate, the crime itself has been unsparingly reprobated. Inhuman—unnatural—revolting—atrocious—horrid—disgusting—disgraceful—shocking—grievous—sinful—wicked—wretched—detestable—execrable—dreadful—abominable—barbarous—aggravatedly murderous—diabolical;—These, and such-like, are the denunciatory terms that run freely through the gravest and calmest official documents. Political agents and residents have earnestly entreated and threatened, praised and condemned, by turns.

Proclamation after proclamation has been issued by Government, setting forth its unalterable determinations. Eulogistic letters have been addressed by Governors General, and the warmest commendations of the Court of Directors duly conveyed, to such chiefs as were supposed to be friendly to the abolition of the heinous practice. Remissions of revenue have been promised, and pecuniary rewards and honorary distinctions lavishly conferred, on those who were believed to have relinquished it. Threats of the total withdrawal of British protection, and even of the forfeiture of sovereignty and property, have been suspended over the heads of those who might be found still cleaving to it; while such as have been actually convicted of the offence, have, without respect of persons, been fined, imprisoned, and otherwise subjected to degradation and loss. And what has been the practical result of all these strenuous and persevering exertions—exertions, prompted by the purest philanthropy, regulated by the sagest experience, and carried out with the most consummate tact and prudence? It may be stated, chiefly in the words of Mr. Erskine, as follows,—"that *a few children have been preserved here and there, partly through fear of punishment, and partly from the mercenary expectation of reward, and partly to deceive Government, in the hope that after a time it would relax in its efforts for its abolition!*" To which we are constrained to add the weighty remark of Capt. Jacob,—"that the saving of a number of human beings, leaving them to be brought up in ignorance and vice, the animal part saved, the moral powers totally neglected, is a questionable boon to the parties themselves, whatever it may be as to its humanizing effects on society in general."

The measures, then, at present in force, we believed to have failed, and from the very nature of the case, must fail in *completely* overturning the long-established custom. So far as the penal portion of them is concerned, such a result was distinctly foreseen, by Sir John Shore, who, upwards of fifty years ago, left on record the profound reflection that "a prohibition enforced by the denunciation of the severest temporal penalties, would have little efficacy in abolishing a custom which existed in opposition to the feelings of humanity and natural affection." And it must be equally obvious that no mere sumptuary measures can possibly reach those cases, in which, not the exorbitant expense of marriages, but the difficulty or impossibility of contracting matrimonial alliances at all suitable to the extravagant views entertained of *family birth*, is the real cause that stimulates to the commission of the crime. For what conceivable efficacy can there be in the infliction of pains and penalties, or the bestow-

ment of pecuniary largesses, towards the extinguishing of *the pride of hereditary descent*—a pride, that is nurtured and nourished by ten thousand fables of ancestral glory and renown, and yet, fables that are as intensely believed as if they were the most indubitable of all verities? And, while the principal cause remains, not only in existence, but in undiminished action, how can the desired end be adequately attained? The Bombay Government itself confesses that "the present system can only be relied on during the pressure of vigilant supervision." Let that pressure be removed, or let it only become relaxed, and instantly is the signal sounded for a relapse. By constant active operations in cutting down the weeds and the plants as they begin to appear, or in baling out the waters of a stagnant pool, the field or the jungle may be kept comparatively clear, and the marsh comparatively dry. But let these operations be suspended or relaxed, and instantly will the former be covered with rank luxuriance, and the latter replenished with its baneful supply. Plainly, if complete riddance be desired, alike of the rankness of the jungle and the pestilence of the marsh, the only effectual way is, to tear up by the roots every sprouting plant that contributes to the former, and drain off every latent spring that helps to feed the latter. Under the repressive influence of a system of coercion and terror, relieved only by appeals to the wayward impulses of an ambitious or covetous spirit, the evil of Rajput infanticide may, to a greater or less extent, be kept in check, or at least be driven from the light of day, to hide itself amid the secresies of darkness and shame. But let that influence be mitigated or destroyed, and instantly will the evil spring from its hiding places, with an elastic energy proportioned to the force which kept it in abeyance. Like the giant tree in the visions of Daniel, whose top reached to heaven and whose branches spread out to the ends of the earth, it may be suddenly cut down to the ground; yet, retaining its stump and roots fast bound as with iron and brass, it is ever ready, when delivered from the grasp of the destroying power, to shoot forth again in all its former strength, and fill the whole land.

What then? Would we abandon the present measures altogether? No such thing. In spite of their great and acknowledged imperfections, they may not only be tolerated but justified, on account of the extreme peculiarities of the case, and on the score of downright necessity. They do ensure the preservation of a considerable number of *individual* females. And this, as Mr. Erskine has remarked, is "a most humane and laudable object, abstractedly considered, though, *(alone by itself)* far from certainly involving the extinction of the crime, it may not only not be a step

towards its final suppression, but in some respects may positively operate as a barrier in the way." Besides, as another has in substance observed, the intrinsic value of life preserved, is sadly diminished, when we reflect that we have no means whatever of protecting it from misery and neglect afterwards. Still, even supposing the measures in question should be found to answer no other end, they will at least serve the purpose of *a standing protest*, on the part of the British Government, solemnly uplifted in the face of the whole civilized world, against the cruel and unnatural practice of Rajput infanticide. What, then, would we have to be done? Abandon the present measures, and substitute others instead? No. But, retaining the present measures, as *the best of the kind*, what we would urge with all the vehemence of moral sentiment, is, that they should be regarded only as *subsidiary and temporary*—the growth and product of a virtual necessity, bearing upon them all the crudities and immaturities of a *transition period*;—and that *other measures should be consentaneously superadded of a more comprehensive and radical, as well as of a more generous and healing nature, fitted to reach the very heart of the whole evil, and so strike the axe at the root of the Upas tree of crime that has, for ages, diffused its deadly influences over some of the fairest regions of Hindustan.*

This is no new proposal of ours. Wearied and worn out with the increasingly developed imperfections and inadequacy of the existing system, some of the leading functionaries of Government felt themselves constrained to look to other ulterior and more satisfactory measures. And those who did so, appear, with one accord, to have pointed to EDUCATION, as the *only available* and *sufficient* instrument. Mr. Wilkinson is perhaps the first who clearly grasped this grand idea. "Well knowing," says he, "the inveteracy of habit, confirmed by generations of practice, I regarded it as almost impossible to work any real and heartfelt general abhorrence towards the crime, except by *the creation of a generally improved state of public feeling by education.* It was the hope of eradicating this crime which first led me to project the establishment of the Sehore school." These views were taken up and echoed by Mr. Bax, the Resident at Indore, who reports that "it is to the *gradual progress of education and civilized habits*," that we must mainly look for the extirpation of the shocking practice. And the Supreme Government, in its despatch to the Court of Directors, homologates the same views, saying, "we are disposed to concur with Mr. Bax in the opinion that against the revolting crime in question there is *no effectual remedy but the diffusion of education and the gradual civilization* of the independent Rajput tribes." These are weighty

and important admissions, and ought to be unceasingly rung in the ears of Government, till the approved theory be converted into energetic practice. But the gentleman who appears to have seized the idea with the greatest force, and to have brought it out in the most masterly and elaborate form, is Mr. Erskine. In justice to him, and to the great cause which he has so powerfully advocated, we cannot refrain from quoting the following extracts from his report, dated June, 1837:—

"I now come to the last proposition which my judgment dictates to me to be submitted to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, to the end of the abolition of this iniquity, and I confess my implicit conviction that it is not only the best, but the only means by which Government has it in its power effectually and finally to eradicate the atrocious crime now under consideration: I mean education, mental improvement, and moral amelioration of the mass of the people; 'Virtutis indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum,' and without which all our best efforts must be abortive among such a population. Drowned in ignorance, superstition and vice, what engine can be used to reclaim them? As to the Jharijas themselves, any reasonable man would at once declare that no law could control their iniquity. The voice of conscience, the representative of God in the hearts of men, is entirely hushed in the breasts of these relentless wretches. To awaken within them this divine monitor, to what earthly power can we appeal? It is true that no one sunk in the deepest abyss of iniquity can ever suddenly become virtuous. It has been well remarked, that 'when we look into the history of the world, two things are seen upon every page, man's ignorance and man's wickedness. History presents another truth: the most ignorant individuals, as well as nations, have been the most vicious and degraded. The Jharijas themselves are a forcible example of this truth. The present condition of the world reveals slavery and misery where the people are ignorant, and liberty and happiness where there is mental and moral light; where the mind is not improved by virtue and knowledge, it will be governed and debased by the passions and appetites, and employed in planning and executing that which destroys happiness and prevents improvement. How far human suffering may be attributed to ignorance, or how many of the evils which have and do still exist among the inhabitants of the earth originated from ignorance, would be difficult to ascertain, but we know enough to be assured that the amount of suffering from ignorance is unmeasurable, and the evils unmeasurable.' Ignorance has not only multiplied evils by misapplying what is good, but has given an imaginary existence to many of the most fearful nature, which have long distressed and enslaved the human race. Ignorance and error have always led to the commission of the most atrocious deeds of wickedness, and to the habitual adherence to crime. The Jharijas, by a legend repeated by Colonel Walker, and preserved to the present day, give as an excuse for their iniquity, the sanction of a rajgor, or spiritual preceptor, for the unnatural practice; but it is well established, that a religion like theirs, based 'on the deepest superstition, will lead men to the worst and most impious actions.' It has been frequently known that mothers have, under the influence of this species of superstitious feeling, been induced to desire the death of their offspring, contrary to the wish of the father. People in this deplorable state of ignorance never can be expected to feel their proper relations either towards God or man. Not having their moral or intellectual nature developed or put in exercise by mental and moral instruction, they are ignorant of any other happiness but that derived from the gratification of their lowest na-

tures, their animal appetites and passions. The principal cause, therefore, of this as well as of other human evils, is a sensual and diseased nature domineering over the moral and intellectual nature. If knowledge is of use in other communities, of how much greater benefit must it be to such a race, who, instead of knowing nothing, know nothing but what is bad. There never has been an instance since the creation of the world of any community, entirely devoid of knowledge and instruction, being in the practice of virtuous actions, or indeed not being in the habitual practice of bad. To expect, therefore, an exception to such a fact in the inhabitants of this province, would be tantamount to shooting at the sun. They have, I fear, enough to answer for; but it is only to be wondered at, when their profound state of ignorance is considered, that they are not a worse and more immoral race than they actually are. Much has been said of the immutability of the Hindus; but what is immutability but ignorance? Men who in their several occupations are content to tread step for step in the paths wherein their fathers trod, entirely divest themselves of the properties of thinking beings. The Jharijas kill their children because their fathers did, and among the lower orders, their attention never having been drawn to it, they have never even given the subject a thought. Are we not therefore bound, as their earthly protectors, to place in their power the unspeakable advantages of education? I have already in my report, dated the 1st of May last, brought to the notice of Government, the deplorable state of ignorance among the chiefs of this province, their bhaiyad or brethren, and unless Government deliberately resolves to extend the advantages of education over this community, no hope can be entertained of finally and effectually eradicating this atrocious custom. Let us consider the immense advantages we shall acquire by having effected this desirable reformation by gentle means instead of violent. When its final abolition shall have been effected, the people will look back with astonishment at the wickedness of their fathers, and learn to bless the British Government, who had conducted them by sure and firm steps to a state of virtue and happiness."

Were these suggestions acted on, and adequate means provided for the "mental improvement and moral amelioration of the mass of the people," we should, for many years to come, have a *two-fold co-operative* system at work—the coercive, to discourage and keep down every palpable manifestation of the evil,—and the illuminative, to awaken thought, create a higher tone of feeling throughout the community, and, thereby, ultimately supersede the coercive altogether. This is, in principle, precisely the two-fold scheme so ably propounded by Mr. Fowell Buxton for the final effectual suppression of the Slave Trade. He proposes *two distinct* courses, to be *simultaneously* pursued. He calls upon the Government to do one thing, viz. "*to strengthen our squadron;*" and he calls upon all the friends of humanity to join him in a measure of a totally different character, viz. "an attempt *to elevate the mind of the people* of Africa, and to call forth the capabilities of her soil." "With all confidence," says Mr. Buxton, "we may affirm, that nothing permanent will be effected unless *we raise the native mind.* It is possible to conceive such an application of force, as shall blockade the whole coast,

and sweep away every slaver: but *should that effort relax,* the trade in man would *revive. Compulsion, so long as it lasts, may restrain the act, but it will not eradicate the motive.* After any interval of *constrained abstinence,* the African will *revert* to it as the business of his life. But, when the African nations shall emerge from their present state of darkness and debasement, they will require no arguments from us, to convince them of the monstrous impolicy of the Slave Trade. As their intellect advances, it is not too much to hope that their morals will improve, and that they will awaken to the enormous wickedness, as well as folly of this cruel system." These are the words of wisdom, sobriety, and truth. And, *mutatis mutandis,* there is not a syllable of them that is not strictly applicable to the horrid system of Infanticide in Rajasthan, and the only effectual course that can be adopted, with the reasonable hope of ensuring its ultimate extinction.

What Mr. Erskine may have included in his educational scheme we have no means of ascertaining. The report, containing the development and details on that head, lies snugly slumbering, we presume, amid the arcana of a Government office. But, be that as it may, we cannot refrain from explicitly stating our own deliberate conviction, that any scheme, educational or otherwise, for the elevation of the human mind, and the general civilization of society, that does not give *religion —pure, undefiled religion, which is only another name for uncorrupted Bible Christianity*—a prominent, or rather the most prominent place, must be held as essentially defective, and demonstratively inadequate for the attainment of the highest ends in view. At the close of an article, already we fear much too long for the patience of ordinary readers, we cannot enter on the evidences by which this proposition might be irresistibly established. We must therefore, for the present, be satisfied with little else than its bare announcement. Only we may add that this is no solitary opinion of ours. Men, who have speculated most largely on the methods of ameliorating the condition of barbarous, or semi-barbarous tribes,—after noting their varied phases and developments from the highest watch-towers of observation—have arrived at exactly the same conclusion. In reference to plans for promoting the spread of civilization among the Aborigines of our Colonies, a British Statesman has recently with emphasis remarked, that "*the gospel ever has been, and ever must be, the grand civilizer of mankind.*" Mr. Burke, in his celebrated "Negro Code," proposed "towards the civilization and gradual manumission of Negroes in the two hemispheres," thus strongly enunciates his solemn judgment on the subject. "I confess," says he, "*I trust*

infinitely more—according to the sound principles of those who ever have at any time ameliorated the state of mankind—*to the effect and influence of religion, than to all the rest of the regulations put together.*" Accordingly we find, that, in his scheme of civilization, *the Church and the school*—the Gospel Minister and the Christian School-master—occupy the most distinguished place. Such precisely would be the principal part of our own scheme for the intellectual, moral, and social regeneration of the tribes of Rajasthan, in the highest and noblest sense of that expressive term. And dark as the aspect of things now is, when the day comes that shall witness such a system in full and universal operation, we may expect a revolution in sentiment and practice as complete as it is sure to be peaceful and salutary. Were such a system vigorously introduced now, we might, with reference to Rajasthan and India generally, indulge in the generous aspirations of Mr. Pitt regarding the prospects of poor degraded Africa—when, in one of his happiest moods of mind and noblest flights of oratory, he thrilled the hearts of assembled Senators with seraphic utterances like these:—"some of us may live to see a reverse of that picture, from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret; we may live to see natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, and in the pursuit of a just and legitimate commerce; we may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which, at some happier period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre, and, joining their influence to that of *pure religion*, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent."

NOTE.—Our digest is a long one. But we submit whether this does not very much arise from the very nature of the subject, and the multitude of facts and statements adduced, rather than from spinning out a slender material into an attenuated form. The *last* volume of Parliamentary papers, or that for 1843, contains *four hundred and thirty-four* documents, large and small, in the shape of letters, reports, memoranda and Minutes by Political Agents in charge of districts, Residents at the Courts of Native Princes, Secretaries, Members of Council, Governors, Governors General, and the Court of Directors. By extracting, as we believe we have done, the substance, the very pith and marrow, of the whole, we have endeavoured to save our readers from encountering the toil and labour for themselves. But some there are, who have a morbid craving for what they call short, pithy, racy articles—a morbid distaste for any thing long or elaborate, merely because of its length and elaborateness, altogether irrespective of the nature, the congruities, and the necessities of the case. These may possibly be ranked among the Epicures of Literature. Their leading desire is, to refresh and luxuriate their own minds—without any reference, or with but a faint theoretic reference, to the actual application of principles, or the adoption of practical measures for the amelioration of mankind. Now, in proper time and place, we have no objection to such articles as these readers desire. On the contrary, they have their own value and use; and, on fitting occasions, we can enjoy them as well as our neighbours. But, on a subject like the present, our object is not regalement, but *utility*—not the gratification of mere literary amateurs, but the information of earnest philanthropists, who will not object to any minuteness of detail, or elaborateness of discussion, which may lead them to form more accurate views of the nature of an evil and its appropriate remedy.

ART. V.—1. *Observations on the Seikhs and their College at Patna—by Charles Wilkins, dated Benares, 1st March,* 1781, *and published in Vol.* I., *Asiatic Society's Transactions.*

2. *History of the Origin and Progress of the Seikhs, by Major James Browne, Bengal Army, dated* 1781, *and published with other India Tracts in* 1788, *at Printing-house Square, Blackfriars.*

3. *Forster's Journey from Bengal to England, through the Punjab, Affghanistan, and Persia, &c. &c. London,* 1798.

4. *Sketch of the Seikhs, by Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm. John Murray, London,* 1812.

5. *Origin of the Seikh power in the Punjab, and political Life of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, compiled by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta,* 1834.

6. *Burnes's Travels in Bokhara,* 3 *Vols. John Murray, London,* 1834.

7. *Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Cabul and Affghanistan, &c. &c. by G. T. Vigne, Esq., F. G. S. London, Whittaker,* 1840.

8 *Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh, by the Honorable W. G. Osborne. Colburn, London,* 1840.

9. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Cabul, Kundaz and Bokhara; prepared from Original Journals and Correspondence, by Horace H. Wilson. London, Murray,* 1841.

10. *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the source of the River Oxus; by Lieut. John Wood, E. I. C. Navy. London, Murray,* 1841.

11. *Burnes's Cabool,* 1836-38. *John Murray, London,* 1842.

12. *Masson's Travels in Belochistan, Affghanistan, and the Punjab, from* 1826 *to* 1838, 3 *Vols. Bentley, London,* 1842.

13. *Adventures of Bellasis, by Major Lawrence. Colburn, London,* 1844.

As yearly we are startled from our propriety by the alarm-note of "Wolf! Wolf!" alternated with the more selfish cry that "the pear is ripening," the interest attaching to the country of the Five Rivers grows stronger and stronger throughout the presidencies of India, and communicates itself, with the usual mitigations, to our brethren in the West. *Yearly*, do we say? There is much more than this periodical excitement; for in

truth we might assert, that ever since the demise of Runjeet Singh, in June 1839, there has been, in many quarters, a continual feverish dread of a Seikh invasion—rising and falling more or less according to the vicissitudes of the political atmosphere, but never at any time descending to zero. At one period, in the imaginings of these alarmists, the Seikh Government had leagued itself with Burmah, Gwalior, and Nepaul, for a simultaneous irruption into the British provinces: at another, the mutinous Seikh soldiery had matured their arrangements to cross the Sutlej in force, and, doing a little business on their own account, to burn the towns of Ferozpore and Loodhiana, to plunder their treasuries, and to ravage our whole northern frontier; and again the alarm note is sounded, louder and clearer than ever, because a young and impetuous chief resorting to a state-trick, equally well understood in the fastnesses of Affghanistan and within the fortifications of Paris, endeavors to allay internal discontents, by opening a foreign outlet, and promising to lead his army across the Sutlej, nor once to halt until he has encamped his victorious troops beneath the ramparts of Fort William.

There are no greater braggarts than these Seikhs. They have some humour in them too, and, seeing how easily we were to be gulled—how we swallowed down the stories which they circulated of their own strength, and readily credited what was said of our weakness, they occasionally amused themselves by what is vulgarly called "taking a rise out of us," causing us to forget that men who were cutting each other's throats, and especially destroying their commanders, or as a merciful variety *jootee-marring** them, could not be very formidable invaders. Nevertheless many of us imbibed the strongest doses; some perhaps affected to do so, and all remembered that at Govindghur and in the Motcemundur (at Lahore,) are amassed the crores of Runjeet Singh and the Kohi-noor of Shah Soojah.

That the Seikhs are braggarts, no one who has passed through the Punjab will deny. It is indeed natural that, fresh from a career of victory, they should boast; that as newly enfranchised slaves, after long years of oppression, they should as a people retain much of the degradation of slavery. Their boasts of conquering Ghuznee and reclaiming (Kasee) Benares from the Feringees can only be accounted as the idle talk of semi-barbarians, ignorant of the strength of their neighbours.

We lately heard an amusing anecdote, illustrative of this propensity:—The small Seikh colony at Nundour, in the

* Beating with the shoe,—an act of especial indignity.

Deccan, when asked why they hem in their settlement with a Babul hedge, reply, that the plantation is intended to supply tent-pins for the Seikh (Punjab) Army; implying, of course, that the *Khalsa** will so far extend their conquests.

But whatever may be our opinion of the probability of a Seikh invasion, it is undeniable that there is no country, at the present day, with which it is more desirable that the reading public should become acquainted, nor one with which, as we firmly believe, they are more willing to become acquainted. We hope that in this article, which we purpose principally to devote to the recent history of the Punjab, we shall be able, in some degree, to assist the inquiries of the public. But before we commence our own summary of events, it may be advisable to offer a few brief remarks on the various works, whose titles are placed at the head of this article, and which, long as is the list, we have enumerated in order that the student may have at once before him a catalogue of the volumes from which more or less of information may be gleaned.

The books at the head of this article all contain matter that will interest the student of Punjab annals and Seikh manners. Malcolm's and Forster's, two of the oldest, are perhaps the best. The former writer has the merit of having given to Europeans the first distinct account of the Seikhs; and though his Sketch contains some repetitions, it is like all that officer's works, one of great interest. Sir John understood what he wrote about; it is, therefore, the fault of his readers if they do not understand him.

Wilkins' and Browne's Essays are both very brief; but, as far as they go, contain curious and useful information. Charles Wilkins is a name too well known in Oriental Literature to need praise at our hands; but Major Browne's Tracts are more scarce, and we have pleasure in bringing them to public notice. Forster is perhaps the most distinguished of English Travellers in the East. He travelled under many disadvantages, in a troubled time, through rival clans and sects; but nevertheless he gives a graphic account of the track he pursued, under the lower range of the Himalaya to Peshawur; and his anticipations of the rising power of the Seikhs have proved truly prophetic.

Prinsep's Life of Runjeet Singh is a book very little known in Europe, but one deserving of much commendation. It is compiled from materials collected, during many years of good service at Loodhiana and Ambala, by the late Capt. Murray—a man who, had he lived, would have achieved greatness. He

* Select—The name applied by the Seikhs to themselves.

was cut off in the midst of a career of usefulness, but not until he had informed himself thoroughly of the history, customs, and manners of the Seikhs, and recorded such memoranda as enabled his able friend, H. T. Prinsep, to bring them before the world.

Burnes, Masson, and Vigne have all been lately before the public. They all afford helps to a knowledge of the Punjab; but their information must be carefully used, especially that of the two last. Mr. Masson writes off-hand, knows every thing and every body, great and small; and therefore, while we are able to detect certain inaccuracies, we cannot help suspecting many that have escaped our notice. Mr. Masson is however, a man capable of great things as a traveller and antiquary, if he would only be a little less fanciful, and distinguish what he saw and knew, from what he only heard or conjectured. But he offers us no such land-marks, gives scarcely a date, makes us wonder how he arrives at his conclusions, and therefore not unfrequently causes us to doubt them. Mr. Vigne was ignorant of the languages of the countries through which he travelled, and therefore could not be expected to have travelled to much purpose. What he saw, however, as far as he understood it, he has, we believe, faithfully furnished to his readers—but we must proceed to justify these general remarks, by a page or two of more detailed criticism.

The fort of Jumrood both Masson and Moorcroft state to be at the entrance of the Khybur. Burnes more accurately gives its position as about three miles from the Pass. We mention this discrepancy, as we shall presently have occasion to shew, that none of the authors under review, give us topographical details that could be depended on, for an individual, much less for an army to march by. Unlike most foreign officers, who, in their travels, appear to keep their eyes open to the possibility of eventual military operations, our travellers never regarded what they saw with a soldier's eye. Burnes tells us that Court informed him he had, in passing through Affghanistan, restricted his attention and inquiries to one route, to enable him the more accurately to determine its capabilities. Burnes, Masson, and Vigne tell us of many; but leave us entirely in the dark as to their practicability. We had a British army in Affghanistan for three years; a mission at Peshawur all that time; Moorcroft, Vigne, Burnes, Masson, Leach, and Wood had travelled in the country; yet, when General Pollock was at Peshawur and the Khybur closed, there was no trustworthy information to be procured regarding the Karifa, the Abkhana, or the Tirah routes from Peshawur to Julalabad. Though somewhat going out of our way in a notice of the Pun-

jab, we will here, as a hint for future travellers, point out how the important features of countries are slurred over by our travellers—Mr. Masson tells us, that "from Peshawur to the valley of Julalabad, there are three distinct kafila routes, all of them leading through the great hill ranges, separating the two countries; viz. those of Khaibur, Abkhana and Karifa." Now there are really four others, the Tatura over the Khybur heights and above the Cabool river, which is practicable for horses and mules; at least Mrs. Ferris rode over it during the night. Then there is the road by the Bara river leading out at Tirah on the Julalabad side. Then there is the Choora and Bazaar road, coming out twelve miles east of Dhaka. And lastly there is the circuitous route of Bungash by Kohat; this last General Elphinstone thought of taking on his retreat from Cabool; and Mr. Masson appears to have heard of that of Choora, though he evidently confounds two different passes, when he says at page 162—

"It was a malek, of this tribe, who conducted Nadir Shah and a force of Cavalry, by the route of Chura and Tirah to Peshawer, when the principal road through the hills was defended against him."—*Page* 162, *vol.* 1.

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"Tirah and Churah are said to be fertile and well peopled valleys, enjoying a cool climate, in comparison with that of Peshawur."—*Page* 163.

Choora is only six miles to the south of Ali Musjid, and only a few hundred feet higher, and is a very sultry spot whence the Afreedis proceed to Tirah, at a distance of forty miles, in the hot weather, to enjoy the cool breezes of a high table land, as cold as Cabool. Hot winds blow at Choora; snow falls at Tirah. Again if Nadir Shah entered at Tirah, he would not have emerged into the Peshawur valley at or by Choora, but by the Bara River, and we rather believe that it was by the Bazaar and Choora road that he did come. If Mr. Masson were less positive and didactic, we should not be so precise.

Elsewhere Masson is as little graphic and correct in his accounts and pictures of interesting localities. He tells us that the Bolan is a beautiful pass, but we have no mention of the Kojuk, though twice he must have passed it; the same as to the Khoord Cabool; and we observe, that both Burnes and Masson ascend the Huft-kotul from Tezeen without the slightest notice of its difficulties, and mislead us moreover into the impression that it is a succession of passes instead of ascents. Both call it the Huft-kotul or seven passes; now we write under correction, for we confess to having consulted Richardson's, Wilson's, and Shakespeare's Dictionary, and have not found the word Kotul; but yet we feel confident that it means *hill* or *ascent*. Whether

we be right or not, if Affghans will call things by their wrong names, why should Englishmen echo the fallacy.

At the risk of being a little tiresome, we continue our criticisms. Here is Burnes's account of the Khybur :—

"The first salutation which we received from them was a message directing us to get rid of our escort; we accordingly sent the Khuleels back, and at once abandoned ourselves to the tender mercies of Ullah Dad Khan, the chief of the Kokee Khyl, who with his numerous followers, led us to Ali Musjid, a weak fort in the centre of the pass."—*Burnes's Cabool, page* 128.

Ullah Dad Khan was not chief of the Kookee Khyl; there were two of that name—heads of two other khyls or branches of the Afredi tribe:—

"We had scarcely pitched our camp in the confined ground below Ali-Musjid and in the dry bed of the river, when the rolling thunder gave notice of rain."—*Idem, page* 129.

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"In all this confusion, and indeed throughout our previous march, we had a good opportunity of studying the Khyber Pass, which must always be formidable, and more especially so in rainy and boisterous weather. We had found the road as good as it had been represented; and the people, lawless as their habits undoubtedly are, had been more friendly than we could have hoped for."—*Ibid, page* 130.

"At Ali Musjid the water jets beautifully out of the rock and flows towards Jumrood, but for some distance between these two places it has a subterraneous course."

"In the last part of the road, at Lundee Khanu, a village composed of thirty or forty small forts, and built where the pass opens, we saw a "Tope" in good preservation and in a commanding position. Farther on, and before reaching a place named "Huft Chah," or the seven wells, we passed to our left a hill crowned by a long fort, and called by the inhabitants the "Kaffir Killa," or infidel's fort, to which tradition assigns a very ancient date."—*Page* 131.

Capt. Burnes regretted that he was unable to go through the Khybur on his first visit to Affghanistan; and the above is the description he offered when he had the opportunity. Who would in the above recognize the formidable barrier of Hindostan? and who would have supposed that a military man would have so described the literally impregnable position of Ali Musjed? We say *position*, not *fort*; but as regards the latter, with its adjoining posts and opposite mountain—a precipice to strike the beholder with awe—we are not ashamed to say that it was with no pleasure we first passed under it. Almost every particular of the above quotations from Burnes is moreover inaccurate—the water does not jet out of the rock at Ali Musjed; and at Lundi Khana, the pass does not open out; for it opens out miles to the eastward, and continues at much the same breadth to Lundi Khana, which again, though a descent, or series of

descents, somewhat of the Huft Kotul sort, is passed over as above. Mr. Masson's account of the Khybur is even less true to nature; and by his making the same mistake as to the spring which *does not rise* at, but passes Ali Musjed, as Burnes has done, it would almost appear as if one had written from memory, and the other copied from the manuscript of the first. The spring really rises a mile or so above (westward of) Ali Musjed, and the Sur-i-chushma is too noticeable a feature to be overlooked by a day-light traveller: Mr. Masson's words are—

"Proceeding up the water-course we at length reached a spot where the water supplying the rivulet gushes in a large volume from the rocks to the left. I slaked my thirst in the living spring, and drank to repletion of the delightfully cool and transparent waters. This locality is called Ali Musjit." —*Vol.* 1, *page* 149.

Wrong in two points; it does not rise at Ali Musjed, and it comes from the right and not the left. General Pollock would have given little thanks for such information in April 1842. Fortunately Captain Mackeson knew something more of the Khybur than our travellers.

Again:

"From Tezeen we passed the Huft Kotul, or seven passes to Khurd Kabul and Bhootkhak."—*Burnes's Cabool, page* 139.

"The next morning we crossed the succession of passes, called the Huft Kotul (seven passes) the road tolerably good, and reached the table lands, extending to Khurd Kabul (little Cabool)."—*Masson, vol.* 1, *page* 1878.

The above are Masson's and Burnes' meagre descriptions of the formidable *Huft Kotul*, a name, which recent events have rendered almost as familiar even to English ears, as Shooter's Hill. Their erroneous explanation of the two words we have already pointed out.

The following is a specimen of the inaccuracy of Masson and Burnes, though both, especially Masson, by their long stay at Peshawur, had the means of giving correct descriptions:—

"The territory held by the Sirdars is of very limited extent, comprising only the city of Peshawur, with the adjacent country, which might be included within a circle drawn from the city, as a centre, with a radius of twenty-five miles; but then, it is uncommonly fertile and well cultivated; the command of water being so abundant from the rivers Bara and Julalabad, which traverse it."—*Masson, vol.* 1, *page* 131.

Here the river of Julalabad (the great Cabool river) is said to traverse the Peshawur valley; but seven pages further, it is more correctly given as bounding it:—

"The Yusaf Zai tribes hold the country north of the course of the great Kabul river, and have the River Indus for their eastern boundary."—*Masson, vol.* 1, *page* 138.

Burnes also, page 320, vol. 2, states Peshawur to be a plain

of a circular shape, about thirty-five miles broad: now if, as we believe to be the case, the Cabool river bounds Peshawur to the North of the continuation of the Khybur range, inhabited by Afredis and Kuttacks to the South; the Indus to the East; and the hills forming the Jubogee and Shadee Bugiaree entrances of the Khybur, to the West; the valley must be, instead of a circle of twenty-five miles, according to Masson, or of thirty-five, as stated by Burnes, an oblong of about fifty miles by fifteen; and instead of, as noted by Masson, the city of Peshawur being in the centre, it is within sixteen miles of the Western border. It is material to state these points, lest a storming party should some day be guided by Masson's pretty picture of Umritsur and Govindghur.

Mr. Vigne's pictures are so unreal that in vain we attempt to trace his steps. He gives us Greek and Latin, and discourses learnedly, but for the life of us we cannot follow his track in any direction. He says on leaving Cabool—

"From Butkhak the traveller has the choice of three roads towards Peshawur; Khord Kabul, Sokta Chenar, and Sulah Bund, which meet at See Baba. I arrived there with my camels by Sokta Chenar, in three days, the road generally good, but in places the rugged precipices meet so nearly that a gun carriage could not pass. By the Khord Kabul road it occupies four days for camels. There guns cannot go, at least so I was informed. Horses can go by the Sulah Bund road, but not camels. Guns coming from Cabul to Peshawur arrive by Kohat."—*Vigne, page* 228-29.

Now, where has he arrived? We at least know not; and what confusion of roads and of passes! We next catch him at Jugdulluk, which formidable and picturesque pass he thus describes; we give also Burnes' account;—they may well be coupled:—

"Jeg Delik was the next stage. A sort of police was established there, who resided in cottages amongst the hills, which were covered with holly bushes."—*Vigne, page* 230.

"The country is barren and miserable. Jugduluk is a wretched place, with a few caves. There is a proverb which describes its misery: 'When the wood of Jugduluk begins to burn, you melt gold;' for there is no wood at hand in the bleak hills."—*Burnes, vol.* 1, *page* 127.

We have selected these Passes for comment, because they are marked features, and will be in the remembrance of many of our readers; but what can be more absurd than the following, and how much does it shew the necessity of some preparation for travelling!

"The Gurunth, being the sacred book of the Seikhs, is allowed a guard of honour, and when talking to a Gúrú it is the etiquette to inquire after the health of the Gurunth Sahib; which would be paralleled, in English, by an inquiry after the health of —— Bible, Esq."—*Vigne, page* 145.

We too have travelled, and visited many shrines; but we never heard the health of Mr. Gurunth inquired after; nor have we ob-

served his Guard. He certainly has none about his person at the holy of holies, at Umritsur. Mr. Vigne must have passed Hussun Abdal, the beauties of which are well described by Burnes. If he did so, he may have heard it called by the Seikhs "Punja Sahib," owing to a locality in its neighbourhood and a legend attached; and if he ever visited the Cootub, at Delhi, he may have heard it designated as "Cootub Sahib;" but we cannot say we have ever heard any tender inquiries made after the health of the holy man's foot-print at Hussun Abdal; or after that of the beautiful pillar at Delhi. We possibly might shew some other inanimate Sahibs; but enough—Mr. Vigne, we are certain, narrated what he believed to be the truth, and described as well as he could what he saw. We would not, therefore, be unnecessarily severe upon him; but truth obliges us to state as much as we have done.

Moorcroft's book is a thing of shreds and patches, compiled by Horace Wilson, whose talent has not been sufficient to make it in all places intelligible. We doubt not, that had Moorcroft lived, he could himself have furnished a most interesting work; he was a man to whom we owe much—he lost his life as much in the service of his country as the man who mounts the breach.

Of all the travellers under review, Wood, we consider, gives the best notice of what came under his eye; but as regards Seikh Territory, his experience did not extend beyond the Indus, Kohat, and Peshawur.

Capt. Osborne has acquired some reputation in England; offering a further proof of the rotten foundation on which fame is built. His book is very trashy and not over-delicate. The Introduction is the most readable, and certainly the most valuable portion of the work; and this is, without acknowledgment and without notice of such a person as Prinsep or Murray, boldly pirated from their life of Runjeet Singh, as the annexed parallel passages will convince the most obtuse of his and Lord William Lennox's admirers:—

"Ahmed Shah, when at Delhi in the train of Nadir Shah had not been an inattentive observer of the state of things at that Court."

"The imbecility of Mohummed Shah, the over-grown power, the discords and intrigues of the great Ameers, or grandees, and the little obedience paid to the royal authority, at the capital, as well as in the interior, had not failed to attract his attention."—*Prinsep's Runjeet Singh.*

"When he, (Ahmed Shah) was at Delhi in the train of Nadir, he had been an attentive observer of the state of that Court."

"The imbecility of Mahomed Shah, the discords and intrigues of the grandees, and the contempt into which the royal authority had fallen, did not fail to attract his notice."—*Captain Osborne.*

The Adventures of Bellasis is a reprint of "The Adventurer

in the Punjab," and is now acknowledged by Major Lawrence of the Artillery. It supplies, under guise of a fiction, much information relating to the Punjab; but as lately before the Indian public in several of the local prints, as well as in a volume published at Delhi, we shall content ourselves with saying that we wish the Major had given us a fuller narrative of Seikh History, which at this time, would have been very useful. We have indeed no connected sketch of Punjabee affairs, beyond the period of the Roopur meeting in 1830, and therefore propose briefly to touch on the stirring passages of the last days of Runjeet Singh, and the even more eventful ones of his successors. And as we hope our Review will be read in quarters where the Seikhs are as yet an unknown people, we must, even more concisely tell, what they were and what they are. This as given most fully in the shortest space by Bellasis, we extract from his Adventures:—

"In A.D 1469, Nanuc Shah, or Gooroo Nanuc, the founder of the Seikh sect, was born at Tulwundee on the banks of the Beyah, or Hyphasis; his father, was a Hindoo of the military caste, though engaged in business. The son refused to follow his father's employment, but turned all his thoughts to religion, and at an early age travelled into every part of the East, conversing with all ranks, and even disputing with the Emperor Baber. The grounds of his doctrine were, the Unity and Omnipresence of God; and his object was, to shew both Mussulmans and Hindoos that they were equally in error. He died, and was buried at Kurtapoor on the Ravee. The precepts of Nanuc and of his two successors were collected by the fourth Gooroo, Arjummal, into the Adi Grunth, or first book of the Seikh's holy writings. By this work Arjummal brought himself into notice and incurred suspicion. He was imprisoned and put to death by the Mahommedan authorities, in A. D. 1606. His murder roused his followers, and persecution ensued, which worked out its usual consequences. The hitherto peaceful Seikhs united themselves under Hur Govind, the son of their murdered leader, into a band, bent on vengeance. Hur Govind, and his grandson, who succeeeded him, passed a life of persecution, and were soldiers more than priests. The Delhi Empire was then in its zenith, and the Seikhs were but a handful. Nanuc, to conciliate the Mahommedans, had forbidden hogsflesh to his followers; but Hur Govind made all flesh, except that of the cow, lawful; he studied in every way to make his followers hardy, and inure them to fatigue. Upon his death, the succession was disputed, and between internal dissentions and Moslem persecution, the sect was nearly exterminated: when, after one or two intervening priesthoods, the Gooroo Teg Bahadoor was put to death; and left to his son Govind, A. D. 1675, a heritage of revenge, which, boy as he was, he took up. He acquired the Fort of Amandpoor Nukkiwal on the Sutledge, and made fundamental changes in the Seikh policy; for, whereas Nanuc interfered little with the civil institutions of the Hindoos, Gooroo Govind declared all men equal; and some of the Sweeper caste, who had brought his father's corpse from Delhi, were rewarded with high rank and employment. Their descendants are now known as Rana Rata Singh. Govind likewise changed the designation of his followers from Seikh to Singh, which means lion; thus setting an object of ambition before the very scum of the earth; he desired that they should be all soldiers, wear Blue, and carry steel; on meeting, their watchword was to be "Wah, Gooroo jee ka khalsa! Wah, Gooroo jee ke futteh!" He instituted the

Gooroo Mato, or grand council at Amritsir, and wrote the Dusma Grunth, which tells of his exploits, as well as expounds the law: he made many gallant stands against the Emperor of Delhi's officers, and particularly defended Chum-Rour to extremity; his eventual fate is wrapped in mystery. Gooroo Govind was the tenth, and last acknowledged leader of the Seikhs, and is looked on as the originator of their political greatness. But Banda, one of his devoted followers, taking advantage of the troubles that followed Aurungzebe's death in A. D. 1707, after several petty successes ventured to encounter Foujdar Khan, Governor of Sirhind, hated by the Seikhs as the murderer of Govind's children. Banda was the victor, and sacked Sirhind, destroying all, of every sex and age, who would not become Seikh; he defiled the Mosques, and, leaving Sirhind a heap of ruins, he overran the whole country to the Jumna. Even Saharanpoor did not entirely escape him, and he only stopped at Panniput; from whence he retired, and afterwards defeated the viceroy of Lahore. Eventually he was hemmed in, in the Fort of Lohgad, under the hills North East of Lahore, and there starved into surrender, sent to Delhi, and there cruelly put to death.

The Seikhs consider Banda as a heretic, though a brave leader; he tried, though unsuccessfully to introduce many changes; the Acalis opposed his innovations; and as defenders of the faith, have since arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of wearing the blue turban and attire. On Banda's death, the Moslems waged a war of extermination against the Seikhs, all who escaped fled to the Hills North East of Lahore, and remained almost forgotten for thirty years, until Nadir Shah's invasion, when they plundered those who fled from him. When the victor returned from Delhi, laden with spoil, the Seikhs hung on his rear, and got a rich booty. On Nadir's death, taking advantage of the weakness of Lahore, they issued from their fastnesses, recruited, and carried their arms through the Punjab, till they repossessed themselves of Amritsir.

The Seikhs had followed Banda as a military leader, but Govind was their last Gooroo, and after him, they were governed by their own immediate Sirdars, great and small, strong and weak; a constitution that could only have been held together by the external pressure of persecution. At the Gooroo Mata, however, a leader was always elected, and rank and influence there, as elsewhere, had their weight; common danger united them, oppression, thirst of vengeance, and the distractions of their enemies, were all links in the chain of their confederacy.

The first Affghan irruption, A. D. 1746, benefitted their cause: they took advantage of it to seize the Jilunder Doab, they were kept in check however by Meer Munoo, the Governor of Lahore, who was only prevented from pressing them harder by the influence of a Seikh in his service. His Naib and successor, Adina Beg, encouraged the Seikhs for his own purposes and as a check to the Affghans. Ahmed Shah Abdallee, enraged at their daring, and at the countenance they received from Delhi, invaded India, resolved on their punishment. The Seikhs avoided coming to an engagement, but hung on his baggage. On his return to Cabul, Ahmed left his son Timour to chastise them; he took Amritsir, defiled their temples, and filled up their holy tank: these outrages exasperated the Seikhs, who rose, *en masse*, drove him out of the Punjab and triumphed so far that one of their rulers even took Lahore, and coined rupees with the impression of "Khalsah jee." Their former friend, Adina Beg Khan, was now glad to call in the Mahrattas to recover from the Seikhs his Soubah of Lahore, and these new allies, under Ragonath Rao, after taking Sirhind, swept like a tempest, as far as the Attock, dispossessing both Affghans and Seikhs of Lahore, and the other towns. The troubles in the south soon recalled the

Mahrattas, who left Adina Beg as their Governor at Lahore. He died within a few months, and the Seikhs again seized the capital. Ahmed Shah, after his victory at Panniput, once more endeavoured to subdue the Seikhs, and drove them before him from one end of the Punjab to the other, and took Amritsir, razing its walls, and again filling up its sacred tank. He made pyramids of Seikh heads, and washed with their blood the mosques they had polluted; but on his return to Cabul, they attacked and drove out his governors, seized Lahore, and destroyed the mosques he had just purified. The same scenes were enacted the following year. Ahmed Shah again took Lahore, and the Seikhs again took advantage of his retiring to re-take it, and as long as he lived, continued to molest his troops, rarely coming to a battle, but actively and perseveringly galling them, and themselves flying to the hills, when hard pressed. The anarchy that followed the death of Ahmed, and the even greater weakness of the Delhi throne, gave the Seikhs ample opportunity to subdue the Punjab, and consolidate their power; what they ascribe to their own institutions and courage, is mainly attributable to this decay of the empires on either side. Their religious system, attractive as it was to low-born Hindoos, never found much favor with higher castes or with the Mahomedans, and their policy of having every village chief his own master, carried in itself the elements of dissolution. Had an enemy appeared, or had not a master spirit arisen among themselves, they would doubtless have sunk into insignificance; for, even now, after years of unbroken prosperity, their numbers are quite insignificant; and I doubt whether the whole Punjab contains a quarter of a million of Seikhs: the chief part of them are to be found in the Manjah, about Amritsir and Lahore, and among the Sirdars and court retainers. A Seikh cultivator is rarely seen, most of that occupation being Hindoos or Mussulmans, the former being perhaps as two to one, and the Mussulmans prevailing to the westward. I should loosely estimate the population of the Punjab at about quarter of a million of Seikhs, half a million of Mussulmans, and three quarters of a million of Hindoos. The whole system of the Seikhs is unfavorable to the multiplication of their race; continual feuds must cut off great numbers, and their habits are uncongenial to fruitfulness; there probably is not a more dissolute race on the face of the earth; and though by their active habits, some do live to good old age, yet most are childless, and a large family is never found: they all drink, and eat bangh and opium."

Sir A. Burnes tell us, vol. II. p. 286, "It is with distrust 'that I attempt an enumeration of the people subject to the 'Punjab; but I am informed that the Khalsa, or Seikh population 'does not exceed 500,000 souls, and the remainder is composed 'of Seikhs,* Mahommedans and Hindoo Jats who may amount 'to 3,000,000."

The picture given by Bellasis of pyramids of Seikh heads, of temples and musjids alternately polluted, of Moslem, Seikh, and Mahrattah, by turns desolating the country, affords a just idea of the early miseries of the Punjab, perpetuated by like acts to that devoted land even to our own day; and clearly shewing on the face of the country and the character of the people, that the one has been, on the line of invasion, the field of strife and of anarchy;

* "Seiks," so in the original, though it must be an error of the press.

and the other a race nurtured in storms, possessed of the hardihood necessary to such condition, but having also many of the vices of a people knowing only two grades, the tyrannized and the tyrant.

Ahmed Shah died in 1773, and was succeeded by his son Timour, who, content with his possession of Affghanistan, and finding there sufficient to employ him, left the Seikhs undisturbed for more than twenty years. We continue the narrative from Bellasis:—

"It was during the early days of the Seikh temporal fortunes that the family of Runjeet Singh first came into notice.

Desoo, a Jat cultivator and owner of three ploughs and one well, is the first of the family noted in Seikh annals; his son, Nodh Sing, married the daughter of Golab Sing, a Zemindar, of Majethia, who had taken the Pahul, and persuaded his son-in-law to do so too. Nodh Sing, therefore, on his marriage, forsook his peaceful occupations and joined as a trooper, the missul of Kapoor Sing of Goograt, called the Fyzoollapoorea missul; he died in 1750, leaving three sons, when the eldest, Cherut Sing, joining with his brothers, Dul and Jodh Sing, raised a banner of their own, and from being mere Dharwees or Highwaymen, they soon established a derah or camp of their own, and emulated the proudest.

The wife of Churut Sing was from Gujraolee, a small village not far north of LaLore, where through her influence, he gained permission to build a small mud fort as a strong-hold for his family, and the plunder acquired in his expeditions.

The vicinity of Gujraolee to Lahore, was an eye-sore, to the Affghan Governor, who hiring the services of a band of Seikhs, moved out to destroy the rising fortress, his allies forsook him, and he was defeated and scarcely escaped; this action was the main cause of bringing down Ahmed Shah's prowess on the Seikhs, in 1762, when he so signally defeated them near Sirhind in the action, called by the Seikhs the Ghuloo Gora or bloody field, the losses of which day, they so well revenged the following year, when they slew Zyn Khan the Governor, and sacked Sirhind, leaving it to this day a ruin.

At this time the Seikh confederacy was divided into twelve missuls or brotherhoods, the leaders were universally men of low birth, jat cultivators, shepherds, or artizans, but they were stirring fellows, and each had won his way from small beginnings to the head of swarms of marauding horsemen. The leaders were followed by their relations and personal friends, and, of course, the greater was the success of each, the more numerous became his band.

The affectation of equality was not restricted to the Sirdars, but each horsemen in his own allotment considered himself as an independent functionary, if not Prince; he was tied to his chief by the bond of mutual self-interest, as long as he remained; if displeased, he changed his banner and found many ready to welcome him.

The Sirdar's duty was to lead in war, to arbitrate in peace; his allotment of all conquests was made by general acclamation, in proportion to his supposed merit, and the means he had personally brought to bear; the subdivisions were then made. The leader was treated with a respect, which again much depended on his personal character, and no one considered himself bound by any law but his own pleasure to look to or regard the head of his community; some of the chiefs are said to have been able to muster ten or twelve thousand horse, and the combined strength to have been more than seventy thousand; six of these

missuls are now merged in the Khalsa state, and parts of the other six have fallen to pieces or been absorbed by Runjeet Sing and his father Maha Sing.

Churut Sing's missul was originally the weakest, but the fame he acquired by his successful defence of Gujralee raised his name, and doubtless at the bi-annual meetings during the Bysakee and Dewalee festivals at Umritsur, his voice carried with it the weight that the voice of a bold and rising man always does in a popular assembly."—*Delhi Edition, page* 120-122

How like is all this to the picture of the ancient Germans, as handed down to us by Tacitus! There were forty German states; there were twelve Seikh missuls and innumerable sub-divisions. In both, the boldest soldier became by acclamation the leader, and every warrior followed the banner of his choice, was free to come or go, and to-day to oppose the chief he followed yesterday. This freedom and equality was, doubtless, the main cause of Seikh rise, as of the early German successes; but as it eventually caused the fall of the latter, so it soon bowed the former under the yoke of one despotic ruler; and brought on the crisis that we see before us; almost realizing the very words of the Roman History, as quoted by Gibbon, that "above 'sixty-thousand barbarians were destroyed; not by the Roman 'arms but in our sight and for our entertainment. May the 'nations, enemies of Rome, ever preserve this enmity to each 'other! We have now attained the utmost verge of prosperity, 'and have nothing left to demand of fortune, except the discord 'of the barbarians."—*Gibbon, vol.* 1, *page* 379.

And truly, considering the military population of Germany of a million of men, while that of the Punjab is not a fifth of the number, the slaughter among the Seikhs, by each others' hands, of not less than ten thousand souls, during the last four years, has paralleled the pictures of Tacitus. But we hope and believe that the rest of his sketch has no parallel in our modern History, although the Seikhs have, to a letter, done as did the Germans of old, when, "in civil dissensions the weaker faction 'endeavoured to strengthen its interest by entering into secret 'connection with governors of the frontier provinces. Every 'quarrel among the Germans was fomented by the intrigues 'of Rome; and every plan of union and public good was 'defeated by the stronger bias of private jealousy and in-'terest."—*Gibbon, vol.* 1, *page* 380.

It is our firm belief that the internal dissensions of the Seikhs have been very differently met by the British Government. From the day when, as is generally understood, Mr. G. Clerk advised Sher Sing against opposing Khuruk Sing, or joining in the conspiracy against the minion Cheyt Singh, to the time when, as is also commonly believed, Mai Chund Kowr offered

six annas in the rupee of the Punjab revenues for assistance; and when again the same was offered during the late commotions; we are assured that our Government gave sound and honest advice, or held entirely aloof and scouted every proffered bribe.

Churut Sing was succeeded by his son Maha Sing; each had increased the power and resources of his party; both worked steadily and wisely for the mutual aggrandizement of their family. To compare small things with great, the father and grandfather was each a fitting Philip to precede the future Alexander. Here we again extract from Bellasis:—

"Runjeet Sing was only twelve years old when he succeeded his father Maha Sing; for five years his mother-in-law Suda Konwur, who was now head of Jye Sing's missul, governed in his name, or in concert with his mother and her paramour managed the affairs of his territory: but in 1793, being then seventeen years of age, Runjeet put his mother to death, got rid of Lukput Sing, and assumed the management of his own affairs, for many years, however, much guided and aided by the able counsels of Suda Kowr. During the years 1796 and 1797, Shah Zeman, the blind old ex-monarch of Cabul, now residing at Loodiana, who had then lately succeeded his father Timoor, twice invaded the Punjaub and even entered Lahore; but it was never the policy of Runjeet to oppose himself to equal numbers, or indeed to the chance of reverse; he early went on the principle of avoiding all risk, and though by no means wanting in personal courage, he looked closely to the policy of all his acts, to the probable result—the cost and the gain: the sheep-skin caps of Ahmud Shah were therefore still remembered, and Runjeet deemed it more prudent to leave the field of the Punjaub for the invader, and to try his own fortunes beyond the Sutledge. While, therefore, Shah Zeman was acquiring a temporary hold of Lahore and its neighbourhood, Runjeet was gaining permanent conquests in the still weak and unsettled neighbourhood of the Sutledge and Jumna; and on the Shah evacuating Lahore, and leaving it to the mercies of the three debauched Sirdars, Chyt, Mohur, and Sahib Shing, it struck Runjeet Sing that he would gain possession of it himself; he did so with but little difficulty, and actually had the skill to gain a sunnud for the occupancy from the Affghan monarch." —*Delhi Edition, page* 124.

Mr. Masson gives the following account of the mode by which Runjeet Singh acquired Lahore, but it is not only contrary to what we have heard on the subject, but out of keeping with Runjeet's cautious system, to have trusted himself with a few hundred horsemen to besiege what was even then a large city, and one peculiarly inaccessible to mounted troops:—

"The city and destined capital of a powerful Sikh kingdom, was then occupied by four Sikh chiefs, each independent of the other, and all engaged in mutual warfare. While affairs thus stood, Runjeet Singh presented himself before the place with seven hundred horse. The common danger, united the four chiefs who prepared to defend the city. The young invader, unable from the description of his troops, to make any impression upon a town surrounded by a substantial wall, took up a position at Noh Kot, whence he harrassed the vicinity. He remained some months adhering to

the plan he had adopted, when the cultivators of the garden grounds, whose labours were necessarily suspended, became reduced to extremities to procure subsistence. Seeing no probability of a termination to the evil, they applied to Runjeet Singh, and volunteered to conduct him into the city by some unguarded or neglected entrance. He confided in their promises, and his troops were introduced at night, when, after the slaughter usual on such occasions, Runjeet Sing became master of Lahore. Hence may be dated the downfall of the independent Sikh chiefs, and the consequent supreme authority of their conqueror."— *Masson, vol.* 1, *page* 416-17.

Mr. Masson does not appear to have read modern authors, who have written on the countries in which he travelled. It is just possible that Capt. Wade might have known as much about the Punjab as Arian or Quintus Curtius. Mr. M. once incidentally alludes to Malcolm, and mentions Connolly, only to say that he has not read him. This we conceive to be a grave error. Reading may, as Sam Slick says, "dilute the understanding as water does brandy;" but it is possible that even Mr. Masson might have learnt something from such men as Elphinstone, Prinsep, and Forster. The name of the last we see mentioned by the modern traveller only to say, that he had put up at the same serai at Cabul as Forster had done. Elphinstone's name does occur; and from the way in which he is mentioned, we gather that Mr. M. had read his book; but had he extended his studies to Prinsep, he would probably not have chronicled the capture of a large city by seven hundred horse. Murray (Prinsep) in his fourth chapter, more accurately states, that Lahore was then held by three (not four) chiefs; their names being Chyt Sing, Mohur Singh, and Sahib Sing; that they were profligate, neglectful and debauched, and consequently unpopular: that Runjeet Sing, who had for some time had his eye on the city and the conduct of its Rulers, had just before, (in 1798,) for a signal service to Zeman Shah, got from him a Sunnud for the occupancy of Lahore—a common fashion of those, and indeed of all times, for Patans, Mahrattas and Seikhs, to sell or give to others what they had not power to take or hold themselves. The Sunnud was however of use to Runject Singh; he appeared before the place, and there, as elsewhere, by mingled force and finesse, effected its seizure. Had it been otherwise, and the seven hundred horse even effected an entrance, it would have required no great prowess on the part of the inhabitants to have treated them as Pyrrhus of old was treated, when they, (the 700 horsemen) began what Mr. M. calls "the slaughter usual on such occasions."

Having now gained the Royal city, Runjeet Singh daily achieved new conquests; and though he was opposed by jealous rivals and relatives, and latterly gave good cause for all to fear

him, he gradually extended his dominion, making each acquisition tend to the acquirement of further territory, until in 1805, when the British Army pursued Holkar into the Punjab, that country was no longer held, as the British Government supposed, by a confederation of chiefs, but by a rising, if not yet powerful, monarch.

The last Guru-mata or national council was then called, in the words of Malcolm,

"With a view to decide on those means by which they could best avert the danger by which their country was threatened, from the presence of the English and Mahratta armies. It was attended by few chiefs: and most of the absentees, who had any power, were bold and forward in their offers to resist any resolution to which this council might come. The intrigues and negotiations of all appeared, indeed, at this moment to be entirely directed to objects of personal resentment, or personal aggrandizement; and every shadow of that concord, which once formed the strength of the Seikh nation, seemed to be extinguished."—*Malcolm, page* 107.

Almost the very words of Tacitus already quoted; and making it possible that if again invaded, a similar result would ensue. But it must be recollected that the soreness consequent on recent subjection by their fellow chief has now passed away; that the Punjab is no longer held by a Military chief rising into power, surrounded by rivals but half subdued, and hailing the opportunity of throwing off the yoke; but, whether Duleep Singh or Hera Singh be at the helm, that there is now a Government wielding the latent resources of Runjeet Sing; commanding the service, if not the obedience of an army of seventy thousand men, who, whether Seikh, Hindoo or Mahommedan, have only the integrity of the Punjab to look to for their bread, and who have the late example of Gwalior to teach them that British interference would cause the discharge of three-fourths of their number. Add to this, that the Lahore Government has hostages of one sort or other, for most or all of the supposed recusant chiefs; and that the Khalsa and Jaut peasantry, on both sides of the Sutlej, would desire nothing better than a war that would, as of old, let them loose as marauders on the land, and afford to shepherds* and others of low estate, opportunities of carving out for themselves principalities.

* Jarah Singh Ghyba, head of the Dulewala misul was a shepherd of Dulee, a village on the Ravee, east of Lahore, who received the nickname of Ghyba. from his ingenious devices for conveying goats and lambs across the torrents to feed. Jussa Singh, the chief of the Kamgurea misul, was a thoka or carpenter. The other ten misuls or brotherhoods (misul means in Arabic, *like, equal,*) named the Bhungee, the Nukea, Aloowala. Nishanwala, Jyzoolapoórea. Krora Sinhea, Shuheed, Phoolkea, and Sukurchukea, took their names from their original leaders, or from the villages whence they sprung, or in some instances from the occupation or peculiarities of the members of the misul, as Bhungee and Nishanwala. The first being greatly addicted to the use of Bhung; the other being the Nishanburdars, or standard bearers of the Dul or Sikh Army. All the original leaders, except the two above mentioned, were jaut cultivators, or sons of such.—*See Prinsep, Chapter 2nd.*

No sooner was Runjeet Singh relieved from his fears of Lord Lake's army, than he proceeded on his career of conquest; seized Kussoor, and made an attempt on Moultan. In the rainy season of 1807, invited by the dissensions of the Rajah of Putecala with his own mother, Runjeet Singh crossed the Sutlej, and seized so many estates, that in March 1808, the Seikh chiefs between Jumna and Sutlej, alarmed for their safety, sent a mission to the resident at Delhi, begging for the protection of the British Government. A favourable answer was returned; on hearing which Runjeet Singh invited the deputation to Umritsir, and by all the means in his power, by mingled threats and cajolings; by restoring, or promising to restore lands to the weak; by arousing their fears as to the eventual intentions of the English, he endeavoured to induce them to join his banner.—Some few consented; but the majority had already seen too much of his system of absorption to desire a closer connection. About this time rumours of Napoleon Buonaparte's intention of invading India prevailed, inducing the Government, then under Lord Minto, to send missions to Persia, Affghanistan, Scinde, and the Punjab. To conduct the latter Mr. (now Sir Charles) Metcalfe was selected, and in September, 1808, was received with marked attention by the Maharajah at the newly-acquired city of Kussoor; where, however, after some conferences, Runjeet Singh suddenly broke up his army, and, in opposition to the remonstrances of the British envoy, crossed the Sutlej, and commenced a new career of conquest. But now the first alarm of French invasion had subsided, enabling the British Government to take a higher tone with the ambitious Seikh, who was told that he must not only recross the Sutlej, but restore the estates of Fureed-kote, Ambala, &c., which he had now so summarily seized. The envoy's arguments had the more weight, that they were on this occasion enforced by the prompt advance of a British force under Col. Ochterlony, which reached Loodhiana, in February, 1809, and was received with hearty welcome by the cis-Sutlej chiefs. This is not a place to do more than mention Ochterlony's name; his character and his services deserve more lengthened notice, and we hope to find an occasion of offering to our readers some particulars of his long and honorable career. Ochterlony was a a man who commanded many talents; none perhaps first-rate, but all of practical utility. As a civil and political administrator, he saw his way clearly, and expressed himself forcibly, sometimes perhaps too much so; but when his indignation was roused by what he believed chicanery, or pettifogging, he put little restraint on his expressions. His vindication to the Bengal Government

of his conduct regarding Bhurtpoor in 1825, is, we conceive, a beautiful specimen of the national indignation of an able and honorable public officer, whose conduct has been misrepresented and maligned, in a matter which entitled him to the highest applause. Enough of life remained to the veteran to enable him to leave behind this vindication; but the ingratitude of the local Government, (not of his country,) killed him. Ochterlony was one of those men of whom so few are found, who can let well alone; he could understand that a Punchauyut *might* decree justice; an English Court of law, perpetuate wrong. As he could not give the protected Seikhs efficient English Courts, he was content that they should remain unmolested under their own; never interfering where he could avoid it, but then doing it effectually. The terror of his name alone kept the Seikh states in order; and on the breaking out of the Nepal war, when he was called to resume the sword, he carried with him his Seikh allies and auxiliaries, and on the heights of Malown, shewed himself the only General of that day, or at least of that campaign. And, in the next, it is not too much to say that, all circumstances considered, there was no other man in India who could have done as he did. The season for operations was almost over; he was called nearly from one end of India to the other; yet, in a month he rectified the errors of his predecessor, and closed the war, honorably and beneficially. There his true character shone out; the cautious man threw off caution; he ran imminent risk in trusting his Brigades during the night to untried defiles, but he knew that otherwise he could not gain his object; that time did not admit of his forcing the stockaded positions in front. He thus obtained a substantial victory at no cost. Indeed it was the great praise of Ochterlony's triumphs that they were cheaply won; he had no idea of glory gained by a long list of killed and wounded; far otherwise—his ambition was to gain the desired object, at least loss and cost. The Seikh protected states have been fortunate in their administrators; Ross, Murray, and Clerk, who successively managed the country, trod mainly in Ochterlony's steps; and we are convinced that Colonel Richmond is equally desirous of leaving a good name behind him. He gained much honor as a soldier in the passes of Affghanistan: he has higher laurels yet to win as a civil ruler. If we were required to name the man in our own times, whose character as a soldier most resembles Ochterlony's, we should specify Colonel A. F. Richmond's—cool, determined and skilful, led away by no fancies, and, in the field seeing everything for himself. May he do all this in his civil character, and he will be numbered with Ochterlony, to whom we consider that the Indian Government owe more than even to

Malcolm and Munro. Yet even in Ochterlony's character there was a flaw; and that a grave one. Living very much in native style, he was surrounded by hungry harpies, who plundered in his name. Spotless himself, he died a poor man, after a career in which he might have amassed the wealth of a Clive; but not so his moonshees and others; the measure of whose gains may be estimated by the report, however exaggerated, that one of the former carried to Moradabad, (his native country) eighty lakhs of Rupees.

There are exceptions to all rules, and Ochterlony was one; but a law that should forbid the civil employment of Europeans connected with native females, even though it had cost us an Ochterlony, would be a blessing to British India. To this, let it be added, open courts and entire non-admission of moonshees and Kutchery servants to back-parlours, libraries, and snuggeries; and a blow will be struck at bribery and corruption, greater than we can express. A semianah or a big tree is the best Kutchery for six months in the year; the verandah on the shady side of a house for the other six; and there cannot be a doubt that more substantial justice could be administered by magistrates, collectors, and even judges, during the four first hours of the morning, under such circumstances, than by ever so much conscientious plodding during the day, in the usual fashion, with insolent chuprassies to guard the doors, and bar an entrance to those whom an honest English official would most readily admit—the poor and unfriended.

We abhor unnecessary innovation, of which we have too much in British India; but the next change that is made, we trust will be to Punchayuts, *under the eye* of the local officers. Oh, how pleasant a sight it is to see the rude, (nay even the litigious,) peasantry, collect in crowds, without fear of prevention by officials of any sort; each man give in his petition to the presiding officer; on the instant the defendant called, (as often may be practicable,) from the crowd; both appoint their arbitrators, a president selected by them or by the officer himself from the grey-beards or known men of the company, and the matter that would have caused a month's vexatious hanging on in Kutchery, settled by acclamation in an hour; and both parties go home contented, blessing John Company; this is no ideal vision, "Punch men Purmesur," says the Seikh proverb; and it is true of a well-conducted Punchayut, not of one left to Kotwals and Thanadars to superintend.* But to our task on far different matters—

* "Punch men Purmesur"—"there is a divinity in the Punchayut," see Murray's chapter on the Manner of the Seikhs.—For the benefit of the English reader we may

Runjeet Singh became at length alarmed for his supremacy, in the Punjab, and in April 1808, signed a treaty of peace and friendship, on the basis that the British were not to interfere with his government beyond the Sutlej, and that he was not to keep troops to the South of that River, and that as regarded the Cis-Sutlej States, the status of the year 1808 was to be upheld; and all conquests made after September that year by Runjeet Singh, were to be relinquished. At the same time an Italanamah, (declaration by proclamation,) was issued, on the 6th May 1809, granting British protection to all within the Sutlej that had not come under Runjeet Singh's yoke, up to the time of his meeting with Mr. (now Sir Charles) Metcalfe at Kussoor. A general declaration of this sort was considered more dignified and more consonant with the power and position of the British Government, than entering into a separate treaty with each Chief; but, so anxious had all now become to enjoy its benefits, that constant individual applications were made on the subject to Col. Ochterlony. We are now chiefly condensing from Prinsep's narrative, and from the same volume offer the terms of the Italanamah:—

1st. "That the Territories of Sirhind and Malooa* had been taken under British protection, and Runjeet Singh was bound by treaty in future never to molest them."

2nd. "That the British Government intended not to demand any tribute from those benefiting by this agreement."

3rd. "That the Chiefs and Sirdars would be allowed to exercise the rights they possessed in their respective territories, prior to, and at the time of the declaration of protection by the British Government."

4th. "That the Chiefs and Sirdars should be bound to assist the British troops, whenever they might march into their respective territories."

5th. "In case of invasion, the Sirdars were to join the British standard with their followers, if called upon."

6th. "Merchants, conveying European produce for the use of

say that Punch means a jury, composed of five persons; and not whiskey toddy. Addison tells us, the English *Punch* is derived from the oriental Punchayut; in neither, however, are there necessarily five ingredients, though *Punch* means five.

* "The Seikhs who inhabit the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, are called Matawa Singh....The title was conferred on them for their extraordinary gallantry under the Balrâgi Banda, who is stated to have declared that the countries granted to them should be fruitful as Malwa, some of the provinces of India.' *Malcolm's Sketch, p.* 199. The Malwa Seikhs, in fact, include all the Cis-Sutlej families, except a few colonies from the Canjah, or country between Lahore and Amritser, "Malwa Seikhs" and "Canjah Seikhs" being the two grand divisions of that people; the word Sirhind appears therefore to have been inserted in the first article to shew that Canjah Seikhs within the Sirhind Province were included among the protected.

the British, should not be subject to transit duty in passing through the Seikh territory."

7th. "In like manner, horses for the cavalry, when furnished with passports from competent officers, must be exempt from all tax."

The preceding declaration Capt. Murray (Prinsep) says, has "become the charter of Rights, to which the chiefs have since looked and appealed for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government,"

By the treaty with Runjeet Singh, that chief was guaranteed in the supremacy of, according to Major Lawrence, "more than twelve lakhs of rupees of possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej; a country, by its extent, and position along the banks of a great river, capable of producing ten times the then revenue." He, however, states, that "not above four lakhs reach the treasury; and that the territory, like the British portion, is mostly in jageer to military or religious chiefs;"

"The former descendants of those who helped Runjeet Singh and his ancestors in the consolidation of the Seikh power; the latter claiming kindred with the early spiritual leaders. These possessions are scattered in patches from the Sutlej to the Jumna, but lie chiefly along the bank of the former. The inhabitants of these trans-Sutlej states, whether under the Lahore or British Government, comprise as few Seikhs as those of the Punjab, and chiefly consist of mixed tribes, as Goojurs, Jats, and Aracus. In all the states, a large portion of the cultivators are Mussulmans, and you may go into village after village belonging to the Seikhs, without meeting a Singh."

The above is only partly correct; Runjeet Singh has treated the chiefs of all his subjected states strictly as Jaghirdars, and obliged all to furnish quotas of troops for his most distant and dangerous expeditions; so that we see the Aloowala and Mumdote Sowars in the Yosufzye country and all along the Indus,* thus saving the Khas Troops of the State, and keeping hostages for the doubtful allegiance of their Principals. But it is far otherwise with the British Protected States; they furnish a few horsemen—not above five hundred in all—chiefly with a view of enabling the British Agent to have a body of Troops always at hand to act against bands of Akalies or other marauders that might cross the Sutlej for purposes of plunder; as twice happened, in spite of all Runjeet Singh's precautions. On the last occasion, though not exceeding fifty or a hundred; they carried terror through the Puteeala territory; but, being

* The brother of the present Khan (miscalled Nawab) of Mumdote, a fine young man, was shot through the breast in the Seikh service at Kohat four years ago; the grateful Khalsa gave him five hundred (500) rupees blood money; £50 for an almost mortal wound to the descendant of the Princely family of Kussoor!

actively met by the late Captain Murray, with a party of the Mulair Kotla Chief's horsemen, (Patans) were cut off almost to a man, thus putting a stop to such excursions.

Captain Murray (Prinsep) well explains the original rights of the different descriptions of chiefs, great and small; of Misuldars or equals; Tabedars or dependants; Jaghirdars, or persons holding lands in Jaghir; that is, on terms of military service, which, throughout India, are resumable at pleasure, and are almost invariably resumed on the death of the grantee, and only restored to the family on payment of heavy Nuzerana. Many of the Sunnuds of these grants, however, are worded as if for perpetuity; but the words "Nusl aur nusl," and "Pusht ba Pusht," with all their magic influence on an English ear, go only for their worth in a native court—that is, are translated, instead of "from generation to generation," as meaning "at the monarch's pleasure, during his life:" beyond which he would be a bold Padshah or Rajah who would decree, or rather rely on the upholding of his decree by his successors. But to return to our sketch.

The fears of Runjeet from the British being removed, his whole energies were turned towards seizing all within the Punjab, and as much Northward and Westward as he could. The dissensions between the Suddozyes and Barukzyes in Affghanistan enabled him the easier to effect his measures. Invited in 1809, to aid the Kangra Chief against the Goorkhas, he seized that important position for himself, and extended his conquests in the North-Eastern hills; while at the same time he was paving his way in the opposite direction of the Punjab. In the year 1810, he besciged Mooltan, but doubting his own strength, he retired, on payment of a sum of money—the original and good old rule of the Seikhs, as of the Mahrattas. In the year 1812, he took Bhimbar and Rajaoree, in the Northern hills, held by Mahommedan Chiefs, converted from Hinduism, and therefore holding the Hindu title of Raja. In 1813, he bought for a lakh of rupees the important fortress of Attok, commanding the Indus. In 1814, he was defeated in an attempt on Kashmir, which in the year 1819, he eventually took. Masson as usual gives no dates, nor on this occasion does Burnes. The former thus, in true oriental style, narrates the transfer of the valley; his information, with a word or two altered, having been apparently gained from Jabar Khan, his friend and protector.—"With more rashness than sense, without forming his 'troops, he advanced, with a few followers, in front of the 'hostile line. A volley brought nearly all to the ground, and

'amongst them Jabar Khan, who had received five or six mus-
'quet-shots. It was with difficulty, they contrived to carry him
'off. No battle, but flight and slaughter, followed. Kashmir
'was lost to the Duranis." The above seems a weak attempt to trumpet the courage of Mr. Masson's friend Jabar Khan, at the expense of his prudence; but we have hitherto been led to believe that the good Nuwab was one who held that discretion is no contemptible part of valor.

In 1818, Runjeet Singh obtained Multan—Mr. Masson says by stratagem; but Major Lawrence details its capture by storm, the forlorn hope being led by an akali drugged with opium. Both writers are probably correct, and it is quite in keeping with Runjeet Singh's exploits that, having decoyed the Moultan troops to a distance, he should make a dash at the beseiged place, and carry it, before the slower Moslems could return to the rescue.

"Moultan paved the way for the conquest of Peshawur and Cashmere, both of which provinces fell by the same arts that the Punjab had done; in 1823, for the last time, the Seikhs and Affghans met in a pitched battle at Noushera, where Runjeet Singh's personal bravery and that of his Akalies (whom he freely expended in such engagements) chiefly conduced to the success of the day; the tide of conquest had already been turned backwards, and this was the last attempt of any consequence by the Affghan crown, or rather Chiefs, for there had been so many kings and so many aspirants for power that the energies of the nation were expended in its own destruction. In 1827, Syud Ahmud's religious war had disturbed the Durbar, and the fanatic having obtained a footing in the Yusufzye country, and being warmly supported by the wild and warlike tribes of that strong region, alarmed Runjeet Singh much; but about the time I went to Khangra, the Syud was slain, and his followers dispersed by a force under Konwur Sheer Sing, who thereby gained great credit at Court, and some eclat with the Army. The Syud had actually acquired possession of Peshawur, and chiefly lost the support of his supporters by over-strictness as to religious ceremonies, as well as by touching their pockets to aid his military enterprizes."

Since the year 1818, the supremacy of the Seikhs over Peshawur has been established; the Government having being left in the hands of the Barukzye Sirdars, and a tribute received in horses, rice, and money. The local Government was weak, and the Khalsa superiority offensive and oppressive; but all symptoms of recusancy only brought down the mass of the Seikh Army, which Runjeet Singh delighted to locate on his troublesome refractory tributaries, thus weakening them, and by free quarters, gratifying his own troops.

About the year 1827, the Mahommedan reformer Syud Ahmed Shah, who we believe, was at one time a private in Skinner's horse, raised the banner of Islam, was joined by many converts from India, and was especially supported by the Yusof-

zyes, in whose country his first stand was made. He twice seized Peshawur, and his first overthrow, though, as usual without a date, is correctly narrated by Masson—

"The one-half of Alari Singh's force, under an old warrior Budh Singh, had crossed the Indus, and marched near to the village of Saiyad-wala, where they threw up a sangar, or field-work. The Saiyad established himself at Saiyad-wá and his host surrounded Budh Singh's force within the Sangar. The Sikhs were in great distress for some days; and Budh Singh at length lost patience and determined to extricate himself or to perish. In the meantime he had communicated with the Durani Chiefs of Peshawur, assuring them that if they took no part against him in action, he would excuse their conduct in having joined the Saiyad, to the Sirkar, or to Ranjeet Sing. He reminded them of the immense army on the road under the orders of the Sirkar, and pointed out that the destruction of himself and troops would not influence the issue of the contest, and they must know the Sirkar was "Zurrawar," or all powerful. These arrangements decided the Sirdars; and on the morning of battle, they who, with their cavalry and guns, were stationed in front at once, passed to the rear, Yar Mahomed Khan commanding, setting the example and crying "Shikas! Shikas! or "Defeat! defeat!" Budh Singh who had three guns discharged them, invoked his gúrú, and charged the Mussulman host. Resistance was very trifling; the happy temerity of Budh Singh was crowned by deserved success; and the Sikhs boast that each Sing on that famous day slew fifteen or twenty of his enemies, admitting however that they did not fight, but threw themselves on the ground."—*Masson, vol.* 1, *page* 133-34.

The above extract offers a good notion of the relative prowess of the Affghans and Seikhs. It is understood that the Saiyud himself only escaped through the devotion and gallantry of his Hindustani followers. Boodh Singh was the elder brother of Uttur and Lena Singh, and therefore the head of the Sindawala family. The Seikh cavalry has been dreaded by the Affghans since the day of Boodh Singh's victory.

Early in 1833, Shah Soojah moved from Loodhiana with a view of recovering Affghanistan. In vain he sought for aid from the British Government and from Runjeet Singh; the latter took his tone from the former; and, seeing that no assistance would be given, held aloof, or offered such terms as Shah Soojah even in his difficulties refused. The exile was willing to yield all claim to Cashmere, Peshawur and other rich provinces and districts; but he would not bend to what he considered degrading terms, one being the cession of the famous Gates of Somnath; adroitly turning it off with a prophecy that when the Seiks obtained possession of the Gates of Somnath, their Raj would fall. "It would not therefore be the part of a friend," observed the Shah, "to hasten the downfal of the Khalsa." In March, 1834, however, when the Scindians had been beaten in a pitched battle at Shikarpoor, and the affairs of the Shah ap-

peared to be prospering, a treaty was signed, yielding all the districts within the Indus over which the Seikh arms had obtained superiority, though several of them were much less obedient than Peshawur, and paid only a nominal tribute; the treaty in other respects amounted to an alliance, offensive and defensive, between equals.

In the following May—that is, within two months of the signature of the treaty—formal possession was taken of Peshawur; the Barukzye Sirdar having no power to prevent the act; in 1837, a faint attempt was made by Dost Mahommed for its recovery, in which Hurree Singh, one of the oldest and best of the Seikh Sirdars, in the midst of victory, was killed, and gave the appearance of success to the Affghans, who, however, in a few days, retreated beyond the Khybur, on hearing of the reinforcements pouring into Peshawur from beyond the Indus.

Hurree Singh is stated to have left eighty lakhs of rupees, which were seized by his friend and master: and the gallant old Chief's sons are now petty officers. The children of Mean Singh, who was murdered as Governor of Cashmere, were completely thrown on the world, though their father left much treasure. Such is the practice of native states—such the gratitude of the Khalsa.

We have been more diffuse than we could have wished, but less detail would not have enabled us to shew the current of Seikh conquest; we have now arrived at a period of Punjab History that is yet unrecorded, and shall have therefore to collate the rumours of the day, and to select, from the mass of exaggerations and misconceptions that have appeared in the local prints, sufficient to afford a tolerably correct idea of what has occurred since the Roopur meeting.

It has been shewn that Runjeet Singh made a treaty with Shah Soojah in the year 1834, whereby the latter gave up all claim to Peshawur and certain tracts on the Indus. On the strength of this treaty, and while the attention of the Affghans was directed towards Candahar, the Seiks easily established themselves at Peshawur, placed General Avitabile, an able and energetic Governor, in charge, and shewed their determination to hold the country, by building two fortresses, one on the site of the old Bala Hissar, the other, called Futtyghur, near the old decayed fort of Jumrood.

Runjeet Singh was sorely against his will drawn into the Tripartite Treaty of June, 1838; he was willing enough to arrange matters with Shah Shooja; but, already hemmed in on the south, and interfered with in his (or rather Golab Singh's) schemes beyond the Himalayas, he had no wish for British gua-

rantee to extend to the Indus, and thus to restrain him on all sides.

He was, however, a wise man in his generation, and perceiving that the British Government were at the time agitated by strong fears for their own safety, and therefore, although they gave due weight to the consideration of his tried fidelity, might consider it necessary for their own defence to occupy his country if he should persist in refusing to enter into their views, he made a virtue of necessity, gained thereby a further guarantee of his possessions, and moreover sent the British Army, by the long detour of Shikarpoor, instead of through the heart of his dominions. Runjeet Singh was undoubtedly the wisest Indian Prince that the English Government had ever come in contact with; he proved that he was so, by being the only one that stood to his engagements; and while all others have at one time or other been induced by hopes or fears to break their treaties, he saw his interest in steadily abiding by his.

At the Roopur interview, the Seikh Ruler feared treachery, but at that of Ferozepoor all such feeling had passed away; and then in his last hours, with scarcely strength of body to sit his horse, or ability to gesticulate, he went about as usual; not only was he present at the review of the British troops, and afterwards at the display made of his own, but visited the English camp more leisurely and privately; looking into all the improvements and arrangements that might be adapted to, and carried out in, his own army.

This was the last effort of his energetic spirit. He had scarcely returned to the Punjab—Lord Auckland being then in the act of paying his return visit,—when he was seized with one of those violent attacks, which had often before caused his death to be reported. He however again recovered, but completely lost the power of speech: and a curious and interesting sight it was now to behold the fast-decaying monarch, his mind still alive, still by signs giving his orders; still receiving reports; and assisted by the faithful Fakeer Azeezoodeen, almost as usual attending to affairs of state. By a slight turn of his hand to the south, he would require the news from the British secretary; by a similar turn to the west, he would demand tidings from the invading Army; and most anxious was he for intelligence from the Affghanistan quarter; doubting the success of the English measure, seeing his own advantage in their failure, and yet unwilling or afraid to withdraw from his engagements.

Full justice has never been done to the old chief for his conduct at the time; when against what he believed his own interests, he sent his whole Army to Peshawur under his grand-

son Nou Nehal to act in concert with Capt. Wade, leaving his Sutlej frontier, then occupied by a British division, quite unprotected. He not only did this; but the whole resources of his country in cattle, grain, &c. were thrown open to the British Government.

Early in the hot weather of 1839, he applied for a British physician; when a very able one, Dr. Steele, was despatched to Lahore; but though he listened to him and seemed gratified with his conversation, he paid no more attention to his advice than he had, in past years done, to that of Doctors Murray, and MacGregor.

After several fainting fits, in each of which he was believed to be dead, he finally left this earthly stage on the 27th June, 1839; and, as had been long expected, his death entirely altered the aspect of affairs, on the frontier and throughout the Punjab.

It was fortunate for British interests that at this period Mr. George Russel Clerk was the British Political Agent for Seikh affairs; a man of great energy and practical good sense; of unflinching courage, and yet of most gentle and winning manners. He was just the person to manage the rude and boisterous Seikhs, to yield to and stand up for their legitimate claims; to deny, gracefully but firmly, at once and without needless palaver, their false pretensions. The pattern of an English gentleman himself, straight-forward and unbending in essentials, he knew perhaps better than any other man in India, when and what to yield. He was always on the alert, seeing things with his own eyes, not trusting to the reports of others. He kept the Seikhs to their engagements by combined firmness and urbanity—by shewing them that we would respect their rights, and that we could and would make them respect ours. Outram has well been called "the Bayard of the Indian Army"—Clerk is undoubtedly the "*preux chevalier*" of the Civil Service.

Rajah Dhyan Singh, the able and energetic minister of Runjeet Singh, the man in the Punjab most like his master and second only to him in ability, was prepared for his sovereign's death. It was indeed an event that might, at any moment for years past have occurred, and it came not at last unexpectedly, as on a man who, having been often and falsely alarmed, had now ceased to watch. The old chief had been several times taken from his charpae and laid on the floor to die, but for days he struggled with death; and when at length he expired, the fact was for some hours concealed. Trusty officers had already been placed in charge of the Ghats on the Sutlej; the gates of the city of Lahore were now occupied by strong parties—the city patrolled—and when all precautions were taken, the long-expected event was announced;

and preparations were made for the incremation of the body and for the Suttee of four wives and five slave-girls. Next evening, before the assembled crowds, and attended by all the troops at the capital, several European officers included, the revolting ceremony was performed. The women behaved like heroines, and Rajah Dhyan Singh affected to desire to follow their example, and perform Suttee with the body of his master. What was the exact object of the minister is beyond our knowledge; for the performance of antics and the farce of crying and gesticulating, are not the best means of exciting the respect and attachment of any troops, much less of Seikhs, who, however deeply they may have loved Runjeet Singh, and would have devoted themselves for him in life, were little inclined to recognise the virtue of accompanying him in death. Quite unused themselves to the melting mood, they must have distrusted it in the hard and reckless minister.

There was some talk at the time of putting up the present minister, Raja Heera Singh, as favourite and adopted child of Runjeet Singh, and possibly Dhyan Singh's affected grief and pretended self-devotion were with a view of trying the feeling of the Soldiery. Whatever may have been the motive, he performed his part so well, that many believed him in earnest, and he was with difficulty dragged from the funeral pile, by some of his own people. He has since had many opportunities of perceiving that the Seikh soldiers would have gladly let him remain there.

The imbecile and almost idiotic Khuruk Singh was now placed on the throne, and was at once acknowledged by the British Government. Dhyan Singh continued as minister; and thought to increase his powers, and become, what with all his favors, Runjeet had never permitted him to be, the virtual Mayor of the Palace. But, while the powerful and haughty minister, who had long monopolized court favor, and had thereby estranged the Seikh chiefs, could only look for efficient aid from his brother and partner, as it were, Raja Golab Singh, (Heera Singh was young, and Suchet Singh never much trusted,) a party was being silently formed that had nearly effected the destruction of the whole Jumboo family.

The news of Runjeet Singh's death had completely altered the policy of the Seikh Government. The minister saw the necessity of abiding by the treaty with the British; but the young Prince, Nou Nihal, many of the Seikh Sirdars and Rajah Golab Singh, who were all at Peshawur, and no longer coerced by their Sovereign's spirit made no further pretence of supporting Capt. Wade, and, had not the capture of Ghuznee opportunely

occurred, facilitating our advance by the Kybur, the expedition from the Punjab side would have probably altogether failed, and even Mr. Clerk's influence been unable to keep the Seikh Army at Peshawur. As it was, when Capt. Wade unaided, took Ali Musjid, and shewed that Seikh assistance was not required; he got more compliments than aught else; and soon afterwards, Nou Nihal, attended by Raja Golab Sing and a great portion of the army, broke up and returned to Lahore: leaving General Avitabile and some inferior officers to support the further operations of the British.

The Prince found his father a cipher, and the late powerful minister little more. Moody in heart, the latter bore himself with outward cheerfulness, and affecting all joy and loyalty to Nou Nihal, pretended only to lament that the Government was going to ruin by the usurpation of Cheyt Singh, a low-born minion of Kharuk Singh's, who proved his incompetency by not satisfying himself with the acquisition of estates, riches and patronage, with the unbounded favor of his sovereign, but craved the title as well as power of minister. With a large and handsome person, Cheyt Singh had not a single requisite for the office he aspired to; and had he gained it would probably have fallen as easily as he had risen. But Nou Nihal Singh hating and fearing the Jumboo family, and early determined on their ruin, found to his surprise that *they* were not the first enemies to be disposed of—he therefore listened to their proposals to destroy Cheyt Singh and to usurp his father's throne.

The Bhaes Ram Singh, Govind Ram, and Misr Benee Ram, all confidential ministers of Runjeet Singh, (the Misr having been for years the treasurer, and having relatives in important situations all over the country,) united with Cheyt Singh to destroy the Jumboo brothers, and it is believed had gained many of the Regiments and Chief Officers, and purposed in the name of the sovereign to seize the Rajah and all his adherents, the very morning following the catastrophe that we shall now relate.

On a certain night of October 1839, a large body of the personal troops of Rajah Golab Singh received orders to occupy the gates of the Citadel of Lahore, at each of which two guns were placed and the Artillerymen, with slow matches lighted, were ordered to lie quietly by their guns and await further orders, allowing neither ingress nor egress. An hour or so before daylight the next morning a body of five hundred hill men, headed by the Prince Nou Nihal Singh, and accompanied by all three brothers, Golab, Dhyan and Suchet Sing, and by their personal adherents, Bai Kesree Singh, Mean Lab Singh and others, entered the fort, and cautiously advanced towards the sleeping

apartments of Maharajah Khuruk Singh. They were met suddenly in the outer area by two orderlies, who, rudely challenging them, were at once cut down; and directions were then given on no account to fire without orders, for that all was to be done by cut and thrust. Having ascertained that the Maharajah and his minion were asleep in an upper room, the party pushed on, and were suddenly challenged by a company of Infantry, drawn up in the verandah, the Soobadar in command refusing to let them pass; but, on observing the Prince, the Sepoys said they could not disobey him, and all fell into his train.

The short discussion had disturbed Khuruk Singh and his favorite, and both fled into dark corners of the adjoining rooms. After some search, Cheyt Singh was discovered and immediately cut in pieces; and shortly afterwards the monarch was found cowering under some furniture and almost naked.

He at first abjectly begged for life; and it is believed that his amiable son fully intended to rid him of the burthen; but not so Rajah Dhyan Singh, who knew that Nou Nihal would, as master, be more difficult to manage than his father.

Khuruk Singh was, therefore, assured of life, but placed in safe custody; and as day had now dawned, the conspirators left the fort, and it was given out that Cheyt Singh having been detected in a scheme to sell the country to the Feringees, had been by order of his master put to death.

From that day Nou Nihal Singh became virtual ruler, keeping his father in strict, though not close, confinement. The wretched puppet was occasionally put on the Guddee, and received the salaam of the Chiefs and of his son. But he was a doomed man; gradually pining away, and evidently the victim of some slow but subtle poison.

But while his chief enemy had fallen, and the one next in power, Misr Bence Ram, was confined in heavy irons, and the imbecile monarch was daily sinking; the ambitious minister discovered that in his new sovereign he had found a harder taskmaster; a man with all the ability and energy of Runjeet Singh, and with much less caution in carrying out his views.

The Bhaes Ram Singh and Govind Ram, with the minister's old rival, Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, and an old Seikh Chief, of Runjeet's school, by name Futteh Singh Man, now formed the Prince's council; and not only took the control of the country out of the hands of the able minister, but put on him many affronts.

Some imputed rebellion or recusancy, at this time, occurred in the Hill Districts of Mundee or Kooloo, when, against the

views of the still nominal minister, a large Seikh force was sent to take complete possession of those countries, with, it was believed, an eventual intention of carrying the Seikh arms through the whole range of hills, and of ultimately reducing the possessions of the brother Rajahs. With this view the ablest officers, and those considered as most opposed to Dhyan Singh and Golab Singh, were appointed to the command of the invading Army; and thus, General Ventura and the Sindawala Chiefs, and also Lena Singh Majetia, were absent from Lahore when the next catastrophe occurred.

In November, 1840, Khuruk Singh died. His death had been for some time expected, and the father having daily received less respect, the country was prepared for the open assumption of authority by the son, who, for a twelve month had been the virtual ruler.

The next day, the funeral rites were celebrated and the usual Suttees performed. There were no mourners for the Puppet King, and all Lahore, especially the military, were on the "qui vive" at the accession of a new ruler, who, it was predicted, was to emulate Runjeet Singh, and with increased power was to continue the tide of Seikh conquest.

The Prince's (now Maharajah's) cavalcade, attended by all the Jumboo family, except Golab Singh, and by all the Seikh Sirdars at the capital, had returned from performing the last ceremonies over the body of Khuruk Singh, when, as the elephant on which Nou Nihal sat, attended by Mean Oodum Singh, the son of Rajah Golab Singh, was passing under the gateway of the Lahore Citadel, the brick parapet wall fell and crushed both the Maharajah and his companion.

Oodum Singh was killed on the spot, and Nou Nihal Singh was carried insensible into the Palace, and never spoke again. The wily minister affected that the young sovereign had only received a slight injury and would soon recover, but for twenty-four hours prevented all but his own partizans from seeing him.

Rajah Dhyan Singh at once despatched a trusty messenger with a true account of occurrences to Rajah Golab Singh; sending to the father the bloody garments of his son and heir to enable the widows of the latter to perform Suttee. At the same time another messenger was sent to Sher Singh, at Buttala, about seventy miles from Lahore, telling him that if he would be ruler of the Punjab, he must reach Lahore within twenty-four hours.

Having despatched his emissaries and made such other arrangements for the peace of the country as he had done on Runjeet Singh's death, he published the true condition of Nou

Nihal Singh. A council was accordingly held, and it was determined to place Sher Singh, as regent, at the head of affairs, until it could be ascertained if one of Nou Nihal's widows gave promise of a child; the minister being, doubtless, actuated in this arrangement by a desire to gain time and make his own terms with, as he considered, the easy and dissolute Sher Singh. The latter reached Lahore within the appointed time, but according to Seikh custom could enter on no state affairs until he had completed the funeral ceremonies of his predecessor. During the twelve days so employed, Mai Chund Kour, the mother of Nou Nihal—a bold, bad woman, who had instigated, or at least encouraged, the atrocities against her husband Khuruk Singh, exerted herself to form a party. She was, like most Seikh and Jaut women, and especially all Seikh widows left under no restraint, of very dissolute habits, and soon gathered round her a strong party, of which her paramour, the since notorious Ajeet Singh Sindawala, was one of the chiefs. Before the twelve days had expired, Uttur Singh, the head of the Sindawala family, had returned from Mundee, and Rajah Golab Singh had come in from Jumboo, and the face of affairs was completely altered; for almost by general acclamation, Chund Kour was now declared the legitimate successor. Finding he could not turn the tide, Rajah Dhyan Singh shortly afterwards retired to Jumboo.

The extraordinary part of this affair is, that Rajah Golab Singh, in apparent opposition to his brother, took active part with Mai Chund Kour, and, in so doing, was joined by the minister's own son, Rajah Heera Singh, the present Vuzeer. It is possible therefore, that Dhyan Singh, seeing that the Mai's party was for the time too strong to oppose, or disappointed in Sher Singh, gave up his cause; but, afraid or ashamed to actively join the opposition, he himself retired till a more convenient opportunity should present itself, but authorized his brother and son to join the enemy. Whatever were the motives of the wily brothers, they evidently worked in concert, and never better understood each other, than when nominally heading the partizans of rival claimants to the throne.

It may be here stated, that the Seikh law recognizes the claims of females to inheritance; and Mai (now Ranee) Chund Kour, while she shewed how many ladies had succeeded to the estates of their husbands on both sides of the Sutlej, urged the further argument that, when England was ruled by a queen, surely the Punjab might be by a Ranee. And we have little doubt that had Chund Kour gone quietly and prudently to work, she would at this moment be at the head of the Government, and that all the Seikh blood that has been lately shed, would have been spared;

but, as already stated, she gave way to her passions, and, before her authority was established, she both gave cause for every scandal, and forgot that she owed her position to the troops, who found that they not only did not receive the donatives and indulgences they had expected, but that they were denied their positive rights.

Khoshyal Singh was always hated by the troops; the Bhaes Ram Singh and Govind Ram did not understand military matters; and, as a secret enemy in the camp, it is not improbable that the sagacious Rajah Golab Sing encouraged the conduct, that caused discontent and served to weaken the Khalsa.

Be this as it may, Sher Singh saw the rising cloud, and was averse to leave Lahore, where he knew he could reckon on a portion of the soldiery. He therefore offered marriage, according to the legal Seikh rite of Kurawa or Chadur dala (throwing over the sheet,*) to Chund Kour. She, however, had no idea of anything of the kind. But, anxious to get rid of Sher Singh and his claims, she affected to listen to his overtures, proposed an interview, and employed a party of Carbineers to waylay the unsuspecting chief. He obtained information of the plot, and by the advice of his friends moved off to his estate of Buttala, there to bide his time. Sher Singh had not long to wait; for early in January, General Ventura, on his way from Mundee to Lahore, passed through Buttala, had an interview with him, and encouraged his expectations of early success. The General was received with great honors at Lahore, and every respect was paid to the commander who had conquered the strong country of Mundee, and captured the maiden fortress of Kumlaghur; a position formed by three or four forts, one above the other in successive steps—a chain of posts that, but for European science, must have long defied the Seikh military power.

On his arrival, Ventura sounded the Seikh commanders and influential officers, and these are mostly in the subordinate ranks. He found them thoroughly disgusted with Chund Kour and her counsellors, and ready to hail the return of Sher Singh, if they could assure themselves that he could forget their late abandonment of him.

It was finnally agreed that, on the day of the Busunt festival,

* "When a Manjah Singh dies, leaving no male offspring, his brothers or his nephews of the full blood, assume the right of succession, to which the widow or widows became competitors. According to the Shasters, (if they may be considered applicable to public property and Chiefships,) the prior title of the widows is held. But the Seikhs with a view to avoid an open and direct violation of a known law, have a custom termed Kurawa or Chadur dala, which obtains in every family, with the exception to those of the Bhaees. The eldest surviving brother of the deceased places a white robe over, and the nuth or ring in the nose of the widow, which ceremony constitutes her his wife."—*Prinsep's Chapter on Manners, &c. of the Seikhs.*

when, as usual, all the Seikh troops would be paraded, they would proclaim Sher Singh as Maharajah. They accordingly sent secret emissaries to him, to make their terms and settle the donatives that should be given. They had been deceived by Chund Kour, and determined on this occasion to make a more *pucka bundobust.**

Rumours of the intended change transpired; and Rajah Golab Singh moved his personal troops, consisting of three thousand men, with ten guns, from the banks of the Ravee into the Sumun Boorj, or Citadel of Lahor. This is an old Mogul building of no strength, and takes its name from one *Boorj* or tower. While the defences of the City of Lahor have been much improved under European superintendance, those of the Citadel have been almost entirely neglected. There is much dead ground around, and the minars of the Badshahi Bagh, as indeed some portions of the city, command it. If, too, we are rightly informed, there are few or no points of its ramparts from which guns can play. Having occupied the Citadel, Golab Singh placed such portions of the Seikh troops as he believed most trust-worthy, in charge of the city gates, at each of which guns were placed; and three month's pay was at once discharged to the troops, who were all sworn on their Grunth, Koran, or Ganges-water, according to their tenets, that they would remain faithful to Chund Kour. The Rajah then rode through the streets, at the head of a large party of Sowars, scattering money around, and making large promises to the people: in these latter steps shewing less than his usual sense, by evincing his fears, and teaching the soldiery their own value. This conduct was the more marked, as entirely opposed to his penurious habits and his strict notions of discipline.

Scarcely were his arrangements completed, when on the evening of the 13th January, 1841, the arrival of Sher Singh at Shalimar, among the Battalions of Golab Singh Povundia, was announced by repeated salutes of Artillery. All was then terror and dismay in the bazars of Lahor; the people expecting to be given over to plunder, and seeing in the success of either party, nothing but forced contributions or more open devastation.

In the Citadel too, the alarm was great. The Mai and her counsellors seem at once to have lost all heart; and the Sindhawala Chiefs, at other times not wanting in courage, appear now to have given themselves over to despair. Besides the three thousand hill men, there were fifteen hundred Seikhs in the garrison, in whom little confidence was placed. A portion there-

* Positive arrangement.

fore of the former were told off to watch the latter, who were kept together in one quarter. Guns were placed at each gate, and all were on the alert, during that night and the following day. Towards midnight of the 14th, the heavy sound of large bodies of troops moving, was distinctly heard in the town, and then entering the extensive enclosure of the Badshahi Musjid,—a place adjoining the Citadel, and only separated from it by a small garden called the Huzoorce Bagh, about two hundred yards wide.

As soon as the approaching masses perceived they were observed, the name of Sher Singh burst forth, in noisy concert; and their loud "Futteh Bolanas!" and "Wah! Gooroo Jee ke Futteh's!" or, "victory to Sher Sing!" and, "success to him in the name of the Gooroo!"—the latter being the war cry of the Seikhs, and the former the complimentary address of all Seikhs—rent the air as they advanced.

Rajah Golab Singh forbad a shot to be fired, and allowed Sher Singh to occupy the Huzooree Bagh, and to place fourteen Horse-Artillery guns within fifty yards of the gate leading into the garden. Some inferred from this that Golab Singh was secretly in league with Sher Singh; others that he hoped thus to induce the Prince to venture in front, when, by cutting him off, the dispute would at a blow be ended. Sher Singh at one time was in the Barduree in the garden, and during the seige ran much risk. We do not pretend to fathom the motives of Rajah Golab Sing during these eventful days. We simply state what we believe to be facts.

Shortly after day-break seven hundred Akalies, headed by Jowala Singh, a favourite of Sher Singh, advanced in front of the guns, close up to the gate of the Citadel, and, with all the abuse that their fertile imaginations could invent, called out for surrender. Finding themselves unattended to, they suddenly spread out right and left, and a heavy fire of round shot and grape was opened from the fourteen guns at once, tearing down the gate and carrying away several feet of the adjoining wall.

No sooner was so much of a breach effected, than a storming party consisting of Akalies, dismounted Seikh Goorchurahs, with some of General Court's and Doukul Singh's Sepoys, advanced; but were received by a continued fire of grape from the three guns within the gateway. Some few of the assailants entered the Citadel; but they, with hundreds outside, were literally mowed down by the fire of the Artillery; and the Carbineers and Permar* men from the walls, aided in the work of destruc-

* *Permars* are long matchlocks, requiring a strong man to carry one; they are used as wall-pieces, or supported on a light forked tripod attached to the stock, are used in the field and in skilful hands are deadly weapons.

tion, especially picking off the Artillerymen, who, jammed close under the Citadel, were a sure mark to the adversaries.

Thus warmly received, the surviving assailants drew off; positions were taken up all round the Citadel, and guns placed on plat-forms at several points in the city; while the Minars of the Badshahi Bagh were armed with Zumboorahs, (camel guns,) and a heavy fire was kept up from all sides, shaking, (in the words of one of the garrison,) the old walls to their very foundation.

On the 16th Sher Singh tried to parley, and, offering terms to the Garrison, informed Golab Singh that he had better capitulate, while he (Sher Singh) had power to protect him from the rage of the Seikh Soldiery, infuriated at the slaughter of their comrades; and that, if the Citadel was taken by storm, nothing could save its occupants.

Rajah Golab Singh replied, that his brother Dyan Singh would soon arrive, and that he would act on his advice. Meanwhile the firing did not cease, and while the garrison watched for Sher Singh, to end the affair by his death; the latter restrained the impetuosity of his troops, fearing that, if the Citadel were taken by assault, the treasures it contained would be plundered. A mine was actually prepared by Colonel De La Roche, and all but loaded. The sepoys, too, repeatedly brought up scaling ladders and called out to be led on to the assault. On the other hand, while Sher Singh was taking counsel with some of the officers in the Badshahi Musjid, which contained a large quantity of powder, the besieged brought some guns to bear on a side door-way of that building, proposing to fire red hot shot through, and thus blow up Sher Singh. But while the arrangements were being made, an alarm was given that there were vaults filled with powder, connecting the Musjid with the Citadel, and the project was dropped.

Until the evening of the 17th—that is during three whole days—the battle raged; a continual fire of mortars as well as guns was kept up by the besiegers, but as there are many subterraneous apartments in the citadel, little harm was done by the former; and the assailants being completely without shelter, suffered ten-fold more than the garrison. In fact, coming up as they did in a tumultuous manner, and with few officers of experience among them, they suffered unnecessary loss. It was this that partly caused the after out-break against General Court and other officers, for the soldiers saw the loss they suffered was mainly owing to bad arrangements. General Court, we believe, wished well to Sher Singh, but was restrained by an oath he had taken to Chund Kour, probably when the troops were sworn just

before Sher Singh's arrival, by Golab Sing. The soldiery took the oaths and the accompanying arrears of pay with all else that was offered, and all, almost immediately, joined the enemy. Not so General Court and General Ventura, who held themselves aloof, until the garrison capitulated.

Late on the evening of the 17th, Rajahs Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh arrived, and threw themselves at Sher Singh's feet, begging for Golab Singh and Heera Singh's pardon. A parley was sounded, but it was long before the orders to cease firing were obeyed, and before they took effect, more than one herald was sent into the garrison, hoisted over the wall by a rope, as treachery was feared and a gate therefore not opened. When, however, Golab Singh received a slip of paper, with a couple of lines in the Dogra character, he at once hung out his flag of surrender.

Meanwhile, it demanded the most strenuous efforts of Sher Singh to preserve Dhyan and Suchet Singh from the fury of the Seikhs. To effect this, he shut himself up with them in the Musjid; but the Seikhs still clamouring for their blood, General Ventura, who had now joined, commenced the distribution of money to those in the rear, so as to divert their attention and attract their blood-thirsty but greedy companions.

Ventura by his coolness and tact, and by the influence he exercised over the soldiery, seems at this time, and even more so during the next few days, to have saved many lives, especially those of General Court and General Tej Singh, nephew of Khoshyal Singh, and now Governor of Peshawur. Ventura's own troops being in Mundee, his absence during the seige was less resented than that of Court, whose division, especially the artillery, suffered more than others—the Huzooree Bagh being literally choked up with dead horses and golundauz.

When something like order was effected, one of the holiest of the Seikh Priests was sent in as a guarantee of the safety of the garrison, and under the shade of night, the hill-men were marched out and at once removed to their old position at Shahdera on the Ravee, whence, next day, they returned to Jumboo.

Rajah Golab Singh came with a bold face to the new Maharajah, and in his most winning manner, than which no man could affect a better, he begged for pardon; acknowledged that he had committed a fault, an error perhaps of judgment; but, that whatever had been done was in his zeal for the Maharajah; that he saw no other way of preserving the citadel and treasury for him; that if he had not defended them, the Seikhs would have plundered all, "which" producing the keys of the treasury, "your servant has now the pleasure to lay at your Highness's

feet." The story answered, or at least Sher Singh affected to be satisfied; and Golab Singh comforted himself with the reflection that his ten guns being then filled with gold and jewels, and his servants in like manner laden, he was well repaid for the part he had taken in the revolution.

We have heard the story, as above related, from more than one quarter, and believe it to be essentially true. Rajah Golab Singh is, like all mortals, a man of a mixed nature; fond of money and avaricious to a degree. He is a bold and skilful soldier—that is, he has the right sort of courage, the boldness that dares when skill, and we must add treachery, have failed. Why he threw himself into the Summun Boorj is now only known to himself and his Maker. Dhyan Singh was, most probably, aware of his motive, but, whatever it was, while the Seikh portion of Chund Kour's faction acted like cravens, he performed the part of a good soldier and a true Rajpoot.

The scenes that now took place in Lahor baffle belief. The Prœtorians, the Janissaries, or the Mamalukes never performed greater atrocities: nor, had the city been taken by storm, would, it probably, have suffered more.

Under most Native Governments, an outbreak by the soldiery or populace, or a seizure for purposes of plunder by the ruler, being events of no uncommon occurrence, there is seldom much available treasure or many valuables exposed in shops or houses. Such are usually kept in back premises, or carefully concealed in pits. Little money therefore was plundered, but immense destruction of property took place. Merchants and shopkeepers were tortured and ill treated by bands of ruffians, and, under the guise of seeking for obnoxious Commandants and Paymasters, (Moonshees) every sort of violence was committed. Several hundred Moonshees perished, and Umreck Rao, the Paymaster-General, who, we see, has been lately gazetted as one of Heera Singh's council, was carried off in a tub or basket, and put to every contrivance to save his life.

General Court's house was assailed and plundered, and his own life threatened. He accordingly took refuge with General Ventura, and it was only by placing two guns at the gate-way of his garden that the latter kept off the murderous bands. But finding that he could not long protect General Court, he advised the latter to take refuge in the British territory, which he did, and remained there for several months.

Jemadar Khoshyal Singh was an especial object of vengeance to the Seikhs, and particularly to his own troops. Having been a severe and penurious taskmaster, they now called out loudly for his blood, and for weeks he was literally in a state of

seige in his fortress-like dwelling at Lahor, and eventually was obliged to fly. Sher Singh at this time shewed much good feeling and generosity. He had little reason to thank Khoshyal Singh, and by his death could at least have resumed his extensive Jagheers, if not have plundered his immense treasures: but, in a better spirit, he exerted himself to the utmost to save his life; and, before the first fury of the storm was over, on one occasion even took him up on the elephant with himself, and risked his own life against the mob, who threatened the Jemadar's.

General Ventura, too, deserves great credit for his conduct at this time. He was Sher Singh's right-hand man; cajoled and bullied the troops for him; patrolled the city, and gradually introduced some order.

No violence or affront was offered to Mai Chund Kour, who, with her minion Tegoo, (he being at once her treasurer and favourite paramour,) was allowed to occupy some apartments in the fort. She received some respect for a time, and a handsome maintenance was allowed her, but after a short interval, Tegoo was removed, tortured and put to death, with a view of inducing him to disclose the places where it was supposed treasure was concealed—the Mai having been in the confidence of her son Nou Nihal, who, it was said, removed fifteen crores of rupees to Ramnugger (a small fort towards Umritsur,) and possibly may have placed other treasures elsewhere.

For a year or more, Chund Kour remained a sort of prisoner; treated with some show of respect, though closely watched; but when it was found that the Sindawala Chiefs, who had fled to the British territory, were intriguing in the most desperate manner in her favour, and even levying troops; and that several Seikh Regiments had been gained over to her cause, an end was put to her cares and hopes by her own slave girls, beating her to death with slippers—doubtless instigated to the act by some authority higher than their own.

In Chund Kour's intrigues the name of the British Government was much used; and it was currently believed that the Punjab was sold by her and the Sindawalas, and six annas in the rupee offered to the English. Probably such was the case, but the offer only injured their cause with their own countrymen, and does not seem to have mended it with the British, whose authorities summarily stopped the recruiting.

The *roula*, or military insurrection, spread from Lahor to the provinces; and, within the next few months, the troops in every quarter, Mundee, Cashmere, Peshawur and Multan, followed the example of their brethren at the capital; indeed the

whole year 1841, was throughout the Punjab territories a year of terror.

In March 1841, the murder, under especially atrocious circumstances, of Mr. Foulkes, took place in Mundee. He was a gallant soldier, and altogether a young man of much promise. We believe that he fell a victim to his endeavours to save some inferior officers and Moonshees; his own men cutting him down, and literally pushing him into a fire while yet alive.* At the same time and place Col. Mouton, a French officer, was only saved by the despairing entreaties of his wife, which gave time to some few faithful followers to step in and cover him with their own bodies. Some few of the Mundee ruffians were afterwards punished by maiming and dismissal, at the instigation of Mr. Clerk; but, with every wish to rid himself of such troops, it was long before Sher Singh dared to touch a hair on one of their heads; and then it was done only on favorable opportunities, and as it were by stratagem. While these scenes were being enacted, and the troops, tired of their employment in a difficult, hilly country, were going off without leave, or calling loudly to be relieved, like tumults were occurring in Kashmir, where, finding that the Governor, Colonel Mean Singh—a sturdy old Seikh of Runjeet Singh's school—was not disposed to put up with their licentiousness, they murdered him in open Durbar, and took credit to themselves, for the achievement, reporting to Lahor that they had destroyed a friend of Rajah Golab Singh. If he were so, the latter well avenged his death; for, being ordered to proceed to Kashmir and coerce the mutineers, he advanced without delay, with a strong body of his own troops, taking in his train the present Governor of Kashmir, Sheik Gholam-mohi-oo-deen. The rebels put on a bold face, but finding that Golab Singh was not to be trifled with, they seem to have devoted themelves to what they called the cause of the Khalsa, and, as doomed men, disposing of all their property, and stripping themselves of all clothes but their Kutch, (or Seikh tight breeches, coming only to the knee,) they rushed tumultuously on the swords and bayonets of the hill troops. The first astonishment over, they were coolly

* Foulkes acted as an Aide-de-Camp in Mundee to General Ventura, who testifies to his character, and shortly before the murder was committed, it was shewn that Foulkes was duly warned and had time to escape, but had too high a sense of duty to do so. It is a curious coincidence that in the year 1838, we asked him what he would do in case of a mutiny? he laughed and said "make a bolt of it;" when the time, however came, he acted differently. At the interview alluded to, an officer present, who had been a school-fellow of Foulkes, reminded him that not long before, when they met, he (Foulkes) was *thrashing the Major*. In the Seikh service, the Major is the Serjeant Major, and striking such an officer, or indeed any below one's self, is nothing uncommon in the Punjab. This anecdote may give an impression that Foulkes was a violent man and disliked by his men—he was neither one nor other, any more than was General Court. Had they been more like Avitabile they might have fared as well.

received, and almost to a man destroyed. Their fate has not lessened the Seikh hatred of Golab Singh, or the terror inspired by his name.

In Peshawur, General Avitabile's able management kept matters in tolerable tranquillity; but one or two Battalions, (we are uncertain which,) insisted on the payment of all such arrears and gratuities, as had been given at Lahor. Avitabile yielded, paid them all they asked, and, when they moved out and encamped in the plain of Peshawur, he gave notice to the Khubeel and Momund peasantry, always ready to cut Seikh throats, that the soldiers were rebels, that each man had a hundred rupees, more or less, on his person, and that whoever destroyed them was welcome to the booty. A night attack was accordingly made; but some accidental notice having been given, the assailants were repulsed, not however without severe loss to the Seikhs, who, terrified at this new and extraordinary mode of punishment, went in to Avitabile, begged forgiveness, and were content to restore their extorted treasure, to yield up their arms, and take their discharges or otherwise, at Avitabile's pleasure.

In a slightly different fashion, Sawun Mull, the able Dewan of Moultan, managed his Seikh troops. He too paid them up all demands; then gave them leave to proceed to their homes; and, when they had gone out in small parties, and were entirely off their guard, he sent out such troops as he could rely on, and recovered the amount paid. During this year, the roads and ghats were unsafe. The energetic rule of Runjeet Singh allowed no highwaymen, but now small bands roamed the country; and old feuds were summarily decided; boundary disputes and other differences as summarily disposed of, and something like the old times of Maha Singh were revived.

To a certain extent, the ability and energy of Dhyan Singh settled affairs at the capital. By removing the most violent Seikhs and strengthening the hill party, he gradually put measures in train of settlement; but, always bold and personally incautious, it was a matter of surprize that—at this time especially—he escaped the knife of the assassin.

Sher Singh was a sensualist; a man of fair ability; of much courage. Brought up in a school of ultra-sensuality, he was one of those natives who, affecting English manners, can only see the worst parts of our character; of those among us who drink hard, and swear roundly, and indulge all the appetites of the beast. Sher Singh could and would drink to inebriation, was a jolly fellow well met, with all who could talk to him pleasantly, had nothing to ask, and nothing to trouble him about. His days were spent in hunting and shooting, and his nights

in drinking and debauchery, and with an occasional and unwilling inspection of his troops, he left the administration of the country, and management (if such it can be called) of the army, to his minister. Had he continued to do so, he probably would be now on the Guddee. The matter was not one to be done by halves; at Lahor, as elsewhere, the king or his minister must rule.

It was from easiness of disposition, and long disuse of business; and not from any want of spirit, that he thus succumbed to the able minister of his reputed father. At first there were glimmers of better promise. He refused from Chund Kour, in the height of her prosperity, a thousand Rupees per diem in excess of his old estates; and then shewed by his bearing that he only yielded to circumstances and for the time. At the Bussunt festival, immediately after his success, and in the midst of the tumult at the capital, he assembled the troops, who paraded with lighted matches; and on his offering them the immediate payment of four months' arrears, a gratuity of one month's pay, and an increase of a rupee per man, they loudly and clamorously refused, and called out that they knew how to drag the Maharajah from the throne on which they had just placed him. The review, or rather meeting, was most tumultuous, consisting of not less than fifty thousand men with arms in their hands, and many of those hands recking with blood. Sher Singh temporized; but he bore himself bravely on the occasion, and indeed throughout the first week of his reign,—but his was not the character to cope with the strong spirits around him.

Jowala Singh has been mentioned as heading the Akalies who advanced on the gate-way of the Sumun Boorj from the Huzooree Bagh.—He was an old and favourite servant of Sher Singh, and now pushed himself forward too prominently for his own safety; for the minister, who would allow no rival at court, caused him to be warned, and then removed to an honorable command. But, on his shortly returning, false charges of treason were vamped up against him; he was thrown into prison, fed on half salt, half grain, and died. Thus were several aspirants for favor disposed of; one sent on command to Peshawur, another to Kashmir; a third more summarily dealt with.

Nevertheless, there was always a Seikh party at Durbar,—one that took advantage of their birth-right as Seikhs to quietly undermine the powerful Rajah. One was old Sirdar Futteh Singh Man, respectable for age, wounds and former services; Sham Singh Uttarewala was another, and Lena Singh Majetia a third. These were all cautious—nay perhaps politically timid

men, on their own accounts, and mayhap on that of their country. They all bore great enmity to the minister and his family; but he had a more dangerous enemy than these in Bhae Goormukh Singh, an affected Religieux, a man of little ability, but of extreme cunning, and a most intriguing disposition. This man acquired great influence over Sher Singh, who was, however, always brought to reason by the finesse of Dhyan Singh, who would leave Lahor in disgust, at any undue interference, and proceed for days into the jungle to shoot, or even go to Jumboo; leaving Sher Singh and his minion to unravel the tangled web of politics, and manage the rude soldiery as best they could. This sort of procedure on the part of the minister, for two years or more succeeded. It was the belief that it could no longer answer which destroyed both his Prince and himself.

At the close of 1841 the Cabul insurrection broke out;—and Sher Singh was called upon to supply troops to co-operate with the British forces,* which were then pushed forward to the theatre of war. The conduct of the Durbar, in this conjuncture, was satisfactory to the British Government; but the feeling throughout the Punjab was strong against the alliance; and the inferior officers threw every conceivable obstacle in the way of the fulfilment of Sher Singh's orders. The soldiery cursed the Feringhees, and, when the time came insulted them; but subsequently, under the management of Captain Lawrence, they in some measure redeemed their character; and at all events the assistance afforded was sufficient to elicit a declaration of thanks from the British Government.

Our operations in Affghanistan having been brought to a close, the Seikh Battalions were hurried, with all possible despatch, back to Lahore, under the impression perhaps that our strong returning force, co-operating with the army of Reserve then assembling at Ferozepore, would be employed to seize upon the Punjab. Not that Sher Singh had any such fears—or perhaps, we should more properly say that the anticipations which he may have entertained on the subject, were of a pleasurable rather than a painful character. The hostile advance of a British army on Lahore—any event in short which would have relieved him from the oppressive incubus of the Jumboo family, would have been hailed by him as a kindly interference of Providence. He had awakened to the fearful truth that the

* They had in the preceding summer furnished troops for the escort of the families of the Shah Soojah and Zemaun Shah, proceeding through the Punjab under Capt. Broadfoot to Cabul. We may, perhaps, on a future occasion, give some slight account of the bearing of the Seikh soldiery on this occasion, as well as of their conduct, during the operations, in 1842, under General Pollock—a portion of the recent history of the Seikhs which we now only briefly touch upon.

toils were about him, and that, struggle as he might, he was doomed to be sacrificed.

Sher Singh's great anxiety was, to cross the Sutlej, and to throw himself on the protection of the Governor General of India; but Dhyan Singh was too wily to allow such a step; and while he gave out, that designs were being formed against the Punjab, and appeared to be busy in accumulating stores and concentrating troops and guns at the Capital, his chief care was to prevent Sher Singh from holding intercourse with any British officer. Day and night was the now virtually captive monarch watched by either Dhyan Singh or Heera Singh. When one was absent for the offices of nature, the other took his place. Mild, courtier-like and subservient, to the casual observer they appeared—standing or sitting nearly behind their sovereign, and over his shoulder watching his very thoughts—to be the most zealous and devoted of servants. If Sher Singh went out to shoot or to hunt, one or both, with a party of their own, (often including Kesree Singh, Lab Singh, and Lal Singh,) attended. If he visited the troops, one of the Rajahs would sit behind him on the elephant, crouched up in the uncomfortable seat, intended only for menials, holding a chattah over the Maharajah's head, and displaying to the troops a spectacle of meekness and devotion. But with all these outward forms of respect, it might be observed that Sher Singh was most uneasy; that he panted for release, and that he knew not how to escape.

Bhae Goormukh Singh was still in favor, but the Rajahs having at this time put forth their strength, he cowered before their superior genius. The treasurer, Misr Beneh Ram, who after Cheyt Singh's murder, had long remained in irons, was again in office; but he had too lively a remembrance of recent suffering to be inclined for further conspiracy. But other and bolder spirits were again on the arena.

On Sher Singh's accession, the Sindawalahs fled; but Lena Singh being apprehended, was thrown into irons and kept in close confinement. Uttur Singh and Ajeet Singh, as already observed, intrigued on the British border, and alarmed the Durbar. Sher Singh and the Jumboo family knew that there was a large discontented faction, and that several regiments were inclined towards the Sindawalahs, as kinsmen of Runjeet Singh. While, therefore, the party in power were thus prepared to deal lightly with the refugees, the latter, finding no hope from the British Government, further than that its good offices would at any time be employed to reconcile them with the Durbar, at last consented to be so reconciled; and, late in the year 1842, the exiled members returned to Lahor. Lena Singh was released; and a great

part of their estates was restored. Lena Singh and Ajeet Singh appeared soon to be in favor with the Maharajah and to have acquired his confidence, while it was also observed that Rajah Dhyan Singh paid them no little attention.

Uttur Singh, the eldest surviving brother, was considered a respectable man and one well versed in politics. He was a remnant of Runjeet Singh's school, and as such, drew around him the genuine Khalsa, and those who held the memory of the Great Maharajah in reverence. But while Uttur Singh shewed, as a soldier, much of the spirit of his elder brother, Boodh Singh, he wanted the political boldness requisite for a Punjabee Leader and Reformer; he wanted also tact, and never was worse advised than when he took refuge within the Sutlej, and gave his enemies the opportunity of placarding him as sold to the Feringhees. In person, Uttur Singh was middle-sized, of stout build, and of plain unmarked countenance; and, like the old Sikh leaders, of simple and unostentatious manners. We happened to meet him, as he was flying from a place near the hills, where he resided when Sher Singh was murdered. It was just night-fall, he was bivouacking on a wide plain in the midst of a small party of forty or fifty retainers; and though he had then reached the protected Seikh states and was comparatively safe, we found him on the alert. He was up in an instant, and did not seem half inclined to step out a few paces from his followers to talk to a single European. He did not know our name, but after a little conversation his suspicions fled, and he told us very composedly the circumstances of the recent tragedy, and that then was the time for the British to seize Lahor—that it would be very easy with his help—very difficult without. Curiosity had attracted us towards him, hearing he was near our camp, and of course we were interested in his narrative; but when he came to his proposed league with our Government, we were less polite than we should have been to an unfortunate man. We told him bluntly that the British did not league with murderers, and if they wished to take Lahor could do so at their pleasure; and mounting our horses rode off. Coming as we did unattended, we were rudely received; but when we assumed the air of a somebody, we were treated with respect, and probably Uttur Singh may have thought the mysterious plain-spoken stranger to have been Colonel Richmond himself.

Lena Singh Sindawalah was a very dark and tall man, much given to strong liquors, but bearing the character of a speaker of the truth—a very rare character in the Punjab—implying, we presume, that he only told falsehoods when it was well worth his while to do so.

Their nephew, Ajeet Singh, was a fat, broad-faced sensualist; sitting on the same elephant with Heera Singh or Dhyan Singh; ever at the ear of Sher Singh. As the murderer of the two latter, he shewed that Brutus was not the only portly traitor, or it may be—patriot, that the world has seen.

A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* includes the Faker Azeezoodeen among the conspirators against Sher Singh; but he had no concern in the atrocity. The Faker was an able and honest, but at the same time a timid counsellor of Runjeet Singh's. He could see that it was wise to keep faith with the British; he could also see that it would have been unwise in having made an attempt on Kashmir, not to return to the attack; he was right when he told his sovereign that *his strength* might draw on him the English; but that *his weakness* real or supposed would bring down the Affghans, and then, farewell not only to all eventual hopes on fair Kashmir, but on the possessions already acquired from the Affghans! Thus Azeezoodeen would sit at the Maharajah's feet, and in pithy sentences and in mellifluous tones give the soundest advice; but personally he is timid and has no fancy in his old age for bayonet thrusts from rude Seikhs. He has, therefore, in all the political convulsions since his master's death kept quite aloof; and as each change approached, gradually thrown off his diplomatic and resumed his medical character; and accordingly though we believe he was an (unwilling) inmate of the Sumun Boorj with Mai Chund Kour; when the Seikhs were afterwards hunting for the ministers, secretaries, clerks, and accountants of her brief reign, no one ever thought of harming the poor old Faker, who seated in the Golabkhana (Dispensary, in a broad acceptation) served out liniment, and salves, and medicine to the wounded of both factions.

The Faker has always affected poverty, but he must be a wealthy man. His eyes are dim; but his senses were sufficiently acute to perceive the coming storm, whose grumblings had taken Avitabile across the Sutlej, and caused General Court more urgently to demand his discharge. Azeezooden accordingly assumed blindness, gradually avoided the Durbar, and when the Roula, on Sher Singh's murder, took place, was playing the blind Faker in a corner of his own house. He has since recovered his sight a little, but has not found the Government sufficiently settled to return to public life: and we therefore observe that Bhae Ram Singh has been appointed Foreign Secretary in his place.

The Bhae is a stupid heavy man, but possibly only affects to be so. He has at any rate shewn some ability in keeping his

body and soul together during late events, for he and his brother Govind Ram, in their mixed religious, medical, and political characters, had influence over Runjeet Singh, and were often able to make covert thrusts at the haughty Jumboo Rajahs.

We cannot well understand why and how Rajah Suchet Singh joined in the conspiracy, which we are about to relate. Jealous of and angry with his two elder brothers, who considering him merely as a brave sabreur, treated him as one not to be trusted in their vast designs, he was often inclined to join the ranks of the enemy. This feeling was strengthened by a personal antipathy to his nephew Rajah Heera, who young and aspiring, brought up in the lap of Runjeet Singh, and in the arms of Dhyan Singh, gradually acquired the wiles, the deep, dark, cunning of both, with more than the hauteur and superciliousness of the latter. With the elder Rajah, there was a time and a place to be frank and conciliatory, though no man knew better how to wither with a look. But his son, though with recognized enemies or even with doubtful characters he was as astute as his father, did not sufficiently guard himself when in the presence of his kinsmen and retainers. Suchet Singh, a proud man, could little bear the air of superiority assumed by his nephew, and many were the feuds between them, often requiring the intervention of the two elder brothers; who urged that these intestine broils would infallibly overthrow the authority of the Jamboo family.

Suchet Singh moreover was quite dumb, and had been so for some years. He was a dissolute man, and having lost the roof of his mouth from the use of violent medicines, he could not utter a word. In other respects still strong and able, his haughty soul panted for relief, and he proposed to proceed to Calcutta, or even to Europe, to obtain a cure for what debarred him not only from affairs of state, but from intercourse with those around him. Outwardly he was a noble specimen of manhood. With a commanding person, which he was wont to array in sumptuous attire, and a fine countenance, dashed with an expression of profound melancholy, he could not but awaken an interest in all who knew the nature of the affliction which had bowed down the strong man. He could express his wishes by signs; but the feeling of his infirmity while in the vigour of manhood affected his temper and preyed upon his spirits.

Of a quick temper and haughty disposition himself, Suchet Singh had warmly attached an abler man of a far different character; and in his Vuzier Rae Kesree Singh, who fell at his side, a good soldier, and for his country a good man was cut off; one who, had he survived, would have been heard of under Rajah

Singh's orders. Kesree Singh commanded in the field the Seikh troops co-operating with General Pollock in the Khybur. Most people then thought him a follower of Golab Singh; but he was a faithful servant of the younger Rajah; and as a point of honor only could have joined the rash attempt that cost both their lives.

We have stated that the Sindhawallas had been favourably received at Lahor, by all parties—the Maharajah, doubtless, hoping that his benevolence would gain their hearts; and the Rajahs hoping to make tools of them against the Maharajah. Sher Singh was naturally open-hearted and indolent. He was content to be monarch and to leave the reins of Government with the Rajahs, if they gave him his will in the patronage and promotion of his favourites, and did not otherwise molest him or disturb him in his fiddling and hunting pursuits. But he soon began to find himself watched, to perceive the fate that systematically befel his friends and protegés, and at last he heard that Duleep Singh, a child of eight or nine years of age, recognized by Runjeet Singh as his son, though in full knowledge of his not being so, was at Jumboo. His fears awakened, he made various efforts to throw off the yoke. For a time Dhyan Singh, affecting disgust, would retire from the court, and after one of these absences he brought Duleep Singh with him to Lahor. A crisis was then by many believed to be close at hand.

How long an alliance had been formed by the Rajahs with the Sindhawallas is uncertain; but from the cautious tactics of the former, it is supposed, that having ingratiated themselves with Lena Singh and Ajeet Singh, they suddenly hinted, with every appearance of friendly sincerity, that Sher Singh had only lured them to Lahor for the purpose of destroying the family at a blow; that alarmed at the intelligence they at once entered into the plot to cut off Sher Singh and his children. We doubt if there were any other Seikhs of consequence implicated, and the newspaper reports of Sher Singh being first *galleed* (abused) and then slain, are erroneous. At Lahor, no more than at other places, do Regicides make preparatory speeches.

We have heard the murder related by half a dozen people, (Generals Court and Avitabile included) and all in different ways; but we believe it to be sufficiently correct, that Sher Singh was warned that on the fifteenth of September, 1843, an attempt would be made on his life, or some disastrous accident occur—indeed the astrologer, Mutusoodun Pundit, pronounced the day as inauspicious—that the Maharajah therefore sent his son Purtab Singh out of the way to General Court, to see a gun cast; that the Maharajah was employed in inspecting a party of Sowars, when

Ajeet Singh stepped up under pretence of shewing him a double-barrelled gun (Sher Singh being a great gun-fancier and an excellent shot) and shot the Maharajah dead: that a scuffle ensued, in which Sirdar Boodh Singh, who had been so successfully deputed to Peshawur, was killed on the spot, and his brother severely wounded; that soon afterwards Prince Purtab Singh was met returning from the foundry, and instantly despatched.

The Sindhawallas seem to have done all this—the Jumboo faction keeping in the back ground. The former are then understood to have taken counsel with Bhaee Goormookh Singh, who has been already mentioned, as a favourite of Sher Singh, and as far as he then dared, an enemy of Dhyan Singh. The murderers perhaps had a double purpose in at once asking his advice as a (reputed) holy man, and once acquainted with the affairs of his late master. The Bhaee at once told them that their work was but half done, and that now if they would live, they must destroy the minister. No time was to be lost, and followed by their retainers they proceeded ostensibly to report what had occurred to the Rajah, met him near the Citadel thinly attended, and while in conversation Ajeet Singh slew him.

All was by this time in uproar. The French officers were faithful, as were many of the troops; but so fast did the murder of the minister succeed that of the Maharajah, that Rajah Heera Singh, supported (in this matter) by his uncle Suchet Singh, flew to the nearest camp of regular troops, harangued the men, told them that the Sindhawallas had not only slain the Maharajah of their choice, but his faithful minister, whom *they* had raised, and they alone had so long supported. The Seikh soldiery no doubt were astonished to hear they had made the man they hated Vuzeer; but there is no knowing what flattery will not make us believe. The young Rajah, moreover, thrown suddenly on himself, appears at this time to have shewn more ability and energy than he had been thought to possess; he endeavoured to make it appear that the two had fallen together, that it was in defence of his Sovereign, his own father had suffered; he then touched the soldiery on a sensitive point; he offered the payment of all arrears; a douceur of a month's pay; and an increase to all branches of the army—raising the pay of the cavalry to thirty rupees per month, and of the infantry to twelve; thus at a word offering fifty per cent. increased allowances, to all who would follow him and avenge the murder of their Sovereign and his minister. Not many now hesitated; and before evening the two Rajahs at the head of the immense force then collected at Lahor, of not less than fifty thousand men, were before the Citadel that

so lately the Jumboo arms had defended, and into which, seeing the turn affairs were taking, the Sindhawallas, with their personal adherents and such troops as they could induce to follow them, had hastily thrown themselves.

The place was cannonaded during the night; several assaults were made upon it next day, and towards the afternoon it was taken by storm. Lena Singh and Ajeet Singh and many of the small garrison, were put to the sword, and again the treasury was in charge of Hill troops. The boy Duleep Singh was proclaimed Maharajah, and Rajah Heera Singh, Vuzeer. Bhaee Goorbuksh Singh and Misr Bence Ram were immediately seized and placed in irons, and though, we understand, half a crore of Rupees was offered to Heera Singh for their release, it was refused, and they were made over to Sheikh Imamoodeen, Governor of the Jullunder Doab. They have often been since in vain demanded by the Seikh soldiery, and it is supposed that both have been long since put to death.

A strong and faithful garrison of his own Hill troops was posted in the Citadel; but elsewhere for a time the authority of Heera Singh and his pageant Maharajah was but nominal. The Seikhs came and went as they chose, and repeated many of the atrocities of Sher Singh's accession. They tumultuously called for the fulfilment of the new minister's promises; he was lavish in rewards for personal bravery at the storm of the Sumun Boorj; and tried by individual bribery to cajole the remainder; but his efforts failed, and he was obliged to increase the rates of pay and to liquidate certain arrears and grant a gratuity. But all fell short of his promises, and the infuriated soldiery often threatened his life.

After repeated invitations, Rajah Golab Singh arrived at Lahor, about the middle of November, at the head of some twelve thousand Hill troops, which, with the force of Dogras already at the capital, gave them a preponderating influence; for although all the Seikh Sirdars were more or less sulky or alarmed, there was no unanimity among them; and Lena Singh Majetia, round whom they possibly would have rallied, shewing either great timidity or much prudence, attended the Durbar of the Rajahs.

Rajah Golab Singh tried to conciliate the Sirdars, but assumed a high tone to the soldiery on behalf of his nephew; gave the latter some good advice; helped himself again from the treasury; and leaving a portion of his troops behind, returned to Jumboo, after having shewed his strength to the Khalsa, and renewed the family compact with his nephew. Many were the attempts to upset Rajah Heera Singh's authority. The Seikh Sirdar appeared paralyzed, but not so his own

uncle Suchet Singh, who made various efforts for power, and being more liked, or less disliked, by the Seikhs than any of his family, would probably have succeeded, little qualified as he was; if he had had the power of speech. Duleep Singh's mother supported Rajah Suchet Singh; and Jowaher Singh, a maternal uncle of the young Maharajah, but a man of no ability or influence, assumed authority, and even made an attempt to remove his nephew from Heera Singh's custody. He was therefore seized and imprisoned, and was only lately released.

Gradually something like order has been introduced; and perhaps finding that Heera Singh is as liberal as any other minister or monarch could possibly be, for any time, the soldiers have put up with him; but hitherto he has been extremely cautious, both in trusting himself little among the Seikhs, and doing nothing to irritate them. Julla Pundit, a clever dewan, has borne the brunt of all invidious acts. His life has been repeatedly threatened; and wherever odium is to be incurred, the Pundit's name is put forward.

As might have been expected, Rajah Suchet Singh did not remain long on outwardly friendly terms with his nephew. Golab Singh endeavoured to heal the breach, but was unable to do so, and accordingly Suchet Singh retired to his estates, and with men and money supported the rebellion of Peshora and Kashmera Singh.

We do not know by what overt acts Peshora and Kashmera Singh first excited the apprehensions of Heera Singh; but they early became suspected, were imprisoned, and after a time released through the influence of the Seikh soldiery. They then threw themselves into Scalkote with a few followers; and soon drew many recruits to their ranks—among them, as before stated, Doola Singh and his Ramgoles. After some little successes on their part, both Rajah Golab Singh and Heera Singh sent such large detachments against them, that they evacuated the place —and took sanctuary with Bhae Bhier Singh, an influential Seikh religieux. Our newspapers call Kashmera and Peshora Singh Princes, but until Sher Singh's death they were only recognized as petty Sirdars. Although Runjeet Singh had not objected to people calling them his sons, they were never treated as such in the same manner as Sher Singh.

The next occurrence of note was on the 27th of March, 1844, when Rajah Suchet Singh came down from the hills, and invited by several of the regiments at Lahor, advanced with hostile intentions against his nephew, the minister. Largesses again were given out, the revolutionists were bribed or intimidat-

ed, and the whole Lashkur (Army) swore to stand by Heera Singh, who immediately moved out with some twenty or thirty thousand men, with a large field train, to a garden five miles north-east of Lahor, where Rajah Suchet Singh, with five or six hundred followers, had taken up his quarters. He was ordered to move off, but refused, and determined to die as became a Rajpoot. Giving permission, therefore, to such of his party as desired to retire, he charged with a small faithful band into the midst of the Seikhs, and with Kesree Singh, Dewan Bhem Singh, and fifty or sixty followers perished—dying as he had lived, a brave soldier, but a headstrong and dangerous leader.

As a soldier, Suchet Singh had ever been a pattern man. A chivalrous and daring subaltern, he was wanting in the qualities of a leader. His life had in it little of respectability, but his death, according to the notions of his country and clan, was glorious. He has left no family, and his estate of Ramnugger will doubtless be seized by Golab Singh, or at any rate be divided between him and Heera Singh without reference to Seikh supremacy or the Maharajah's rights. Shortly before his death, Suchet Singh sent fourteen or fifteen lakhs of Rupees in gold to Ferozpoor, possibly when he made up his mind to a bold venture on Lahor; and most probably (before he had determined on self-sacrifice) with a view of crossing the Sutlej, if unsuccessful. Heera Singh having thus slain the uncle he hated, shed many tears, and affected deeply to lament the occurrence.

The victory over his uncle can scarcely be said to have strengthened Heera Singh, as it removed a gallant member of his own family, and shewed to the Seikhs what they had long tried to conceal, that dissension was among the Dogras, as among themselves. The victory, or rather massacre, also gave the soldiery new claims on the minister. Its best effect perhaps was in hastening or causing the fall of Sealkote and flight of Peshora and Kashmeera Singh. Scarcely a month had elapsed, after Rajah Suchet Singh's death, when Sirdar Uttur Singh crossed the Sutlej with seven hundred Sowars, and was joined by Bhae Bhier Singh with Kashmeera Singh and Peshora Singh, the two latter having taken refuge with the saint. They had with them three or four thousand men, but Heera Singh instantly sent out all the disposable force from Lahor, met them fifteen miles from the Sutlej, surrounded their position, cannonaded from a distance, and almost exactly repeated the tragedy of Suchet Singh. Sirdar Uttur Singh charged into the enemy's ranks and was killed; the holy man and Peshora Singh also fell; and thus having done what they came out to do, the Seikh soldiers affected to be very angry with their leaders, and especially with their General, Lab Singh,

who, with difficulty, escaped with his life. The Seikh Army now within a march of Ferozpoor wished to cross the river and make war with the British—or rather they affected so to wish, for they have a method in their madness, and with all their boastings have no desire to measure their strength with us—and why should they, so long as plunder and gratuities are to be had at so easy a price in the Punjab? They well know that though a band of Akalies or other ruffians with impunity cross the river, that no force of infantry could do so without being opposed.

We have now brought down our history to the present time—we have not exhausted our subject, but already have exceeded our space, and shall conclude therefore with a few suitable personal sketches of the principal men, who have lately influenced the Seikh destinies.

Runjeet Singh and his race have passed away; he was able in his generation; but he was not a builder for permanency; he was, as all of us are, a creature of contrarieties; brave and cowardly; humane and cruel; modest and lustful. His worst passions were those of his time and country: his virtues were his own. True, he slew and conquered as all Orientals do, without the slightest feeling of right. But with him, we hear of no after-massacres; of no after impalings and flayings; of no pyramids of heads: or of men built up into minars, to serve as mile stones; of all which atrocities he must have had examples before him. He maimed, but it was to save life, and to clear the high-ways of robbers, but he never took life in cold blood. He rather permitted and winked at tyranny than exercised it himself; his exactions were those of his times, and he made little or no difference between his subjects of different creeds, further than as an orthodox Seikh he was bound to do, that is to forbid the slaughter of kine; and what was of more consequence, to desecrate the Musjids. The latter he did more as a latitudinarian, than with a view of insult or injury—using them indiscriminately for secular purposes and forbidding the Muezzin's cry; not to prevent the Moslems praying, but that he knew, in many districts, the criers from the minars would have assembled the faithful to battle as often as to prayers.

Runjeet Singh's lustful propensities were his most odious vices; but we do not hear of his having, as other monarchs, European and Asiatic; have done, torn wives and virgins from their families. No; his was rather systematic and methodical beastliness, performed without shame and without any feeling of impropriety. It injured himself; but it affected no innocent families; and shameless as he was, he may be favourably contrasted with any contemporary monarch of Asia; and it may be

added, with some of Europe. While we execrate such acts in a half civilized Asiatic, let us remember the conduct of many Kings of France; of Augustus of Saxony; of the great Catherine and the greater Peter*—indeed, of our own Henry and Charles.

Lena Singh Majetia is the only really respectable Seikh Chief with whose character we are acquainted; that is to say, respectable according to *our* notions. He is neither a drunkard, nor a debauchee—immunities which perhaps he owes to his having early directed his attention to science and military organization. His father, Desa Singh, was one of Runjeet Singh's companions, but in no way particularly distinguished. The son, Lena Singh, must be now about forty years of age; of good though rather heavy countenance, with large bushy beard and whiskers. He is rather above the middle stature and inclined to corpulency. He is one of the Sirdars who have generally been employed in missions to the British Government, and last year nearly got himself into a serious scrape by keeping the Governor General waiting for some hours (by a mistake, we believe,) to give him audience at Loodhiana. It was expected that Dhyan Singh would have taken the opportunity to crush him at Durbar; but probably found himself unable to do so. We do not know that Lena Singh's learning extends beyond a smattering of science; but he has evidently a mechanical turn, and is perhaps the only Sirdar or officer in the Punjab, who knows any thing of the science of artillery. He casts tolerable guns, and has introduced a new kind of long musquet, to be used with either flints or matches, with which a Regiment under his orders are armed. His manners are mild and pleasing, with none of the rudeness of the old Seikh Sirdars. His troops garrison Philor, (opposite Loodhiana,) and Umritsur, and he has extensive jaghirs in the Manjha and the Eastern Hills; next to General Ventura the conquest of Mundee is owing to him. Lena Singh's politics have been timid. He seems to have taken no decided part in any of the late revolutions; to have quietly recognized the victor; and then if he did not approve of measures, to have absented himself from Durbar, and, as the Seikhs are daily more closely assimilating to Hinduism, when excuses for absence are wanted, there can always be leave asked for a visit to Hurdwar, and the pilgrimage may be extended to Benares or even to Juggurnauth—or why not to the burying place of Gooroo Govind

* Some of our readers may remember the Princesse de Bareuth's quiet mention of Peter the Great, on his visit to Berlin, in the year 1717, taking with him, in his wife's train, four hundred ladies in waiting, almost every one of them having a babe in her arms, and each lady when questioned, who was the baby's father, coolly replying, that "the Czer had done her the honour to make her the mother of it."

in the Deccan? We hear Lena Singh is that way inclining; if so, we may confidently reckon that whatever are his politics, he does not pray for Heera Singh.

If Runjeet Singh's conduct was contradictory, how much more so was that of his great minister Dhyan Singh! Cautious and wily as a serpent in some matters; open and fearless in others; he seems not to have known personal fear; and to have been strongly regardless of his own safety, while he was playing with the lives of those around him. As ruthless as his brother Golab Singh, he was not so openly cruel; his schemes of ambition are given at some length by Bellasis, (in chapters 13th and 14th) and so far have been fulfilled much as he predicted; but his question, as to which of his family is to reap the fruits of his toils, is yet unanswered. We are inclined to say, it is Golab Singh, unless a chance bullet or knife end his career; and many must be aimed against him.

Rajah Golab Singh has less of the aristocrat in his appearance than either of his brothers, Rajah Dhyan Singh or Suchet Singh. As the eldest, he assumed no superiority; on the contrary, he always yielded to Dhyan Singh, saying with truth, that he owed his position to him; and willingly bowing to his deep foresight. Dhyan Singh was the civilian—Suchet Singh the soldier, of the family; while Golab Singh combined a portion of the talents of both—some of the political acumen of the former, and of the soldierly bearing of the latter. He is a better commander than Suchet Singh, though not possessing his dash, or perhaps we might more properly say, his rashness; for, when occasion offers he is bold enough. Witness his defence of the Sumun Boorj, his acts against the Seikhs in Kashmir, and his visit to Lahor to support Heera Singh.

Accustomed to Hill warfare, Golab Singh has learnt the necessity of taking step by step. He professes always to secure his footing as he advances, and never to put out his left leg until the right one is firmly planted. He made one mistake, and dearly paid for it; but the misfortune of Zoraweer Singh may be partly attributed to the personal ambition of that Chief, who possibly thought to do with his master, as the latter had done with Runjeet Singh.

When Rajah Golab Singh goes on any expedition, unlike Asiatic Napoleons, he lays in his supplies; and, as far as is safe, sends them on, stage by stage, throwing up temporary defences for them, and at each halting place, puts a party of Irregulars in charge—men of his conquered districts, but whose families are in his power. Thus he moves, comfortably, and at little expence; the profit being all his own, as his troops are chiefly paid in kind,

gram, clothing, ghee, &c., with a very trifling money allowance at the end of the year. The terror he inspires and the able management he displays restrain his subjects and soldiers. By mixing up different classes of the latter, he keeps a check upon all; but he mostly relies on his exterminating punishments, extending to the families of rebels and mutineers. He once said to an European officer, who recommended the punishment of some Seikh mutineers; "Be patient, sahib; there is a time 'to use *dilasa* (leniency, favor) and a time for *sukhtee*, (strictness, 'severity;) I once cut off noses and ears for a mutiny that had 'occurred two years before."

Golab Singh is rather corpulent. His features are good and the expression of his countenance is mild. No man can better dilate on mercy and charity; but woe to the wretch, who excites his anger! He dresses simply; but is always well attended, and is much more careful of himself than was Dhyan Singh. He constantly wears a double-barrelled pistol in his belt, and keenly eyes the stranger admitted to his presence. Such is Rajah Golab Singh, who, if he live ten years more, will be monarch of an extensive Hill Territory, including, in all probability, Kashmir.

On the life of Rajah Heera Singh, though still a boy, the destinies of the Punjab depend, even more than they do on that of his uncle Golab Singh. Bred up in vice and luxury, and having, from his earliest childhood, been exalted above Runjeet Singh's own son, it is surprising that any good is left in him. But history gives us examples of effeminacy not always unallied to courage and good conduct. Tacitus heaps obloquy on Otho and others; but, like other ancient historians, not only invents the speeches he puts into Otho's mouth, but falsely accuses him of many crimes, of which he was not guilty. Otho was a brave, an eloquent, and, in many respects, an able man. Cæsar was vicious, and Augustus is stated by Suetonius to have risen by the same vile means as Heera Singh. We may, therefore, bring ourselves to believe that Heera Singh has shewn courage and ability, in thus long keeping the state together. His family hated by the Seikhs, with one of his own uncles opposed to him, he in a manner manages the lawless ruffians who have five times sold the Empire within as many years. The system cannot surely last. The treasury will be emptied, and in mere wantonness another puppet will be raised. The Provinces too, now with difficulty held together, will fall off; the troops will mutiny; and Heera Singh will be cut down or fly; or, with his hill troops may again defend the Sumun Boorj; and we may have it a third time taken by storm. All or any of these occurrences are within the

bounds of probability: but we are bold to venture on prophecy at all, seeing how little any man could have calculated one twelve-month ago that Heera Singh would be minister—much less that he should since have so often triumphed. He owes his success, doubtless, to many combined causes; to the almost entire extinction of the Sindhawallas; the absence of Tej Singh and others; and the moderation or fears of Lena Singh Majetia; above all to the presence of his own hill troops, and the after support of Golab Singh. It is astonishing with what a small body-guard a despot may grind down a people, and even rule an army; and it may yet turn out that the Dogra Rajpoots may throw off the mask, and in their own name govern the Punjab. But this we do not calculate on; and before it can be consummated, more than one Seikh leader will arise to lead the Khalsa to the rescue.

While we write, Jemadar Kooshyal Singh, the first and oldest of Runjeet Singh's favourites, has gone to his long account. A native of the Meerut or Saharunpoor district, of low origin, he gained ascendancy over his master by such means as made Nero and Otho intimate; and until gradually Dhyan Singh took his place, he was the second person in the Punjab. Hence the title which he retained of Jemadar or Lieutenant, equivalent to our old title of Lieutenant or Deputy; that is, Runjeet Singh was Captain or Chief, and Kooshyal Singh was his second in command. For several years he monopolized many offices, as the Jumboo family have since done. He was once Governor of Kashmir, and like all its Governors plundered that unhappy country. He was, as a Military Commander as well as a Civil Ruler, considered harsh and tyrannical; and for several years past his life has been in such constant danger, as to excite astonishment that he did not fly the Punjab, especially as it is believed that much of his immense wealth is within the British border. We perceive that he is said to be succeeded by his son Kishen Singh; but we believe he has no surviving son, and that his successor is General or Colonel Bishen Singh, not many years ago a student in the Loodhiana English School.

We are among those who believe that the Ocean, the Indus and the Himalayas will, some day, be our boundaries; but we have no desire to see that day hastened by events over which we have no control—much less to see interference forced upon the Punjab. We have now a good position on the frontier. Let it be still further strengthened with troops and materiel; let our own territories be rendered safe from insult, and the means be at hand of readily redressing any injury that may be offered; and we shall not soon find ourselves tempted to aggression. If we are weak, or thought to be so, we shall

frequently be insulted and alarmed—perhaps even attacked. It has always been so from the beginning of the world, and the system is not now likely to cease, or the lamb and the wolf, in more than metaphor, to lie down together. No, if we would have peace, we must be known to be strong and ready for war, though not too eager for a pretext to embark in it.

To be strong, but placid in our strength, is the condition which we should endeavor to preserve. Restlessness often indicates—or seems to indicate weakness: and nothing is more contagious than excitement. To be prepared is one thing; to be always making preparations another. The former neither rouses the fears nor stimulates the presumption of our neighbours: the latter often operates in both directions, for whilst it betrays uneasiness, it suggests an apprehension that such uneasiness is dangerous. The alarm, which is felt on our side of the Sutlej, is felt, in a still greater degree, on the other; and the preparations, of which we read so much, are nothing more than the growth of that terror, which has naturally been excited in the breasts of the Seikhs, by the frequent reports of an intended British invasion, reports, which gathering strength as they go, find their way rapidly to Lahor. That at a time, when on our side of the river, the question of war or no war is mooted every day, and the annexation of the Punjaub is a favorite subject with our public writers, it can be no matter of astonishment, nor can we impute it to the Seikh ruler as an offence, that seeing the very obvious direction of our thoughts, he should at such a time concentrate his efforts on defensive measures, and prepare to resist the rumored aggression. If such measures furnish a pretext for war, the British have long ago afforded the pretext.

Interference is easy to talk of, but no one knowing the miseries it engenders will advocate its application. The first step taken, and the Rubicon is passed; we cannot halt; we must go on; we must take the country for ourselves; or, a far worse measure, we must perpetuate in the Punjab the tales of the Deccan (Hyderabad), of Mysore, Arcot and Oude.*

* We had purposed to give in this article some account of the Seikh people and their country, including the protected states; but the length to which the present division of our subject has extended, compels us to keep the consideration of these interesting matters for a future article.

ART. VI.—1. *Papers relating to Military Operations in Affghanistan. London*, 1843.

2. *Papers respecting Gwalior. London*, 1844.

3. *Further papers respecting Gwalior*, 1844.

4. *The Calcutta (Government) Gazette*, 1842-43-44.

THE winter of 1841-42 will long, in India, be a memorable winter. Vivid, after the lapse of many years, will be the memory of that most disastrous season—of the throng of feelings and passions, which stirred the great heart of society. Never in the recollection of the oldest had such a series of appalling events filled the breasts of men with horror and dismay. Never had tremulous expectancy stood on tip-toe with such intense eagerness to catch the first sound of each coming rumour, as the sad tidings of disaster after disaster welled in from the north-west. Affghanistan—serene and prosperous Affghanistan—with its popular government and its grateful people, was in arms against its deliverers. Suddenly, the tranquillity of that doomed country, boasted of in Caubul and credited in Calcutta, was found to be a great delusion—a delusion, most fondly cherished, like the phantasm which Menippus Lycius met, "in the habit of a fair gentlewoman," and "found to be a Lamia, a serpent." The truth so long smouldering had blazed forth at last; and from east to west the history of that great delusion was written in characters of blood. It was, alas! but too deplorably manifest, that although a British Army had crossed the Indus, the Affghans were Affghans still—still a nation of fierce Mahomedans, of hardy warriors, of independent mountaineers; still a people, not to be awed into passive submission to intolerable wrong, by the pageantry of a puppet king and a scattering of foreign bayonets.

A dreary season indeed was that winter of 1841-42. There was a weight in the social atmosphere, which could not but depress the spirits of men and induce a season of general mourning. It rarely happens, in such conjunctures as these, that the worst fears of the most desponding are realised; but here the ghastly horrors of the actual picture surpassed all our worst forebodings, all our most vivid imaginings. The dreams, with which we were haunted, were dim beside the dread realities to which we were awakened. There is nothing more fearful in history than that massacre in the Caubul passes—nothing, we may add, more instructive.*

* The reader, who is fond of tracing historical parallels, may advantageously con-

The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, was at the presidency; and even the most strenuous opponents of the policy, which had resulted in so much misery and so much disgrace, could not but feel for the statesman, whose error had been so severely visited. The blow was, indeed, a heavy one. Lord Auckland was about to return to England. The usual period of a Governor-General's tenure of office had expired; and his Lordship was awaiting the arrival of his successor. He had hoped to embark for England, a happy man and a successful ruler. He had, as he thought, conquered and tranquillised Affghanistan. For the former exploit he had been created an earl; and the latter achievement would have entitled him to the honor. It is true he had drained the treasury; but he believed that he was about to hand over no embryo war to his successor, and, therefore, that the treasury would soon replenish itself. The prospect was sufficiently cheering, and he was eager to depart; but the old year wore to its close and still found Lord Auckland amongst us—found him the most luckless of rulers and the most miserable of men.

The first sad tidings of that perilous Caubul insurrection reached Calcutta at the close of November. The following month was one of painful anxiety—of boding fear—of embarrassing uncertainty. Official information there was none; and the private accounts of events at Caubul, necessarily brief and hurried as they were, excited the worst apprehensions without dispelling much of the public ignorance. Government was helpless, in this conjuncture—compelled to look idly on. The Caubul force, cut off from all support, could by no possibility be rescued. The utmost vigour and determination—the highest wisdom and sagacity—could avail nothing at such a time. The scales had fallen from the eyes of the Governor-General only to show him the utter hopelessness of the case. In this terrible emergency, he seems to have perceived, for the first time, the madness of posting a detached force, in an enemy's country, hundreds of miles from our own frontier. The truth was a humiliating truth—but he looked it boldly in the face. He attempted no disguise—no evasion. He endeavored not to conceal the magnitude of one error by preparing to commit another; but at once acknowledged the inherent vice of the original policy and the propriety of abandoning it.

sult Chapters xxxviii. and xxxix. of the *Bellum Jugurthinum*. The following passage is highly descriptive of the emotion produced in Calcutta by the disaster alluded to in the text—"Sed ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt. motus atque mœror civitatem invasere; pars dolere pro gloriâ imperii; pars, insolita rerum bellicarum, timere libertati; Aulo omnes infesti, et maxime qui bello sœpe preclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu salutem quœsiverit."

In that month of December, 1841, arrived the intelligence of the appointment of Lord Auckland's successor. The question of succession to the Government of India is ever, in this country, a most interesting one—ever a question, which leads to much speculation and debate. On this occasion, it had been canvassed with more than common eagerness, and its solution looked forward to with something more than common interest. When the looked-for news came at last, it took the majority by surprise. The probability of the appointment of Lord Ellenborough, who held the office of President of the Board of Controul, had scarcely been entertained. Sir James Graham, Lord Heytesbury, Lord Lichfield—nay, even Lord Lyndhurst had been named; but speculation had not busied itself with the name of Lord Ellenborough.

But the intelligence, though unexpected, was not unwelcome. It was, indeed, received with universal satisfaction. The Press, with one accord, spoke of the appointment with approbation; and the public confirmed the verdict of the Press. All parties were alike sanguine—all prepared to look for good in the new Governor-General. There is not a community on the face of the earth less influenced by the spirit of Faction, than the community of British India. To support, or to oppose the measures of a Governor, simply because he is a Whig or a Tory, is an excess of active prejudice wholly unknown in India. There are no political parties, and there is no party Press, to play out such a game as this. Public men are judged, not by what they belong to, but by what belongs to them—and thus was Lord Ellenborough judged. Whig and Tory alike hailed the appointment; for the new Governor-General was held in some degree of estimation as one who had made India his study, and cherished a laudable interest in its welfare. He was believed to be possessed of more than average talent; assiduous in his attention to business; and rather an able man of detail than a statesman of very brilliant promise. They, who thought most about the matter, anticipated that he would make a good, steady, peace-governor; that he would apply himself devotedly to the task of improving the internal administration of the country; and by a steady and consistent course of policy soon disengage the country from the pressure of financial embarrassments. They knew little and cared less about the personal eccentricities imputed to his lordship at home; whether he was a fop in his dress; a *petit maître* in his manners; or a woman in the tender culture of his hair. He might have been all this and much more; nay, it was impossible that something of this not very flattering picture should not have been stamped on the minds of the Indian

public: but the impression was a faint one, and there was no inclination to strengthen it. Neither the Press nor the Public concerned itself about these manifestations of the outer man. They thought of the newly appointed Governor-General as an able and laborious man of business, with a more than common knowledge of the history of India and the details of its administration; they knew that not only had his occupancy, for many years, of the chief seat of the India Board, rendered him familiar with the workings of the Indian Government; but that on every occasion, when Indian affairs had been discussed in the House of Lords, in power or out of power, he had taken a prominent part in the debates. In 1833, when the provisions of the existing Charter were under the consideration of Parliament, he had distinguished himself as one of the ablest, but most moderate opponents of certain of its clauses, contending in favor of the diminution of the powers of Indian Governors by the imposition of the wholesome control of Council: and earnestly protesting against the perilous evil of leaving too much to the unbridled passions or the erratic caprice of a single man. In later days, he had denounced the war in Affghanistan, in fitting terms of severe censure; and all things combined to render us hopeful of a good, steady, peaceful administration. Conservative exchanged congratulations with Liberal on the cheering prospects, now opening out before them, of many years of peaceful government and financial prosperity. Lord Ellenborough was believed to be a moderate statesman—somewhat too liberal for the Tories of the ministerial camp, but not for the modified conservatism of India, where every man is more or less a Reformer—and as a moderate statesman all men were prepared to welcome him.

In October 1841, he was elected to fill the office of Governor-General; and on the 4th of the following month, he attended the usual complimentary dinner, given on such occasions, by the Court of Directors. The report of that dinner, which reached India simultaneously with the intelligence of Lord Ellenborough's appointment, had a natural tendency to increase the confidence, engendered by his lordship's previous history, in the judgment and moderation of the new Governor-General. On returning thanks, after his health had been drunk, Lord Ellenborough, at that farewell dinner, on the 4th of November 1841, made a most emphatic declaration of his intentions to govern India upon peace principles; he abjured all thoughts of warlike, aggressive policy; and declared his settled determination, on assuming the reins of government to direct all the energies of his mind, towards the due cultivation of the arts of peace; to emulate the magnificent benevolence of the Mahomedan conquerors;

to elevate and improve the condition of the generous and mighty people of India. He spoke, it is true, in ignorance of the terrible disasters, which soon afterwards cast a pall over the land; but there was in the speech, so clear and explicit an exposition of what were supposed to be fixed principles, that we could not but rejoice over a declaration which promised so much eventual benefit to the people of the soil. We looked forward to the advent of the new Governor-General, as to that of a man, who at the earliest possible moment, consistent with the dignity of our position, would sever at a blow our ill-fated connexion with Affghanistan, and devote the remaining years of his administration to the practical development of those high principles, which he had so enthusiastically professed.

On the 7th of November, Lord Ellenborough embarked for India, on board H. M. S. *Cambrian,* commanded by Capt. Chads. After a voyage of the average duration, he reached Madras on the 21st of February. As the vessel entered the roads, the semaphore conveyed the first tidings of disastrous news to the new Governor-General. It is said that when the nature of the calamity that had befallen the British Government was explained, by a subsequent telegraphic communication, Lord Ellenborough observed, that bad as the news unquestionably was, the explanation was a relief to him, as he had expected something still worse. The something worse was a mutiny of the army—an event that was reserved to overshadow the closing scenes of his administration. The anecdote wants the stamp of undoubted authenticity—so we record it not as a grave historical fact.

The *Cambrian* remained but a few hours at Madras, and on the afternoon of the 28th of February, Lord Ellenborough having quitted the vessel and availed himself of the services of the *Dwarkanauth* Steamer, arrived off Calcutta, where he was met at Chandpaul Ghaut, by the usual deputation. It is worthy of observation that at the very hour of the afternoon, when the new Governor-General first set his foot on the shores of India, the Town-Hall of Calcutta—our wonted place of public gathering—was thronged with people anxious to express their admiration of the ruler whose tenure of office was then brought to a close. The batteries of Fort William roared forth their welcome to Lord Ellenborough, and drowned the voices of the speakers, who were engaged in eulogising Lord Auckland. Before sun-set the new Governor-General had formally assumed the government of the Indian empire.

He began his work with characteristic energy and activity—qualities of which, though many have deplored their misdirec-

tion, his worst enemies have not denied his possession; and it soon became apparent that the new Governor-General was determined, whether for good or for evil, to prove that he was a working statesman. The affairs of Affghanistan necessarily demanded his first attention; but whilst ordering these, he was engaged on other less important duties—visiting transports; improving his band and his body-guard; and designing new harness for his horses.

Upon the first receipt of the disastrous intelligence from Affghanistan, Lord Auckland resolved, that "if the position of command and influence, which we had held at the capital of Affghanistan, should once be absolutely and entirely lost," he "would make no more sacrifices of the very serious and extensive nature which could alone be effectual, except under positive instructions from England, for the re-establishment of our supremacy in the country." He had, therefore, confined his measures to the "rescue of our detachments, wherever they might be encompassed with danger; and with this object, he issued instructions for the assembling of a strong force at Peshawur, to open the communications with Jullalabad, and if necessary to operate upon Cabul. At the same time, instructions were sent to General Nott at Candahar, to shape his measures so as "best to promote the end of our eventual relinquishment of our direct control in the several Affghan provinces." Towards the close of November, three Native Infantry Regiments crossed the Sutlej, without Cavalry and without guns—the 64th N. I., which has since earned for itself an unenviable reputation, having been the first to move forward to the relief. The 60th and 53d and 30th followed. This Brigade, known in the history of the Affghan war, as Wild's Brigade, was in the first instance, deemed sufficient for the work on hand.* "We do not now," wrote the Governor-General in Council, on the 3d of December, "desire to send a second brigade in advance, for we do not conceive it to be called for, for the objects of support and assistance which we contemplate; and we think it inexpedient to detach any greater number of troops than may be absolutely necessary from our own provinces." A second and stronger brigade was, however, held in readiness; and Government, whilst expressing its doubts of the necessity of moving forward so strong a force, left it to the

* The Commander-in-Chief "endeavoured to instil energy into" the Brigadier; —but it did not occur to him, that it would have been better to have selected a commanding officer into whom nature had instilled that very essential attribute. We have heard that General (now Sir Harry) Smith volunteered to lead the advanced brigade and to be at Jullalabad in a month. Had he been despatched with one European Regiment, three Sepoy Corps and a troop of Horse-Artillery, we suspect that Jullalabad would have been relieved in February, instead of April.

Commander-in-chief and Mr. George Clerk, who were on the frontier, to determine according to the exigencies of the case. Mr. George Clerk appears to have had a better notion of equipping a brigade than the Commander-in-chief. He had, too, a stronger desire to push on more troops; but he very properly yielded his own opinions to those of the highest military authority in the country. However, the 9th Foot and 26th N. I., with three guns and the 10th Light Cavalry were ordered forward "with extreme reluctance," at the end of December. To command the entire force, which was to be subsequently divided into two Brigades, Major General Pollock, of the Artillery, then commandant of Agra, was selected by the Commander-in-Chief *; and Capt. (Sir Richmond) Shakspere appointed by Government to act as his secretary. It had been wisely determined to vest the military commanders with supreme political authority—a measure, resulting from no distrust in the wisdom of the political officers, but from a strong sense of the expediency of leaving the military commanders unembarrassed to their own discretion.

On the receipt of the melancholy intelligence of the murder of Sir William McNaghten, instructions were sent to the Commander-in-chief to prepare for service a third brigade; and when, soon afterwards, (on the 30th January) the terrific news of the annihilation of the whole Cabul force reached Government, it was determined to be "absolutely necessary to the maintenance of our integrity, that a commanding force of all arms should be concentrated at or near Peshawur." Still Lord Auckland seemed inclined to hesitate relative to the despatch of the third Brigade, and on the 10th of February conditional orders were sent to the Commander-in-chief to move it forward. On the 15th more positive instructions were sent. The conditional orders were, however, acted upon; indeed the Commander-in-chief, availing himself of the discretion vested in him, had previously determined to push on a strong reinforcement; and accordingly, the 3d Dragoons, Her Majesty's 31st Foot, the 1st Light Cavalry, the 6th and 33d Native Infantry, a troop of Horse Artillery, (a second being subsequently pushed on) three light field battery guns, with some details of irregular Cavalry, were ordered forward to the relief of General Pollock.

Such were the arrangements entered into, during the Government of Lord Auckland, for the second Affghanistan campaign.

* The first selection made by the Supreme Government, had fallen on Major General (now Sir James) Lumley, the Adjutant General of the Army; but the state of that distinguished officer's health would not allow him to accept the honor. His medical adviser peremptorily forbade him to proceed upon active service.

It is necessary to be borne in mind, that all these arrangements were matured with the one single object of rescuing the perilously situated detachments in Affghanistan. We read nothing in any of the state papers, which have yet been presented to the world, of the expediency of inflicting chastisement upon the Affghans, as a just retribution for their offences; nor of the paramount necessity of re-asserting the invincibility of British arms. Lord Auckland, who was by this time fully alive to the injustice done to the people of India by squandering the revenues of the country on foreign wars, could not but see, by the light of that clear benevolence which characterised all his measures, when left to his own unimpeded judgment, that the necessity of entering into a new war, without distinctly seeing our way out of it, was a still greater calamity than that of the destruction of a British Army; and therefore he asked himself, with fearless candour, whether any such necessity existed. The answer which he gave back to these honest self-questionings was an answer sincerely rendered in the negative; and he wisely shrunk from the responsibility of incurring an immense positive evil, with the prospect of a remote problematical good. He determined to do no more than to order operations, having for their end the withdrawal of our beleaguered garrisons, and a demonstration of force on the Peshawur frontier. The language of the Governor-General in Council, on these points, is clear and explicit; and, knowing as we do how many statesmen would have persevered at all hazard in the original line of policy, rather than acknowledge failure by abandoning it, we consider the decision arrived at, in a high degree, honorable to his Lordship. We write this, in the full appreciation of the moral courage which it required, so entirely to abandon a policy which had been matured in his own Cabinet. It has been said that Lord Auckland in this conjuncture, exhibited a want of nerve; that the course which he adopted was a pusillanimous one; that his first thought should have been to re-establish our military supremacy in Affghanistan. Doubtless, the national honor required some lustration; and there are experienced politicians who believe that, had we not wiped out the disgrace of our defeat by subsequent triumphs in Affghanistan, other states would have risen up against us. The policy, therefore, may not have been sound—though a second strangling failure would have been far more disastrous than inactivity under suffering—but we do assert, that it demanded a far higher order of courage thus to abandon a scheme of his own fostering, than to persevere in it at all risks. Most statesmen would have been eager, on *their own accounts*, to set the balance right again. Not so Lord Auckland. "Since

'we have heard of the misfortunes in the Khybur Pass," he wrote in his last letter to the Secret Committee (February 19, 1842), "and have been convinced that from the difficulties at 'present opposed to us and in the actual state of our preparations, 'we could not expect, at least in this year, to maintain a position 'in the Jullalabad districts for any effective purpose, we have 'made our directions in regard to withdrawal from Jullalabad 'clear and positive, and we shall rejoice to learn that Major 'General Pollock will have anticipated these more express 'orders by confining his efforts to the same objects." The design was to relieve the Jullalabad garrison, to afford succour to such stragglers as might come in from Caubul; then to withdraw the entire force from Peshawur; and to wait instructions from home.*

In this state, Lord Ellenborough found public affairs, on assuming the government of the country at the end of February, 1842. What Lord Auckland had commenced, he carried out. The machinery of government for some time appears to have moved regularly, in its accustomed course, and though we see the name of Ellenborough, where erst was the name of Auckland, at the head of the Council-list, there is no very great difference perceptible in the line of policy inculcated or the instructions sent forth to the executive. The extent of the calamity which had befallen us, is stated in somewhat stronger language than before, and perhaps the sagacious reader will detect in sundry passages a little censure in disguise. Indeed, in one of the very first documents to which Lord Ellenborough's name is attached—a letter, and a very masterly one, addressed to the Commander-in-chief, on the 15th of March—we see the germs of that famous Simlah proclamation, of October 1842, which we shall come to notice anon. In this paper too we find the first rough, but very faithful, sketch of the course, which was subsequently adopted. The outline given was rather the outline of what it appeared desirable to do, than of what appeared practicable under the then existing circumstances; but we consider it of great importance to a just estimation of Lord Ellenborough's policy in respect of the temporary occupation of Affghanistan, that this document should be pondered upon, without prejudice or passion.† In this letter

* In the very last public document of any importance, relative to the military operations in Affghanistan, to which Lord Auckland was a party, he distinctly repeated these instructions to General Pollock, and urged upon that able and judicious officer the necessity of preserving a cautious silence.

† The letter of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 22d of March, corroborates our views of the conditional character of these instructions of the pre-

may be seen a comprehensive view of the whole case, as it then stood, and an exposition of the principles, by which the Governor-General professed to be guided. We are inclined to think that there are not many of our Indian readers, who will refuse to yield their cordial approbation to the sentiments contained in the annexed paragraphs:—

"Whatever course we may hereafter take, must rest solely upon military considerations, and have, in the first instance, regard to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops at Jullalabad, at Ghuzni, at Kelat-i-Ghilzye, and Candahar, to the security of our troops now in the field from all unnecessary risk, and, finally, to the re-establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Affghans, which may make it appear to them, to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities, and violate their faith, and that we withdraw ultimately from Affghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the King we have set up, has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed.

In war, reputation is strength; but reputation is lost by the rash exposure of the most gallant troops under circumstances which render defeat more probable than victory; and a succession of reverses will dishearten any soldiers, and most of all, those whose courage and devotion have been mainly the result of their confidence that they were always led to certain success. We would, therefore, strongly impress upon the commanders of the forces employed in Affgffanistan and Sinde the importance of incurring no unnecessary risk, and of bringing their troops into action under circumstances, which may afford full scope to the superiority they derive from their discipline. At the same time, we are aware that no great object can be accomplished without incurring some risk; and we should consider that the object of striking a decisive blow at the Affghans, more especially if such blow could be struck in combination with measures for the relief of Ghuzni,—a blow which might re-establish our military character beyond the Indus, and leave a deep impression of our power, and of the vigor with which it would be applied to punish an atrocious enemy,—would be one for which risk might be justifiably incurred, all due and possible precaution being taken to diminish such necessary risk, and to secure decisive success.

The Commanders of the Forces in Upper and Lower Affghanistan will, in all the operations they may design, bear in mind these general views and opinions of the Government of India. They will, in the first instance, endeavour to relieve all the garrisons in Affghanistan, which are now surrounded by the enemy. The relief of these garrisons is a point deeply affecting the military character of the army, and deeply interesting the feelings of their country; but to make a rash attempt to effect such relief, in any case, without a reasonable prospect of success, would be to afford no real aid to the

ceding week. Referring to this document, he says, "It contains our deliberate sentiments on the present position of affairs in that country, and the course we should pursue towards the retrieval of our late military disgrace and the final withdrawal of our armies from Affghanistan. It points out the *conditions on which we can sanction the continuance*, during the coming season, of Major-General Pollock *in the valley of Jullalabad* after he shall have penetrated the Khyber,—but there is nothing on the subject of an advance upon Cabul. All the Governor-General's subsequent letters to the Secret Committee tell the same unvarying story of his intention to withdraw the troops—even up to the very time, when the armies had begun to *retire* by the way of Caubul.

brave men who are surrounded, and fruitlessly to sacrifice other good soldiers whose preservation is equally dear to the Government they serve. To effect the release of the prisoners taken at Cabool, is an object likewise deeply interesting in point of feeling and of honor. That object can, probably, only be accomplished by taking hostages from such part of the country as may be in, or may come into our possession; and, with reference to this object, and to that of the relief of Ghuznee, it may possibly become a question, in the event of Major General Pollock's effecting a junction with Sir Robert Sale, whether the united force shall return to the country below the Khyber Pass, or take a forward position near Jullalabad, or even advance to Cabool.

We are fully sensible of the advantages which would be derived from the re-occupation of Cabool, the scene of our great disaster and of so much crime, even for a week, of the means which it might afford of recovering the prisoners, of the gratification which it would give to the army, and of the effect which it would have upon our enemies. Our withdrawal might then be made to rest upon an official declaration of the grounds upon which we retired, as solemn as that which accompanied our advance; and we should retire as a conquering, not as a defeated, Power; but we cannot sanction the occupation of an advanced position beyond the Khyber Pass by Major-Genl. Pollock, unless that General should be satisfied that he can,—without depending upon the forbearance of the tribes near the pass, which, obtained only by purchase, must, under all circumstances, be precarious, and without depending upon the fidelity of the Seikh chiefs, or upon the power of those chiefs to restrain their troops, upon neither of which can any reliance be safely placed,—feel assured that he can, by his own strength, overawe and overcome all who dispute the pass, and keep up at all times his communication with Peshawur and the Indus; and we would caution Major-General Pollock and all the officers commanding the troops in the field, not to place reliance upon, or to be biassed by, the representations of native chiefs who may have been expelled from their country, in consequence of their adherence to us, and who will naturally be ready to lead us into any danger by operations which may have the possible effect of restoring them to their former possession."

To will is one thing—to do, another. In this letter the Governor-General writes doubtfully of his ability to pursue the course, which abstractedly seemed most desirable. He felt that he was shackled by antagonist circumstances—and yet, at that early period, the shackles were comparatively light. As time advanced, difficulty after difficulty unfolded itself; and desiring as we do, in all sincerity, that every act of Lord Ellenborough's administration should be impartially considered, we would impress upon our readers the necessity of fairly weighing all these difficulties—

> We lookers on
> Prate idly; shake our heads; and say that we
> Would not have acted in this sort or that—

And nothing is more common than the contempt of difficulties, which are scarcely seen and not at all understood. Ignorance is for the most part bold and precipitate; whilst knowledge, suggesting doubts and foreseeing dangers, moves on with slow and cautious step. Lord Ellenborough, it has often

been said, hesitated and vacillated—never seemed to have made up his mind as to the course which it was best to pursue. We have no doubt that there were fluctuations in Lord Ellenborough's opinions; but we feel equally certain that there were fluctuations in the state of affairs; and none but a madman would ever think of following one undeviating course, without regard to favorable or to adverse circumstances—to the smiles or to the frowns of Fortune. The policy, which under one combination of circumstances, it would be wisdom, under another, it would be folly to adopt—a common-place so trite that we should be ashamed of writing it down, if it were not that Lord Ellenborough has been often reprehended for not proceeding right onwards, whatever of danger or difficulty might have stared him in the face. Lord Auckland knew—Lord Ellenborough knew, that great as would be the advantage of success, at such a crisis as that which we had reached in the spring of 1842, it was altogether disproportionate to the evil, which must inevitably have resulted from a second failure. It was not a season at which it was prudent to incur any great hazard. We might better have afforded to go without our reparations and retributions, than to rush into a second failure; and we must admit, that considering the immense evil of a renewed discomfiture, the Governor-General could scarcely have trodden too warily in such a conjuncture. A desperate gambler may play at double or quits—but not a wise statesman. Now, Lord Ellenborough never from the first doubted the course, which it was best to pursue. The veriest dolt must have perceived that having lost one game, it was highly expedient to win the next. But it was not equally easy to comprehend *how* the next was to be won. To lose a second game would have been ruinous—so the Governor-General hesitated before he laid down his stakes again. For a while, there seemed but little prospect of success—carriage was not to be obtained; the native troops, it was officially reported, were not to be relied upon; sickness had broken out amongst them; desertions were frequent; and provisions soon became perilously scarce. Were not these circumstances sufficient to cause the firmest—the most stout-hearted to hesitate?

On the 6th of April Lord Ellenborough turned his back upon Calcutta; and a day or two afterwards proceeded by dawk from Barrackpore to Allahabad. Halting at Benares, he addressed the Secret Committee on the 21st. He then spoke doubtfully of the advance of the troops beyond Jullalabad, and described the state of the four regiments, which had been the first to cross the Attock (Wild's unfortunate brigade) "as dispirited from their recent failure before Ali Musjid, enfeebled by an epidemic which

had thrown a large portion of the force into hospital, and looking forward to another advance into the Khybur with horror." Ghuzni had fallen; General England had been repulsed at Hykulzie—but the garrison of Jullalabad had held out nobly, and performed that great achievement of the 7th of April, the mention of which still stirs the heart with national pride. At this time it was the Governor-General's "deliberate 'opinion, that it was expedient to withdraw the troops under 'Major General Pollock, and those under Major General Nott, 'at the earliest practicable period, into positions wherein they 'may have certain and easy communication with India." "That opinion," repeated the Governor-General in a letter to the Secret Committee, dated April 22, "is found (founded) 'upon a general view of our military, political, and financial 'situation, and is not liable to be lightly changed." Instructions had, a day or two before, been sent to General Nott, to evacuate Candahar and retire upon Quetta; while General Pollock had been instructed, after relieving Jullalabad, to fall back upon Peshawur, as soon as it was expedient, regard being had, before all things, to the health and efficiency of his troops.

On the 17th of May, Lord Ellenborough again addressed the Secret Committee from Allahabad. General Pollock had, a month before, after a triumphant march through the difficult defiles of the Khybur, relieved the Garrison of Jullalabad. The original instructions to fall back upon Peshawur had been repeated still more emphatically. Carriage was scarce; provisions were scarce; the swollen force could be provided with neither—but still the Governor-General, though protesting against an advance upon Caubul, anticipated the probability of such an advance having actually taken place. There was something inconsistent and irreconcileable in this. The Governor-General expresses a decided opinion on the inexpediency of an advance, and reposes unlimited confidence in General Pollock's judgment; and yet he thinks it not improbable that the General will have committed the very act, which his Lordship deprecates.* General Pollock, however, had "maturely considered the question of an advance" by the Eastern route to Cabul; and confessed that he "saw too many difficulties to warrant our risking such a course."† The great stumbling block was the want of carriage. The greater number of the camels had been engaged to proceed on to Jullalabad, and it was difficult to persuade any camel-drivers to proceed further into Affghanistan. General Pollock

* See letters 272,285, papers relative to Military Operations.

† Papers relating to Military Operations, &c., No. 302—letter dated *Jullalabad, April* 20.

saw that the force could not move without carriage—Lord Ellenborough saw that the force could not move without carriage. Indeed it could move neither one way nor the other, and was, therefore, necessitated to halt. "Major General Pollock and his gallant forces," wrote the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, on June 8, "are ready and willing to march anywhere, but a want of carriage, cattle, and forage, have compelled him to remain stationary at Jullalabad." But by this time, the Governor-General had discovered, that as the army could not move without carriage, the best thing to be done was to provide carriage with the utmost possible despatch—not to enable General Pollock to move forward, but "with a view to his retirement across the Punjab." The General, however, had by this time represented to Government the advantages, which would accrue from a continued sojourn at Jullalabad*—a portion of the troops being moved forward, ostensibly for the benefit of change of air, and another being employed in destroying forts, villages, &c., in the neighbourhood of Pesh Bolak. This was, however, only temporary occupation; something to fill up the time, until the return to Peshawur became feasible. "I beg to state," writes General Pollock, on the 21st of June, "that had it been in my power to retire on Peshawur, I should not have delayed doing so;" and on the 4th of the following month Mr. Maddock wrote, "*No change has from the first* taken place in the Governor-General's views of the expediency of withdrawing your army at the earliest period." And on the same day, the Governor-General himself wrote, in a similar strain,† to General Nott—a copy of this letter being sent to General Pollock—but added that the improved condition of the Candahar force, since the arrival of General England, induced him "to leave to the

* A previous letter, containing an energetic remonstrance against the withdrawal order had unfortunately miscarried.

† This will probably startle some of our readers, who have heard that Mr. Maddock's letter of the 4th of July, and the Governor-General's of the same date, were directly opposed to each other; but the assertion contained in the letter of the former to General Pollock, that no change had taken place in the Governor-General's views, is contained almost *totidem verbis* in his Lordship's own letter, as will be seen by the annexed passages—

MR. MADDOCK.

"No change has from the first taken place in the Governor-General's views of the expediency of withdrawing your army at the earliest period consistent with the health and efficiency of the troops."

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

"Nothing has occurred to induce me to change my first opinion that the measure commended by considerations of political and military prudence, is to bring back the armies now in Affghanistan at the earliest period at which their retirement can be effected consistently with the health and efficiency of the troops."

The Governor-General, time after time, reiterated that no change had taken place, in his original intentions. Indeed, he appears to have taken the utmost pains—even to the extent of perverting the language by calling an advance a retreat—to escape the charge of inconsistency.

General's *option the line by which* he should withdraw his troops from that country." Here was the first intimation of a discretionary power to advance; and here we see in this same letter the first hankering after the gates of Somnauth. Of the propriety of an advance upon Caubul, or rather retirement by the Caubul route, his lordship writes, and not without wisdom—

"If you determine upon moving upon Ghuznee, Cabool and Jullalabad, you will require, for the transport of provisions, a much larger amount of carriage; and you will be practically without communications, from the time of your leaving Candahar. Dependent entirely upon the courage of your army, and upon your own ability in directing it, I should not have any doubt as to the success of the operation; but whether you will be able to obtain provisions for your troops, during the whole march, and forage for your animals, may be a matter of reasonable doubt. Yet upon this your success will turn.

You must remember that it was not the superior courage of the Affghans, but want, and the inclemency of the season, which led to the destruction of the army at Cabool; and you must feel as I do, that the loss of another army, from whatever cause it might arise, might be fatal to our Government in India.

I do not undervalue the aid which our Government in India would receive from the successful execution by your army of a march through Ghuznee and Cabool, over the scenes of our late disasters. I know all the effect which it would have upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, and of our countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, which no one more than myself would rejoice to see effected; but I see that failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin; and I would endeavour to inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be obtained by success, the risk is great also."

And again of the Somnauth gates, doomed to become a source of plentiful amusement; and Mahmood's mace, which was not to be found—

"You will recollect that what you will have to make is a successful march; that that march must not be delayed by any hazardous operations against Ghuznee or Cabool; that you should carefully calculate the time required to enable you to reach Jullalabad in the first week in October, so as to form the rear-guard of Major-General Pollock's army. If you should be enabled by a *coup-de-main* to get possession of Ghuznee and Cabool, you will act as you see fit, and leave decisive proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity. You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee, his club, which hangs over it; and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the Temple of Somnaut. These will be the just trophies of your successful march."

On the 10th of July, the Governor-General again wrote to General Nott, leaving "the line of retirement" to the General's "own decision;" and on the 23rd he wrote to General Pollock, ordering him to adopt such measures as military considerations would suggest—to exert his force vigorously, "giving every proof of British power, which is not inconsistent with the usages of war, and the dictates of British humanity.—The advance was

now fully determined on—but the Governor-General still called it a *retirement*; and on the 16th of August he wrote to the Secret Committee, that he adhered absolutely to his original intentions—

"You will perceive, from the persual of these letters, that I adhere absolutely to my original intention of withdrawing the whole army from Affghanistan: and that I have, in the most emphatic manner, repeated the order before given for that withdrawal.

Some risk I deem it justifiable to incur for the recovery of the guns and of the prisoners, and with the view of exhibiting the triumphant march of a British army over the ground, on which it once suffered defeat; but I consider the preservation of the army in Affghanistan essential to the preservation of our empire in India; and, however the world might forgive or applaud me, I should never forgive myself, if I exposed that army to any material and serious danger, for the possible accomplishment of any object now to be obtained in Affghanistan.

My hope and expectations are that, without incurring such danger, I shall effect, through the instructions I have given, *every object now desired by the people of England.*"

It is difficult to conceive any valid reason for the Governor-General's extraordinary resolution not to admit that he had sanctioned the *advance* of the two armies upon Caubul. Both the Candahar and Jullalabad divisions of the British force were prepared to move forward; carriage had been obtained; provisions were abundant; the troops were eager for the advance; the Generals had protested against the withdrawal, *re infectâ*, of the army, and represented their full ability to accomplish every desirable object by a movement upon the capital; "the people of England," it would appear, desired a forward movement; and the Governor-General had consented that both divisions of the army should march upon Caubul—but he would not sanction an *advance*. Up to the very time when the troops moved forward "in excellent spirit at the prospect of advancing," Lord Ellenborough persisted in declaring that he had done nothing but order their withdrawal. We wish that we could attribute this aversion to the word *advance* to some more respectable feeling than a dread of incurring the responsibility of failure. It is so wholly unaccountable that any British statesman should persist in giving the least creditable coloring to a series of events undertaken for the re-establishment of the military reputation of his country, that the suspicion will force itself upon the mind, in spite of every effort to suppress the uncharitable thought, that by giving this official character to the undertaking, he, in a great measure, absolved himself from responsibility, in the event of failure attending the advance. It is impossible to deny that in this there would have been a want of manliness—a want of moral courage—a want of generosity,—qualities in which we are bound to say Lord Ellenborough

was not often found wanting. Fortunately for the country, Generals Pollock and Nott were satisfied with the *permission* to move—no matter under what name—upon Caubul; and still more fortunate for them that their daring was rewarded with triumphant success.

The two armies, under the emphatic withdrawal-orders, thus described in the letter of the 16th of August, advanced upon Caubul. In a sketch of Lord Ellenborough's administration, it would be out of place to dwell upon the brilliant successes of the two Generals—successes which, under Providence, whose great mercies were signally displayed, the country owes to them and the troops under their command. These glorious events were in Lord Ellenborough's administration, but not of it. Humanly speaking they belong to the British Indian Army—they belong to General Pollock and General Nott—but they do not belong to Lord Ellenborough.

On the 16th of September, the British Ensign was planted by General Pollock on the Balla Hissar of Caubul—and on the 1st October, Lord Ellenborough dated from Simlah a proclamation, declaring the successful achievement of the objects of the campaign—denouncing the folly of his predecessor in first marching an army across the Indus, and, according to some interpretations, the blindness and ignorance of the deceased Envoy—declaring that the British Government would, for the future, rest contended with the limits Nature had assigned to its empire—ordering the ultimate withdrawal of all the troops from Affghanistan, and leaving the Affghans to enjoy the anarchy engendered by their crimes.*

* We subjoin the Proclamation, in its own identical words:—

PROCLAMATION.

Secret Department, Simla, the 1st October, 1842.

"The Government of India directed its army to pass the Indus in order to expel from Affghanistan a Chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a Sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects.

"The Chief believed to be hostile became a prisoner, and the Sovereign represented to be popular was replaced upon his throne: but, after events, which brought into question his fidelity to the Government by which he was restored, he lost by the hands of an assassin the throne he had only held amidst insurrections, and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy.

"Disasters unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and by the treachery by which they were completed, have, in one short campaign, been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the cities and citadels of Ghuzni and Cabool, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms.

"The British army in possession of Affghanistan will now be withdrawn to the Sutlej.

"The Governor-General will leave it to the Affghans themselves to create a Government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes.

"To force a Sovereign upon a reluctant people, would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British Government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burthen of supporting a Sovereign, without the prospect of benefit from his alliance.

"The Governor-General will willingly recognize any Government approved by the Affghans

This was a very remarkable proclamation. There would have been something rather sublime in the candour of it, if the measures denounced had belonged to Lord Ellenborough's own administration; there would have been something admirable in the promises it held out, if those promises had not been broken; but looking back upon it now, and reviewing the history of the few months following that memorable October, it is impossible not to see that the proclamation was distinguished by as little self-knowledge as generosity. It stigmatised the aggressive policy of Lord Auckland, and held out promises of a widely different course. The promise was so cheering, that some saw enough in it to neutralise the many objectionable passages, which the manifesto contained. The only satisfactory portion of the proclamation turned out to be a gross delusion.

The proclamation was dated *Simlah, October* 1, 1842. On that same day of October, four years before, Lord Auckland had issued from the same spot, the famous manifesto, announcing his intention to invade Affghanistan. The coincidence could scarcely have been an accidental one. Indeed there are strong grounds for the belief that the proclamation was not written on that 1st day of October, 1842. It was so dated for effect—We shall not say that the act was a malicious, but we must be permitted to observe, that it was a puerile one. But dates are sometimes sharp-cutting instruments, which may be turned against the unskilful employer of them. Lord Ellenborough dated his proclamation, withdrawing the whole army from Affghanistan, the 1st of October, and it was incontestibly shown

themselves, which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states.

"Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its empire, the Government of India will devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the Sovereigns and Chiefs its allies, and to the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects.

"The rivers of the Punjab and Indus, and the mountainous Passes and the barbarous tribes of Affghanistan will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the West, if indeed such enemy there can be, and no longer between the army and its supplies.

"The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force; in a false military position, at a distance from its own frontier and its resources, will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement of the country and of the people.

"The combined army of England and of India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the Officers by whom it is commanded, to any force which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won, in security and in honor.

"The Governor General cannot fear the misconstruction of his motives in thus frankly announcing to surrounding States, the pacific and conservative policy of his Government.

"Affghanistan and China have seen at once the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied.

"Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole power of the British Government to coerce the State by which it shall be infringed.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India,

T. H. MADDOCK,

Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General."

that at that date, the release of our captive officers and ladies, though actually achieved, was an event unknown at Simlah.

The fate of the unfortunate prisoners had excited from the first among all classes of Europeans in India the intensest interest and the liveliest sympathy. By many the recovery of the captives had been regarded as the main object of the second invasion of Affghanistan. It was natural and it was commendable that the best feelings of humanity should in such a conjuncture have exercised a more potent influence over the judgments of men than considerations of general policy; but it would be unjust to revile the statesman, who took a cooler, but more enlarged view of the question, and hesitated to risk the lives of many, for the salvation of a few. We do not assert that the recovery of the prisoners was not a question of policy, and an important one in itself; but it sunk into insignificance, when weighed against the consideration that a second failure in Affghanistan would have been a death-blow to our empire in the East.* We must not, therefore, view with indignation the conduct of the Governor-General, who regarded the recovery of the prisoners, as a subordinate object; but we should be at a loss to express our astonishment at the conduct of the statesman, who having achieved the greater objects and overcome all risks, were in the hour of victory, to lose sight of the subordinate objects—associated as they were with the earnest longing of a generous community—and issue a proclamation, declaring in effect before all the world that the recovery of the prisoners was a matter of no concern to him at all—that, in fact, the army might be withdrawn leaving the captives to their fate. At an earlier period, it might have been advanced that the chance of recovering the prisoners was not worth the risk of pushing on an ill-equipped army to Caubul—it might have been advanced, that negociations at Jullalabad were better calculated to obtain the release of the captives than hostile operation at Caubul—but the army having advanced; the capital of Affghanistan having been occupied by British troops; the risk, both as regards the army and the prisoners themselves, having been incurred; it is inconceivable that then our work should have been looked upon as accomplished, whilst our prisoners were still in the hands of the Affghan. The haste with which the Governor-General brought out the Simlah proclamation, when the delay of a day or two would have enabled him to announce the recovery of the prisoners, was therefore considered as indecent as his subsequent treatment of

* We do not maintain that it would have been—but Lord Ellenborough was of that opinion—and it assuredly would have been an immense calamity.

those prisoners was ungenerous and unjust. The pleasure of dating the manifesto on the 1st of October must have been, if his Lordship was alive to the truth, but a poor recompense for the almost universal odium which this apparent precipitancy excited.

It must not, however, be too hastily assumed that the abandonment of the prisoners was an event ever contemplated by the Governor-General, after it had been finally resolved to push on the Armies to Caubul. There are repeated indications in his public despatches, that the recovery of the prisoners, though in the eyes of the statesman a secondary object, was an event, to the realisation of which he looked forward with no culpable unconcern. It was at least one of the cherished objects of the campaign, though it held not the highest place; and when he issued the proclamation of October the 1st, he believed that it had been accomplished. The Governor-General, it is true, received intelligence of the recovery of "all the prisoners, except Capt. Bygrave," not before the evening of the 4th of October. But it must never be forgotten that General Pollock, in his letter of the 16th, which the Governor-General had received *before* the 1st, mentioned that some of the prisoners had come in, and that "unless some very unforeseen circumstances occur," he expected "to obtain possession of the whole," Capt. Bygrave excepted, "in the course of eight or ten days,"—and in the notification of Sept. 30, announcing the arrival of the two divisions of the Army at Caubul, and the planting of the British ensign on the Balla Hissar, the Governor-General had announced that the report of General Pollock "led him to expect," that "long before this day all the British prisoners taken by the Affghans, will have been brought into the General's camp." It may be said, therefore, that he issued the manifesto of the 1st of October, in anticipation of an event—or rather the receipt of intelligence of an event—which he believed to be almost inevitable.

But the prisoners were rescued—one and all—and returned unscathed to their friends. Great was the rejoicing throughout all India. The objects of the second war in Affghanistan were believed to be now fully accomplished; and the winter of 1842 opened upon the country, as bright and joyous, as that of the preceding year had been gloomy and sad. The army once more turned its back (for ever, we hope) upon Caubul—not, as of old, in the agony of humiliation, but in the flush of victory and triumph. The Affghan drama was well nigh played out—but the first and noblest victim of our national injustice was still a prisoner in the hands of the British. The Governor General had publicly announced in his proclamation

[redacted] that [redacted] was only "believed to be hostile to British interests," that Shah Soojah was only "represented to be friendly to these interests and popular with his own people;" and that the British Government had now come to the determination to leave the Affghans to form a Government themselves, and to recognise that Government when formed. After these declarations, the retention of Dost Mahomed in captivity would have been confessedly inconsistent and unjust. The Governor-General did as it became him to do. He issued a proclamation, setting forth that when the "British army returning from Affghanistan shall have passed the Indus, all the Affghans now in the power of the British Government shall be permitted to return to their country." This was equally reasonable and just—but the proclamation was not without characteristic disfigurements, for the Governor-General who had set his heart upon a grand pageant at Ferozepore, added a codicil to the effect that the released Affghan princes were to present themselves, before returning to their desolated country, "at the Durbar of the Governor-General in his camp at Ferozepore." The popular feeling against this contemplated outrage was strong and universal. There was not a generous mind in the country which did not feel deeply the wrong that was to be done to these unfortunate princes. The Governor-General, in a better hour, conscious of error, consented to forego the pitiful delight of gracing his triumph with the presence of a dethroned monarch, whose national feelings were not so wholly extinguished by exile as to render his appearance at the Ferozepore festivities anything but a painful and humiliating trial. The order issued in thoughtlessness was revoked in good feeling, and Dost Mahommed returned to Affghanistan without enduring this last crowning injury at the hands of the British Government.

Then came that notable proclamation, which has convulsed all Europe with laughter—the proclamation of the Gates. It has been seen that from the first moment that the Governor-General began seriously to contemplate the retirement of General Nott's army, viâ Cabul, he had fondly set his heart upon the Sandalwood gates of Somnauth. If the Governor-General were thought by many to feel no great sympathy with the unfortunate prisoners, and to be somewhat apathetic regarding their recovery, it could not be denied that he had an intense longing to recover the gates. The gates, according to instructions received from the Governor-General, had been carried off—a cumbrous trophy—by General Nott; and on the 16th of November, Lord Ellenborough issued from Simlah a proclamation, announcing the important fact to the world, ordering an escort to be appointed to deliver the trophy

to Somnauth, and announcing that the annexed letter had been addressed to the Princes and Chiefs and People of India—

From the Governor General to all the Princes and Chiefs and People of India.

"*My brothers and my friends.*—Our victorious army bear the gates of the temple of Somnauth, in triumph from Affghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mamhood looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee.

"The insult of 800 years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus.

"To you, Princes and Chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajawara, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war.

"You will, yourselves, with all honor, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnauth.

"The Chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed, at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship, at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej.

"*My Brothers and my Friends,*- I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British Government. You see how worthy it proves itself of your love, when, regarding your honor as its own, it exerts the power of its arms to restore to you the gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your subjection to the Affghans.

"For myself, identified with you in interest and in feeling, I regard with all your own enthusiasm the high achievements of that heroic army; reflecting alike immortal honor upon my native and upon my adopted country.

"To preserve and to improve the happy union of our two countries, necessary as it is to the welfare of both, is the constant object of my thoughts. Upon that union depends the security of every ally, as well as of every subject of the British Government, from the miseries whereby, in former times, India was afflicted: through that alone has our army now waved its triumphant standards over the ruins of Ghuznee, and planted them upon the Bala Hissar of Cabool.

"May that good Providence, which has hitherto so manifestly protected me, still extend to me its favor, that I may so use the power now intrusted to my hands, as to advance your prosperity, and secure your happiness, by placing the union of our two countries upon foundations which may render it eternal.

ELLENBOROUGH."

We do not say it is a pity that the Governor-General had not a friend or counsellor at his elbow to restrain him from perpetrating this atrocious folly; for had a score of friends and counsellors been at his side, it would equally have been perpetrated. Anything more supremely ridiculous, as it stands in its English dress, has seldom been penned. It may have been less so, to the ear and eye, in its oriental garb; but attire the sentences as you might, the same intrinsic absurdities were patent to the understanding. The Duke of Wellington called it, in apology, a "song of triumph." It may have been a song of triumph, or a song of anything else; but that it was a very silly song is unquestionable. Politically, it was nothing worse. It is true that

the Governor who makes himself a laughing-stock, lowers the dignity of the Government, and so far does political mischief—but the many mighty evils spoken of prophetically as inevitable results of this singular letter to the brothers and friends of the Governor General, we have not yet lived to witness. As a folly, the Somnauth proclamation was one of the first magnitude—but we conceive it to be, politically, nothing worse. It was a folly, of the most senseless kind, for it was calculated to please no one. The brothers and friends addressed were a mixed family of Mahomedans and Hindoos. The pride of the Mahomedans was of course wounded; and to the Hindoos, the offer of the *polluted* gates of Somnauth was little short of an insult. The temple moreover was in ruins, and the sacred ground trodden by Mahomedans. Among Europeans, worldly men scouted the proclamation as a folly, and religious men denounced it as a crime. The gates proceeded no further than Agra; for the project was laughed down, and the Governor-General, we have little doubt, in time awakened to a sense of his own ineptitude. The heat of the weather was found a sufficient pretext for the consignment of the boasted trophy to a lumber-room; and now the Gates of Somnauth exist but as a standing joke, which is beginning to grow weak in the legs.

Quitting Simlah, the Governor-General moved down to the plains of Ferozepore, where the army of Reserve was fast assembling. The assemblage of this force had been originally projected by Lord Auckland, at a time when it was believed that the presence of such an army of observation on our north-western frontier would have a great moral effect upon neighbouring states. It has been said, that when it did assemble, at the commencement of the cold season of 1843, it was intended to answer no other purpose than that of a vast pageant; that the Governor-General had determined on celebrating the return of the victorious armies with all possible pomp; and that he looked forward with childish delight and anxiety to the magnificent fête champêtre of which he had appointed himself director-in-chief. It must be admitted that Lord Ellenborough took a somewhat undignified interest in the details of these and other puerilities: but we may question the justice of the assertion that the army was kept together for no other purpose than that of presenting arms to the "Illustrious Garrison" of Julalabad, and turning out for a grand field-day. The fidelity of the Seikhs had long been suspected; and it was considered by no means an impossible event, that the march of our Army, worn, sick, and encumbered, through the Punjab, would offer a temptation too strong to be resisted by the mutinous Seikh soldiery, whose real feeling

had betrayed itself early in the year at Peshawur. Had the Governor-General felt secure in the reality of the formal alliance with the Punjab, he might have dispersed the Army of Reserve when the Affghanistan force crossed the Attock; but besides that such expositions of the military resources of the nation are never wholly without profit in such troubled times, as doubts, and not unreasonable doubts of Seikh fidelity had arisen,* it was sound policy to keep a force on the frontier until the returning troops had actually crossed the Sutlej. This event occurred at the close of December. The Army of Reserve was spread out over the great plain of Ferozepore. Triumphal arches had been erected; a temporary bridge thrown across the Sutlej; the elephants, no insignificant portion of the coming tomasha, had been gorgeously painted and decorated, some affirm under the eye of the Governor-General; and as much of tinsel, and bamboo-work, and colored cloth, as could give effect to the triumph, had been expended on the occasion. On the 17th of December Sir Robert Sale crossed the Sutlej at the head of that gallant body of troops, which had composed the garrison of Jullalabad. The Governor-General went forth to meet them. A street of two hundred and fifty elephants, more or less caparisoned, had been formed, and through this marched the heroes of Jullalabad—the 13th Light Infantry, Sale's own regiment, at the head of the column. The morning was dull and lowering; not a gleam of sunshine lighted up the festive scene; but there were sunny hearts, and bright faces; and as the Horse Artillery guns boomed forth their welcome, and the band of the Lancers struck up the ever animating "conquering hero" tune, and each regiment in succession, as the column passed on, saluted their long absent comrades, the heart must have been a dull one that did not acknowledge that there is something of a bright side even to the picture of war.

On the 19th, General Pollock crossed the Sutlej; and on the 23rd, General Nott arrived, bringing with him the gates of Somnauth. Then there was feasting and festivity in the gigantic tents, hung with silken flags, on which in polyglot emblazonments, were the names of the actions that had been fought; many complimentary effusions, in the shape of after-dinner harangues; and in the mornings, grand field-days, more or less, according to the "skyey influences." The year—a most evenful one—was closed with a grand military display. After so much real hard fighting, a sham fight on a large scale was tacked on, like a farce at the close of a tragedy. The plain was covered with Bri-

* The Seikhs suspected us; and we suspected them.

tish and Seikh troops, and in the presence of Pertaub Singh, the heir apparent—one of the victims of the late bloody revolution—Dhyan Singh, the minister, the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and others of less note, some forty thousand men, with a hundred guns were manœuvred on the great plain. On this grand tableau the curtain fell; and the year opportunely closed in gaiety and glitter; in prosperity and parade.

The Sepoy regiments having been feasted with their "favorite *mehtoys*" (sweetmeats) and the important event announced in a Government notification, the Army of Reserve was broken up; but not before the Governor-General, moved by that characteristic admiration of gallantry, which more than any thing else has earned for him the title of the "Friend of the Army," had done all that lay in his power to reward the troops who had achieved such brilliant successes. The honors, which he could not bestow, he solicited from the Crown, on behalf of the brave men who had so fairly earned them; and the distribution of honorary distinctions which ensued, gave almost universal satisfaction. It erred rather on the side of liberality; and, perhaps there are some old soldiers, in the scantily-decorated Queen's Army, who think that during the last two years, honors have been bestowed so profusely as to lower their real value, by showing how easily they are to be earned. But it is better to err on the side of liberality than of chariness—better even that the unworthy should be decorated than that the worthy should pine in vain for the distinction.

And now it was fondly believed that a season of rest had arrived, and that the Governor-General, returning at once to the seat of Government, would devote himself sedulously to the cultivation of those blessed arts of peace, which he had erewhile pledged himself to foster. Though the wording of the proclamation of October 1st was in some of its most important paragraphs sufficiently vague, the general impression which it was calculated to convey was, that the Governor-General had determined to turn his back upon other countries and his face towards his own; to cement an honorable and a lasting peace; and by devoting the remainder of his administration to works of domestic utility, to emulate the magnificent benevolence of the Mahomedan conquerors. Indeed, the Governor General had not only announced Peace in Asia, but had inscribed it on a commemoratory medal; and whatever may have been his reading of the vague phrase "the limits nature had assigned to our empire," the obvious construction of all Lord Ellenborough's declarations at that period, was that he had determined on pursuing a pacific line of policy, and, on no account, to extend the British empire

in the east beyond the limits which it had then attained. But this was the veriest delusion. Whilst Lord Ellenborough was publicly consigning to infamy the aggressive policy of his predecessor, he was maturing measures, characterised by as deep injustice, for the subversion of the Talpoor dynasty in Sindh. Whilst our troops were engaged in Affghanistan—whilst, to use a common expression, our hands were full—we contented ourselves with things as they were in Sindh; and congratulated ourselves on the friendly feeling, which the Ameers had exhibited at a time when they might have wrought us grievous annoyance. It is certain that the Ameers, had it ever entered into their hearts to injure us, would have seized upon that most convenient season of 1842-43: when unparalleled disasters had befallen us, the operation of which had rendered it necessary that all the efforts of Government should be directed to one point, to be distracted from which, would in itself have been a misfortune, and if the call were occasioned by an outbreak in another part of the country, a calamity of the direst import. The Ameers did not harass us, when we were weak. Their forbearance, during the early part of 1842, was in a rude and barbarous people, owing us nothing, and but little skilled in Christian obligations, good after its kind—but no sooner did the withdrawal of the armies from Affghanistan render us strong, where erst we had been weak; no sooner were we placed in a position which rendered the forbearance of the Ameers no longer matter of vital concernment to us; than the Governor-General began to cast about for a pretext to chastise them; and in process of time, the plains of Sindh having been sprinkled with the blood of hundreds of brave men, a proclamation was issued declaring the country of the Ameers to have lapsed, by right of conquest, into a British province.

We have so lately investigated the character of British proceedings in Sindh; so lately exposed the crying injustice of our policy towards that ill-fated country:* that we may spare ourselves the pain of considering the subject, on the present occasion. The Governor-General quitted Ferozepore on the 5th of January, and on the 5th of February, accompanied by the Jullalabad garrison, he made a triumphant entry into Delhi; whence after holding certain durbars, and in no very great degree elevating the fallen fortunes of the imperial Mogul, proceeded on his journey to Agra, which he reached on the 4th of March. Here he took possession of a place called the *Palace*, which had nothing but the regal name to recommend it, for it was about

* Calcutta Review, No. I Article vi.

the hottest and most undesirable residence in all India. From this palace the Governor-General announced the defeat of the Ameers of Sindh—from this Palace he announced that their territories, by a political juggle, had been converted into a British province. In this palace, the Governor-General, attired in a suit of clothes, described by one who was present on the occasion, as "a cross between a popinjay and a peacock," and surrounded with all available paraphernalia of pageantry, invested Generals Pollock and Nott with the Grand-Crosses of the Order of the Bath. Here he expressed his deep regret that Providence had not made him a soldier. Throughout all the most sultry season of the year his Lordship remained in the sultriest place in India; and it is worthy of remark that during the whole time that he held the reins of Government, the public never heard of his being sick or sorry for a day. He seemed to have no fear of the climate; but in all weathers was ready to undertake long and trying journeys by dawk; and although many predicted that he would "kill himself," his health scarcely failed him for a day.

On the 30th of May, Lord Ellenborough left Agra, and proceeded to Allahabad, whither the State-pinnace, towed by steam, had been despatched to bring down the noble Lord to the presidency. The move was a sudden one; for it was understood that he had determined upon proceeding to Simlah; and some believed that the change of plan was the result of certain significant hints of the inexpediency of playing truant so long from his Council. Be this as it may, the Governor-General reached the presidency on the 15th of July; and was welcomed with much cordiality in military circles, where, as the "Friend of the Army," he was held in general esteem. With characteristic hospitality the military at Barrackpore and Dum-Dum entertained the Governor General; and the example of hospitality was in course of time followed in Calcutta. On these occasions, Lord Ellenborough lost no opportunity of announcing, in emphatic language, his high admiration of the gallantry and good conduct of the Indian army; and declaring that the country had been won by the sword, and by the sword alone could it be retained. From this time, all hope of the realisation of those benevolent promises, so gratuitously put forth at the London Tavern, had utterly passed away; and the most sanguine had ceased to look for the prosecution of those great measures of public utility, the cultivation of those humanising arts of peace, which the Governor-General had two years before declared to be the highest objects of his ambition. The allurements of the camp had dazzled his eyes, and captivated his heart, and led astray his

understanding. He regretted that perverse fortune had not made him a warrior by profession—regrets in which many must have shared; for assuredly a good soldier has been spoiled to make a most indifferent statesman. He might not have risen to the height of a Napoleon; but he would not have fallen far short of a Murat. Full of enthusiasm and courage, with little judgment and self-control, he might have rivalled the hero of the white plume and the flowing locks and the colored harness: and would, we doubt not, in leading a charge of cavalry, have emulated the dashing gallantry of the melodramatic Frenchman.

The time had now arrived when the Governor-General was doomed to see something beyond the mere glitter of a camp. An opportunity of tasting the perils of real warfare was presented to him, and it was not neglected. Affairs were reaching a crisis at Gwalior; and the Governor-General again deemed it advisable to forsake his Council, and to betake himself to the neighbourhood of the scene of action.

We must here take a slight retrospective glance at the history of recent events in Scindiah's dominions. On the 7th of February 1843, the Maharajah Junkojee Rao Scindiah, after a life spent in indolence and debauchery, died without issue. The infirm state of the Maharajah's health had previously suggested, the propriety of nominating a successor, and Bhageerut Rao, "a fine boy of about eight years of age, good looking and of a fair complexion," was named by the GwaliorDurbar as the next of kin and the most fitting inheritor. On the death of the Maharajah, his widow the Tara Rance,—a girl of twelve—with the concurrence of the chiefs, adopted the boy as her son, and recognized his succession to the Guddee—the British Resident at Gwalior entirely approving of the choice, and assisting at the ceremony of investiture.

The Maharance and the child of her adoption being the merest children, it was necessary to appoint a regency. At the head of this was placed the Mama Sahib—the maternal uncle of the late Maharajah—a man whom, two years before, the British Resident had declared to be "the most capable of all the ministers" of state, and "certainly the person of most influence at present;" but he added, "I am of opinion it is likely to terminate with his nephew's, (the Maharajah's) existence." This was spoken with prophetic veracity; but nevertheless the Mama Sahib was appointed—at the instigation of the British Government—sole Regent. To any one really acquainted with the state of feeling within the palace this must have appeared, from the very first, a most hopeless undertaking. The Mama Sahib himself entered upon the duties of his office not without strong

misgivings. The Maharanee and the chiefs yielded a sullen assent; the Portuguese officers exerted themselves to preserve order and peace in camp; and outwardly there were no manifestations of discontent—beyond the revolt of a battalion of infantry, which corrupted two more; but produced no serious effects. Indeed, a few days after the investiture, the Resident declared that "the appointment of the Mama Sahib as regent appears to have given universal satisfaction to the troops and people generally, who highly applaud the measure;"—and yet at this early stage, was contemplated the probability of the march of a British force upon Gwalior, to support the authority of the Regent. Our arrangements had sentence of utter failure written down against them from the first. We had interfered for the establishment of so popular a government, that a fortnight after its appointment, we began to bethink ourselves of propping it up with a fulcrum of British bayonets.

Already was there a hostile party forming in the palace, which soon proved fatal to the authority of the Mama Sahib. This is not the first Bed-chamber intrigue, which has overturned a ministry; nor is it likely to be the last. There was a woman named Morengee in the palace—a restless, designing person, whose influence over the Maharanee was believed to be dangerous. With this party was leagued the Dada Khasjee-wallah—or steward of the household, one of the ministers who had consented to carry on the affairs of the regency, under the Mama Sahib. It was deemed advisable for the security of the state, to remove both of these from Gwalior—the woman was to be cast out at all events. After some difficulty this was accomplished—the Dada Khasjee-wallah, with consummate hypocrisy, having in the mean time put on a smooth countenance and declared himself to be the friend and obedient servant of the regency. Affairs wore a favorable aspect. "I should hope," wrote the British Resident on the 15th March, "that on effecting the measure now in contemplation (the removal of the woman Morengee) the regent will find himself armed with the full and undisputed powers of that high office"—a delusion, soon but too apparent. One *intriguante* had been removed; but the spirit of intrigue was still rife in the palace; and the Dada Khasjee-wallah, beneath a cloak of outward fidelity and an assumed honesty of demeanour, concealed designs but too surely calculated to over-turn the existing government. "On the 13th instant," wrote the British Resident, on the 17th of April, "the Mama Sahib paid me a visit, from whom I learnt that all matters were going on as well as he could wish, but that he still continued to entertain some suspicion of underhand practices on

the part of the Dada Khasjee-wallah and his followers; he said he had sent for him and taxed him with this, but which the Dada utterly disclaimed all knowledge of, and challenged inquiry into his conduct,"—still there was something in his manner, calculated to excite suspicion; and soon the truth became sufficiently apparent. The Dada Khasjee-wallah had fully established his influence over the mind of the young Bhaee, who now began to complain openly of the measures of the Mama Sahib, and, sometimes, angrily to resent them. The attempt to remove the Khasjee-wallah, first on one pretext, then on another, had failed. It was soon but too certain that all hope of an adjustment of affairs by the withdrawal of his paramount influence was at an end; the designing Minister had worked to better purpose than a pilgrimage to Benares, which though it might have answered to cover a failure, presented no attraction sufficient to lure him away in the hour of success. It was now scarcely necessary to wear the mask any longer. On the 22nd of May the Maharance openly declared to the British Resident that, disapproving as she did of the Mama Sahib's measures, "she could never think of allowing him to continue in office." The Resident, after a fitting lecture on the folly of being led astray by evil-disposed persons, retired from the Durbar, declaring that he could never sanction the removal of a Regent, approved of by the British Government. The Maharance, however, had come to the settled determination of ejecting the obnoxious minister; and in spite of the importunities of the British Vakeel and other influential men, declared that she would rather lay down her life than bear any longer the supremacy of a man, who had inspired her with so little confidence and affection. Nothing could shake her determination. She was willing to yield every other point, even to the cherished design of appointing the Dada Khasjee-wallah to the chief seat in the cabinet—but upon this, she was inexorable. The Mama Sahib must be dismissed.

His authority was now at an end. The British Resident speaks of the Dada Khasjee-wallah's faction, but it appears to have been a faction of well nigh the whole state. The Mama Sahib had scarcely sufficient adherents to attain to the dignity of a faction. The truth is not to be disguised. He wanted influence; he wanted capacity; he wanted energy. He had not the qualities necessary to inspire affection, or to command respect. He was neither loved not feared; neither confided in by the Court nor looked up to by the army. The opportunities of establishing a paramount influence, which had presented themselves on the ascension of the young Maharajah, he had been imbecile enough

to neglect; and when subsequently he perceived that dangerous intrigues were on foot in the palace, he had neither the sagacity to play off wile against wile, nor energy to counteract by his own activity the activity of his enemies. The Dada Khasjee-wallah, though no hero, supported by the palace party, neglected no opportunity of strengthening his influence out-of-doors; whilst the Mama Sahib, inert and imbecile, seems from the first to have made no manly endeavors to uphold his authority in the state. The few summer friends, whom he had once possessed, fell off from him; and soon, utterly deserted, he was fain to seek safety in flight. The British Resident, finding all remonstrance vain, recommended the ex-regent to make a virtue of necessity, and stipulated that he should be permitted to quit the Lushkur without molestation from his enemies. The Mama Sahib retired, and the British Resident was ordered also to retire. This was at the beginning of June.

The retirement of the British Resident occasioned some alarm in the palace.* The Governor-General had desired Col. Speirs to attribute his withdrawal to the heat of the weather; and "change of air" was accordingly given out to be the real object of the movement. This, however, was a shallow subterfuge; and tended, in no measure, to allay the apprehensions of the young Ranee and her party. The object of this piece of diplomacy was not to embarrass the future movements of the Resident; but the alarm excited by the withdrawal of the British Minister was spoken of as a favorable symptom; and the effect of the movement was such as to raise the belief that any arrangements, short of the restoration of the Mama Sahib, would, at that time, have been willingly acceded to, rather than that the risk of a rupture with the British Government should be incurred.

At this period the Governor-General, who appears to have taken no very lively interest in the proceedings, and certainly never anticipated that they would have such a bloody termination, exhibited, in all his remarks on the subject, the greatest good sense, moderation, and justice. He said that the Mama Sahib was clearly an incapable, who "had proved himself quite unfit to manage either men or women, and a minister of Gwalior must manage both;" he saw no great offence to the British Government in the removal of this incapable from office; nor did he wish to force upon the state an unpopular minister, nor in any way unduly to interfere. "Any form of administering the affairs of the Gwalior state, which may effect the object of

* It has been often stated that the Resident was expelled. So far from this being the case, he was ordered to retire, in such a manner as that he might return whenever it was convenient, without any forfeiture of consistency.

frontier tranquillity, will be satisfactory," he said "to the British Government." Nothing could be more reasonable than this.

The Governor-General moved down to Calcutta; and Colonel Spiers continued to reside at Dholapore. At Gwalior, the Dada Khasjee-wallah grew stronger and stronger every day; and as an effect of his restless ambition, the whole army was thrown into a state of mutiny. The troops, instigated by the Dada, rose up against their Christian officers; and day after day the Lushkur was thrown into commotion by these repeated acts of rebellion.

The Dada had the command of the treasure-chest; and large sums were lavished upon the soldiery. The officers who were desirous of preserving peace, and of conciliating the British Government, were expelled with ignominy, whilst others, who were ripe for plunder and confusion—outlawed mutineers of the worst class—were recalled to Gwalior, rewarded and caressed. The army already overgrown—the monster evil of the country, the great and oppressive state incubus, which had for years resisted every effort to reduce it, and overawed each succeeding Government—was now to be still further swollen by an influx of disorderly characters, who, anticipating a season of profitable anarchy, flocked to the standard of the "Usurping Minister;" and clamored to be enrolled.

In this condition affairs remained up to the end of October—the British Government steadfastly watching the proceedings, but taking no active part in the dissensions of the state. The removal of the Khasjee-wallah, an event which it was thought our influence could bring about, would still, in the opinion of Government, have sufficed to restore order; and on the 21st the Governor-General in Council wrote to the Secret Committee, "We have good reason to hope that the measures we are now pursuing, will effect this object without open opposition or bloodshed." Something, it was thought, might be done, by means of a change of diplomatists, and accordingly Colonel Spiers was removed to Nagpore, and Colonel Sleeman appointed to Gwalior in his stead; but under this new management affairs only reached, by natural progress, a crisis. The Dada Khasjee-wallah had, in the opinion of those best qualified to form a correct judgment, proved himself to be, both in thought and deed, hostile to British interests. Though without the courage to face the dangers and difficulties which his schemes involved,* he was turbulent and restless; always intriguing; and there was little prospect of peace so long as he was abroad, to foment fresh dissensions in the state, and to

* "Whenever danger threatens him," wrote Col. Sleeman, "he conceals himself in the most sacred of the female apartments, from which he issues the orders by which the state is governed."

threaten the security of the frontier. It appeared, therefore, necessary above all things, that the Dada Khasjee-wallah, who had proceeded to such lengths as to intercept a Khureeta from the British Resident to the Maharanee, should be given up to the British and conveyed to Benares or Chunar. To enforce, if necessary, the surrender of the obnoxious minister, to establish a new and friendly administration, and to reduce the turbulent soldiery to a more becoming state of discipline, the Army of Exercise was ordered to assemble on the banks of the Jumna. This measure was determined upon in August. In November the order for its re-organisation was issued, and on the 25th of that month the Governor-General set out by dawk for Agra.

Before leaving the presidency, the Governor-General, in a very able minute, dated the 1st of November, submitted to paper his views of the existing state of our relations with Gwalior. It is probable that many of our readers, who have followed us thus far, will have failed to see in the relation of events, as we have set them down—the intrigues within the palace; the expulsion of an unpopular minister; the establishment of another party in his place; the mutiny of certain battalions; the internal dissensions which distracted the state;—any thing justifying, still less demanding, the interference of a neighbouring power. Even in our well-ordered dominions, one minister is removed to make room for another, and our regiments are sometimes thrown into mutiny. Such affairs are generally supposed to belong to the catalogue of domestic events—events very distressing to the state in which they occur, but not much affecting neighbouring principalities. These are European notions—based upon principles, which it would appear are not to be recognized in Indian politics. "In Europe," says the Governor-General, "there do not exist 'between any two states the peculiar relations under which the 'expulsion of one minister who might be approved, and the 'elevation of another who might be obnoxious, could be viewed 'as justifying intervention." But in India, the case is said to be widely different. There is a paramount power; which as it is paramount, assumes to itself the right of controlling all other powers. In other words, the British Government is sole arbiter in Hindostan—with unlimited right of interference in the affairs of all less powerful states. The principle is thus clearly expounded in the document to which we have referred:—

"The British Government has now, for many years, assumed the rights, and performed the obligations, of the paramount power in India within the Sutlej.

It is impossible, therefore, to take a partial and insulated view of our relations with any one State within that limit.

Least of all can such view be taken of our relations with the state of Gwalior, the most important to which our system applies.

Any relaxation of our system with respect to that State could not fail to be felt in every part of India, affecting our position with respect to all the other States of Hindostan.

It matters not whether our position as the paramount and controlling power has been forced upon us by circumstances, or has been the settled object of our arms and policy. We, of the present day, must maintain what we find established; for to recede from that position once acquired would be to draw upon ourselves the hostility of many States, and to shake the confidence of all in the continuance of our military preponderance, by which alone all we have was won, and can be preserved.

Nor while, by receding from that position, we endangered our own existence, should we fail, at the same time, to bring upon all the States now dependent upon us the most afflicting calamities. The withdrawal of our restraining hand would let loose all the elements of confusion. Redress for the daily recurring grievances of the several States against each other would again be sought, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and bad ambition, availing itself of the love of plunder and of war, which pervades so large a portion of the population of India, would again expose to devastation countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace.

To maintain, therefore, unimpaired, the position we now hold, is a duty, not to ourselves alone, but to humanity. The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects, and from our own territories, the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest, altogether inevitable, from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with diminished force, by a disheartened army, and a disaffected people."

Now, the whole question of the justice of our proceedings towards Gwalior depends upon the recognition or non-recognition of the principles here laid down. We believe that the political morality herein expounded has been long familiar to our readers in a sentence more brief and quite as intelligible—"Might makes right"—and might has made right from the beginning of the world, and probably will, to the end of it. To defend, in accordance with any abstract principles of justice, the doctrine that a weak state, contiguous to a stronger one, only exists by sufferance; and that weakness is properly and necessarily dependence, is clearly more than can be accomplished. All that can be said is that it has been so before; that it is so now; and that it will so happen again. The process of absorption goes on, with unfailing certainty; but the character of a just and upright statesman is never more clearly evinced than in the measure of respect for the rights of the weak, which his policy exhibits. A statesman is scrupulous or unscrupulous, just as he forbears or does not forbear to exercise the power, which Providence has placed in his hands—just as he abstains or does not abstain from exercising his giant's strength like a giant.

It is less our intention in this article to reason than to narrate. Lord Ellenborough propounded these general views of the rights of interference,* but failed to establish a very clear case of the *necessity* of interference, from the record of events which had occurred in the Gwalior state. There was, indeed, *no* necessity for interference. The Governor-General himself acknowledged that Time might have done every thing without an appeal to arms—but it was expedient to show what he could do at Gwalior, because there was an army of 70,000 Seikhs looking at us from the neighbourhood of Lahor:—

"Still, under ordinary circumstances, we might perhaps have waited upon time, and have abstained from the immediate adoption of measures of coercion, expecting the restoration of our influence at Gwalior, from the disunion manifested amongst the chiefs, and the usual vicissitudes of an Indian Court. But the events which have recently occurred at Lahor, will not permit the resort to a policy suited only to a state of general tranquillity in India.

Within three marches of the Sutledj is an army of 70,000 men, confident in its own strength, proud of its various successes against its neighbours, desirous of war and of plunder, and under no discipline or control. It may be hoped, it may perhaps be expected, that no hostile act on the part of this army will occur to produce a war upon the Sutledj, but it would be unpardonable were we not to take every possible precaution against such an event; and no precaution appears to be more necessary, than that of rendering our rear, and our communications, secure by the re-establishment of a friendly Government at Gwalior.

There must, however, be a most careful and accurate calculation of the extent of means, and also of the time, required for completing any military operation, if such should eventually be found necessary for that purpose. If our army should appear to have involved itself in any operation demanding greater means than may have been appropriated to it, or in any operation of a seemingly protracted nature, the view of our force, so occupied, would be an irresistible incentive to Sikh inroad, at least of a desultory, if not of a more serious, character.

If on the other hand, our success in any operation undertaken on the side of Gwalior should be at once rapid and decisive in its results, no measure would more certainly tend to prevent all movements across the Sutledj, as well as to establish our reputation and our authority in Central India"

It has always appeared to us that there is no surer sign of something rotten and vicious in our policy, than the attempt to justify our conduct towards one state by a reference to the proceedings of another. Our treatment of Gwalior was either right or wrong in itself. It was right or wrong in itself, just as it was necessary or unnecessary in itself. Nothing that had taken place in the Punjab could render it more right—more necessary in itself. When, therefore, we endeavour to support our proceedings towards one state by a reference to the conduct of another, we at once aban-

* The distracted state of the Bundlekhund country could afford no legitimate pretext for the coercion of Gwalior. It is questionable whether the anarchy in the latter country were not wholly independent of the disorders in the neighbouring state.

don all high ground, and betake ourselves to the lowest shifts of political expediency. Lord Ellenborough's case would have been much stronger, in the eyes of all right-thinking men, if he had omitted the above paragraphs. They are virtually a confession of weakness. The case against Gwalior could not have been a very strong one, or the Governor-General would not have attempted to bolster it up by a reference to the state of the Punjab.

On the 25th of November, the Governor-General took his departure from Calcutta, and proceeded by dawk to Agra. The "Army of Exercise," under the personal command of the Commander-in-Chief, had assembled at that place, and a Left Wing had been added thereto, and placed under the command of General Gray, the intention being to march this second force upon Gwalior, through the Bundelkhund country. On the 16th of December, the Army broke ground.

In the mean time, affairs at Gwalior still continued in a most unsettled state. The Maharance was still obdurate—the Durbar little disposed to give up the Dada Khasjee-wallah; and the Army still as ever turbulent and rebellious. Soon there was open war between the two great factions; the troops of the Maharaj-Campoo determined, as they declared, to support the state, and to punish the usurping minister, whose conduct was calculated to draw down the resentment of the British Government, and thence the annihilation of the Gwalior army, had raised the standard of revolt; and the Dada Khasjee-wallah had sent forth his troops to attack them. The Dada's forces were defeated, and their chief Anunt Ram, who fled at the first onset, and disguised himself in women's apparel, seized and treated with the utmost ignominy. Following up the blow, the rebels—we use the authorised word—seized the Dada Khasjee-wallah himself. Thus defeated, the great intriguer remained a prisoner in the Maharaj Campoo, under the surveillance of certain chiefs friendly to our Government; but the Dada's party was too strong to admit of his surrender to the British—and the Bhace, in spite of her professions to the Resident, was evidently averse from such a compromise. At length, after a good deal of hard fighting, affairs seemed to be in train for a satisfactory adjustment—the Durbar, awed by the assembly of British troops in their neighbourhood, having determined on abandoning the Dada Khasjee-wallah to his fate. He was accordingly seized, and as it was thought despatched to Agra; but the escort had not proceeded a day's march, when the soldiery thought better of the matter, and the Dada was carried back to Gwalior.

A deputation was then sent to the Resident to implore him

to exert his influence with the British Government to obtain their consent to the confinement of the Dada Khasjee-wallah within the Gwalior territories. It was urged, but with very little truth, that the Bhaee and the Durbar were inclined to yield without stint to the wishes of the British Government; but that the soldiery threw an insuperable obstacle in their way. But still the old demand was repeated. The surrender of the Dada Khasjee-wallah, and that alone, could satisfy the British Government; and accordingly the army was ordered to advance.

But by this time the Durbar had discovered that the surrender of the Dada Khasjee-wallah was not altogether an impossible event; and by the middle of December, the cause of so much inquietude was despatched under escort to the British Camp. But it was now too late to arrest the progress of the British troops. The Durbar fully believed that the surrender of the Dada Khasjee-wallah, which we had always declared to be the one demand, upon the compliance with which everything depended, would effectually stay all ulterior proceedings—and but for this belief the Dada would never have been surrendered. But their obstinacy was severely visited. The Dada Khasjee-wallah was given up—but the Army had advanced too far to recede; and the Bhaee was informed that until full security was given for the continued maintenance of tranquillity upon the common frontier, the British force would not be withdrawn.

The Army advanced, and on the 21st of December, the first Brigade crossed the Chumbul. Little expectation of resistance was entertained; and the Governor-General hoped to bring affairs to a settlement by means of a friendly interview with the Bhaee and the Maharajah. A deputation of chiefs had already paid a visit to the British camp, with whom the interview had been arranged; but subsequently, when Bahoo Satoolea, an influential chief who had recently been at the head of affairs, joined the deputation, he told the Governor-General that, in all probability the soldiery, who were bent upon resistance, would not suffer the Bhaee and the Maharajah to leave Gwalior; he urged, too, that the Bhaee and Durbar were inclined for peace; that if it rested with them everything would be settled in the most friendly manner—but that the soldiery were not to be controlled; that they were bent on fighting; and that blood would be surely shed. Soon afterwards a letter was received from Colonel Sleeman, stating that all chance of a friendly settlement was at an end; that the Gwalior troops were pushing forward to give us battle; and that there was nothing left us but an appeal to arms.

The 27th—the day fixed for the interview with the Maha-

raja having arrived, and Col. Sleeman, having returned to the British camp, the Governor General deemed that the time for negociation had passed, and trusted the further conduct of affairs to the Commander-in-Chief.

On the 28th, it became apparent that our army was in the near neighbourhood of the enemy, and preparations were made to attack their supposed position, on the following day. Morning dawned; the camp was struck as usual; but, the opinion being that the enemy were still some miles distant, no extraordinary precautions were taken; nay, no precautions were taken at all, not even the most ordinary ones—but as our army advanced upon the village of Maharajpore, where the enemy were drawn up in great strength with a formidable line of guns, strongly posted on commanding ground, the ladies and the amateurs were in the van. With the utmost composure, these non-combatants were proceeding towards the village of Maharajpore, where it has been said, the Head-quarters tents were to have been pitched, and the snug family party of the Commander-in-Chief to have breakfasted; when a shot from the enemy's guns whizzed past the howdah in which were seated His Excellency's wife and daughter, and warned them of their dangerous vicinity to the Maharatta batteries. There was now no time for deliberation. Excellent arrangements may have been made on the preceding day; but now they were of little avail. The seige train had been sent back to Agra, when the Dada Khasjee-wallah had been given up; and such heavy guns, as had proceeded onward with the Commander-in-Chief, were too far in the rear to be brought into action. It was soon apparent that the enemy had a long line of guns, strongly posted in front of the village of Maharajpore; and that the gunners knew how to serve them. Our light field batteries were well nigh useless—they could not silence the destructive ordnance of the enemy—and nothing was to be done, but to move forward the infantry battalions and charge the guns. Two brigades of infantry, in which H. M.'s 39th and 40th Regiments, the latter distinguished at Candahar, were conspicuous, were accordingly moved forward, and in spite of the deadly showers, which continued to pour in from the enemy's batteries, the regiments, European and Native, pushed forward with unwavering steadiness and the most determined courage—steadiness and courage which ensured victory—right up to the muzzles of the well-served guns. The enemy's Golundauze, with unflinching courage, stood to be bayoneted in their batteries—whilst the infantry, posted in the rear, maintained for some time a hand-to-hand combat, retreating as they fought into the village of Maharajpore. The courage

and determination which they exhibited were in no wise inferior to our own. They fought and died like brave men, selling their lives dearly; and called forth from the British Commander-in-Chief, an acknowledgment that he had, in anticipation, thought too slightingly of their prowess.* But the struggle, gallant as it was, was ineffectual; and after one of the most sanguinary conflicts recorded in the annals of modern warfare, the discipline of the English army prevailed.

Lord Ellenborough was on the field, displaying a degree of coolness and courage and contempt of danger, so admirable in the individual man, that we are almost tempted to overlook the imprudence of the Governor-General. It is said that he was often to be seen,

Inspiring, aiding, animating all;

consoling and rewarding the wounded with kind words and liberal promises. We marvel not that this self-exposure to danger has helped, in no small measure, to endear him to the soldiery; but peaceful, reflecting men, whose eyes are not easily dazzled, look upon the act, in a Governor-General, as one, which because it might have been disastrous, whilst no beneficial consequences could have resulted from it, was at least a "gross indiscretion."

At the same time General Gray, who with the left wing of the army, had been advancing upon Gwalior from the Sinde river, came up with the enemy, at Punniah, a few miles to the south of the capital; and after an engagement, in which the gallant bearing of the Mahratta troops, again testified that the old fire was not extinct, and the British infantry, with the same indomitable courage which their comrades had just manifested at Maharajpore, charged the enemy, strongly posted on the hills—the 3d Buffs and the 50th Queen's leading the way—decided at the point of the bayonet a contest with an enemy, who shrunk not from the cold steel. The Gwalior battalions gave way, and the British force advanced in triumph,

On the following day the main army moved forward, and the Governor-General received intelligence that the Bhaee and the Maharajah had now determined to come in to his Lordship's camp. Sir Richmond Shakespeare (Assistant to the Resident) was accordingly despatched to fix the time and place of meeting, and on the 31st, at 2 o'clock, the interview took place. The Bhaee and her adopted son came from Gwalior with a scanty retinue

* Nor was this error fallen into by the Commander-in-Chief alone. Before the army crossed the Chumbul it was generally believed that the Gwalior troops were a mere rabble—idle braggarts—who would disperse, upon the first indication of the advance of the British Army It is said that General Churchill, who died the soldier's death at Maharajpore, only the day before the battle said, when the subject of arms was mentioned, that the only arms he should want would be a good stout horse-whip. Our loss in killed and wounded on that day, amounted to a thousand, of all arms.

and without tents. The former was received with all kindness by Lady Gough and other ladies of the Commander-in-Chief's camp, and the latter by the Governor-General, who led the weeping boy to a sofa, and did his best to comfort and console him. A large number of Chiefs and British Officers on the staff were present; and Mr. Currie, acting as interpreter, the Governor-General finally explained that his sole object in marching an army upon Gwalior was to support the authority of the Maharajah and to restore tranquillity to the state. After enlarging upon these points, his lordship proposed that the Maharajah and the Bhaee should join the British camp and accompany the Governor General to Gwalior. To this the Chiefs rendered willing assent, and throwing all the blame of the opposition, with which we had been met, on the uncontrollable hostility of the soldiery, declared themselves well disposed to accede to all the proposals of the British government.

Then came the interview with the Tara Bhaee. The young Maharanee, who, during the advance of our troops, had been urging on the chiefs and officers of Gwalior to strain every nerve in the great work of resistance to the British, and in open durbar reproaching the lukewarm and commending the more resolute, was brought out on a litter; and Ram Rao Phalkea, the Government vakeel, an old but an able man, (since appointed to the head of the Regency) seated himself on the ground, to interpret for Her Highness, whilst Col. Sleeman performed the same office for the Governor-General. The Bhaee, who appeared sufficiently self-possessed, gave free utterance to her thoughts. She pleaded her youth and inexperience, in extenuation of her offences against the British Government; and, stating that she had ordered the Goorpurra, her father, not to present himself at Durbar, implored forgiveness for her faults. The Governor-General replied, that he fully believed she had been led astray by evil advisers, especially by the Goorpurra, whose influence over her was naturally great. This the Bhaee denied, stating that the unruly soldiery were the real source of the evil. The Governor-General rejoined that, all who were competent to speak upon the subject having declared that the soldiery were the origin of all the disorder, measures should be taken to put down, with a strong hand, their usurped authority; and that though the British Government were well disposed to admit the Bhaee to some participation in the administration of affairs, such would be granted only as long as she showed herself worthy of the confidence reposed in her. The Bhaee made a submissive reply; named certain Chiefs, to whom she was most inclined to trust; and the Durbar broke up.

A conference was then held with the Chiefs named by the Bhaee, in the Governor-General's office tent, and certain stipulations entered into, principally relative to the advance of the British troops, as friends and supporters of the Maharajah, upon Gwalior. The Army advanced on the 2d; and on the 3d the whole body of troops, under the personal command of Sir Hugh Gough, encamped at the Residency—the Governer-General's camp being there also. The Left Wing were posted at a distance of some six miles. It was of the first importance to occupy the fort of Gwalior; but in order not to give this movement the character of a military triumph, the Governor-General, with much delicacy and propriety, directed that it should be occupied under instructions from the Maharajah, by the old Gwalior contingent, commanded by Brigadier Stubbs. The fort was taken possession of without opposition, on the 4th of January; and on the following day, a conference was held in the Governor-General's camp, at which the draft of a treaty was agreed upon. The moderation evinced by the Governor-General is worthy of all praise, and we give him the fullest credit for displaying it. We do not impute any unworthy personal motives to the individual; we view the act by itself, as an act of forbearance, honorable to a Christian statesman. The treaty left the Sovereignty of the country in the hands of Scindiah; left the internal administration to Scindiah's Government; provided for the disbandment of the Mahratta army, and the appointment of a new contingent, commanded by British officers, in its place; and whilst it afforded every security for order and tranquillity, was marked by none of that lust and rapacity, which on similar occasions has been too often evinced. The following passages from the last Gwalior letter to the Secret Committee, dated January 21, 1844, are worthy of record in this place:—

"I cannot but think that the principles upon which I have acted will have your approval.

Up to the present moment, the measures to which I resorted seem to have been completely successful; and, although I did all that was in my power to prevent a conflict, I cannot but feel that our victories in the conflicts which have occurred, have more materially contributed to our reputation and to our strength, than would have done any settlement of affairs obtained through negotiation alone, supported by the demonstration of force.

It was so decidedly the opinion of the chiefs with whom I communicated after the battle, that no arrangement, whereby any real authority should remain to the Maharanee, could be productive of permanent tranquillity, that I determined on acting upon an opinion so entirely in accordance with my own first impressions, and on constituting a council of Regency.

Before the battle, I could not have found the persons of whom such a council could have been composed It did not then appear to me, that even

Ram Rao Phalkeea was prepared for a measure which would practically deprive of power the widow of the late Maharajah.

It was the gross abuse of that power, by those who alone had influence over the Maharanee, and acted in her name, and the imminent peril into which their country had thus been brought, that induced the chiefs to come to the conclusion that it was necessary to set her Highness aside, in order to carry on, during the Maharajah's minority, a government capable of maintaining order in the State, and peace with us.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Being restrained by treaty, as well as by policy, from overthrowing the Government of the Maharajah, I considered it desirable that his Highness' Government should be preserved in dignity, and be respectable in the eyes of his subjects; without these appendages of Maharatta Sovereignty, the Maharajah would have been a despised Sovereign.

By the selection made of the districts from which the revenue for the maintenance for the contingent is to be drawn, and of which the administration is to be in our hands, we obtain the means of preserving order upon our recently disturbed frontier. We have, I hope, secured the future tranquillity of Saugor and Bundlecund. We have made acquisitions on the Nurbudda and near Neemuch, which will be found of much value from their position; and we have restored to the Government of Bombay, the management of the districts in Candeish, of which the restoration to Scindiah was so much a matter of complaint.

It is by no means my desire, that the power given to the Resident, of advising the Council during the minority of the Maharajah, should be needlessly exercised on trivial occasions. It is a power, of which the exercise is to be reserved for occasions of importance. I am far from desirous that we should interfere in the ordinary administration of the country; but when we were establishing a Government, it was necessary that we should reserve to ourselves the right of preventing measures which might render it insecure, and impose upon us the burthen of again interfering by arms, as well as that of requiring the adoption of measures which may seem to be required for the real benefit of his Highness, and of his dominions.

You will not fail to observe the great improvement in our military position, which has been the result of the late operations, and the treaty now concluded.

A few weeks ago, there existed, within six days' march of Agra, not only a hostile Government, but an army of 20,000 disciplined infantry, with a formidable artillery, well served, which together with 8,000 cavalry, capable of desolating a country, could at any time have acted upon our communications in the event of our forces being employed on the Sutlej. Now there exists at Gwalior, a Government entirely dependent upon our support. The infantry, which recently controlled the State, has been disbanded, and in its place will soon be formed 6,000 new troops, commanded by British Officers, and equal to the performance of any military service which can be required from them.

These changes have been accomplished by measures adopted in strict conformity with the spirit of a treaty; and neither the excitement of victory, nor the consciousness of irresistible power, has led to the entertainment of views of ambitious aggrandisement."

Fully aware as we are of the evils of the double form of Government, which we have thus introduced; and admitting the truth of much that has been said in favor of an outright appropriation of Scindiah's dominions, on the ground that the people would be more happy and prosperous under the direct

rule of the British, than under that system of Government, which imposes no checks upon oppression, but the most stringent check upon the resistance of oppression, we can not but commend the statesman, who, in the hour of victory, showed due respect to the rights of the weak, and consented to leave intact the monarchy of the prostrate Scindiah. We had no just pretext for the absorption of Gwalior; and even humanity could not justify what was otherwise unjustifiable. To do evil that good may come of it is no more admissible in politics than in morals; and to annex a territory, on the plea of humanity, would be at best but a jesuitical performance. Acts of moderation and respect for the rights of others are not so frequent, in the history of India, that we can afford to pass them over without a word of commendation; even though the upholders of a more vigorous policy were to prove to demonstration that such acts are politically unwise.

The old Gwalior Army was peacefully disbanded; and enlistment for the new force soon commenced with much activity. The treaty was duly ratified; a Regency appointed with Ram Rao Phalkea at its head; there was a grand ceremonial on the occasion of the re-investiture of the young Maharajah; and the Governor-General, moving down through Bundelkhund, returned to the presidency. Bad tidings followed him down to Calcutta. A relief of the regiments in Sindh—the country "fertile as Egypt," which he deemed so valuable a possession, but which had hitherto presented itself to the eyes of men but as a great and miserable Golgotha, had shown strong symptoms of revolt. The Governor-General, having by a stroke of the pen converted Sindh into a British province, seemed to think that the sepoy army were competent to understand this political juggle, and in the plenitude of their joy at the extension of Hindoostan, would cheerfully consent to an abridgement of the allowances, which they had previously drawn, when serving on the banks of the Indus. The regiments now ordered to the relief, aware of these curtailments of what they deemed to be the hardly-earned privileges of service in a foreign land, and naturally disinclined to proceed to a country which had been the grave of so many of their comrades, broke out into expressions of discontent and dissatisfaction, and openly refused to embark, unless the desired privileges of increased pay and pension were granted to them. For some weeks, four or five regiments were in a state of actual revolt; and the flames of mutiny were only smothered by liberal promises of all that the mutineers had demanded. The Governor-General did not make these concessions. He issued a notification, explaining the principles on

which Government had determined to regulate the allowances of troops serving in Sindh, and laying down specifically the amounts granted to regiments in the field and in cantonments. But the Commander-in-Chief, who was at Simlah, had taken upon himself to grant the desired pay and pension, in excess of what Government had decreed; and the recusant regiments proceeded to Sindh, under a delusion which has since become apparent. Another mutiny has been the result. "Young Egypt" has witnessed the sad spectacle of British troops pelting their officers on parade—and there is too much reason to believe that we have not yet seen the full extent of the calamity—a calamity which may yet throw into the shade the massacre in the Caubul passes.*

On the arrival of Lord Ellenborough at Calcutta, he was received with a complimentary address, cautiously worded, so as to mean nothing, and responded to with as much caution. From that period to the close of his administration in June, he passed his time between Calcutta and Barrackpore, sometimes seizing an opportunity of publicly propounding the physical-force doctrine, and once, at a festal gathering at the Town Hall, setting forth in emphatic language, that he had met with opposition, but that he had beaten it down. The opposition alluded to was supposed to be the opposition of the Court of Directors. On the 15th of June, Calcutta was startled from its propriety by the announcement that the Court of Directors had removed Lord Ellenborough from the Governor-Generalship of India.

It is matter of history that on the 15th of June, 1844, the Calcutta Government Gazette announced that the Court of Directors, in the exercise of the power vested in it by law, had removed the Right Honorable Edward Lord Ellenborough from the Governor-Generalship of India. It is matter of history that on the 23d of July, Sir Henry Hardinge, having been appointed to the chiefship of the Indian Government, arrived at Calcutta; and immediately took the oaths of office. It is matter of history that on the 1st of August, Lord Ellenborough bade adieu to India, and embarked on board the *Tenasserim* steamer, which was ordered to convey him to Suez—but the cause of the sudden removal of a Governor-General, in the teeth of her Majesty's ministry, is matter not of history, but of *conjecture*. Upon this point, therefore, we desire

* We have been purposely brief in our notice of the recent mutinies; for to have entered into detail at all would have led to an amplification inconsistent with the character of this article; and we desire to take an early opportunity of laying before our readers, in a separate paper, a full account of these lamentable occurrences.

to say nothing. It is possible that in some future number of our review, the history of this great conflict between the Court of Directors and the Governor-General, may furnish matter for an instructive article.

The intelligence of Lord Ellenbrough's recall was the source of varied emotions in the breasts of the European residents in India. To the military, for the most part, the event was a source of unqualified regret—in some cases, of indignation; whilst the rest, with few exceptions, either viewed it with pleasure or looked on with entire unconcern. The military of Calcutta, and the neighbouring stations of Barrackpore and Dum-Dum, determined to testify their gratitude to the late Governor-General by inviting him to a grand farewell entertainment. This measure gave rise to much discussion, and created no little animosity. The entertainment, however, was determined upon; the invitation given and accepted; and a certain day, after the anticipated arrival of the new Governor-General, fixed upon for the festal gathering. The new Governor-General arrived, but did not attend the grand Town-Hall dinner, which came off, nevertheless, with great eclat on the evening of the 29th of July. The Town-Hall was fantastically decorated for the occasion, inside and out; about two hundred officers sate down to dinner; and great was the enthusiasm that prevailed. The speech of the Ex-Governor-General was characteristic of the man. He bestowed the usual well merited laudations on the Indian Army—said that he had spent many happy days in camp and cantonments; exhorted all present to cherish to the utmost the native soldiery, and said that his only regret on leaving India was his removal from the Army—a confession not particularly calculated to make reflecting men believe that his removal was a great national calamity. On the 1st of August, he bade farewell to the Army—repeating, as we have heard, with clasped hands, as the carriage bore him to the ghat, the declaration of his one solitary regret; and now his Administration is History.

The brief sketch, which we have endeavoured to give of it, is, some will think, wanting in *purpose*. We have had but one purpose—that of speaking the truth without prejudice or passion; and we believe that by the mingled yarn of praise and censure, which our article presents, the truth is fairly represented. The contrarieties here manifested belong not to us—but to the subject of our article. Good and evil, strength and weakness, are blended together in the characters of most men; but seldom have good and evil, strength and weakness, been so strangely blended together as in the character of Lord Ellenborough. Nay, we ought rather to write, that whereas good and evil—strength

and weakness—are blended, [illegible] of most men, they were in the [illegible] blended, but set forth in startling contrasts, with [illegible] ing shades to give a sort of [illegible] Just and unjust—scrupulous and unscrupulous—[illegible] vering—discreet and indiscreet—generous and [illegible] —magnanimous and mean; now exhibiting all the [illegible] tics of a manly intellect, now of a puerile vanity—now, [illegible] all, the great statesman, now weaker than a woman or a child; he was utterly wanting in fixity of principle. He had no system, good or bad. His impulses drove him sometimes along the right—sometimes, the wrong path. It was impossible to calculate upon what he would do, by referring to what he had done. There was no continuity of effort in the political career; his measures did not rise, one out of the other in a progressive series, each one bringing him nearer to the completion of a great whole; but were fitful and spasmodic, defeating the calculations of the looker-on; and showing, by the abruptness of the transitions, the impossibility of detecting even a symptom of systematic action. No one would have been surprised at any great public measure, which might at any time have emanated from his bureau; no one would have been astonished at any act of glaring ineptitude, issuing from the same source; but it was soon apparent that it was idle to look for any thing of a sustained and continuous character in his policy—any sign of a leading principle [illegible] public measures great and small.

He came out to India, intending to govern the [illegible] peace-principles—to emulate the magnificent [illegible] the Mahomedan conquerors; and to leave behind [illegible] dear to the people of India—the great [illegible] of India, as he called them, in [illegible] country, declaring that [illegible] from the military, [illegible] felt the least [illegible] India, to [illegible] success [illegible] admin[illegible] gave [illegible] in w[illegible] had [illegible] minist[illegible]

And [illegible] but [illegible] pens[illegible]

the India Board, was one thing; to resist the fascinations of a gorgeous camp, and the excitement of a stirring policy—the parent of great victories—on the plains of India, was another. To declaim, as a member of the House of Lords, against a form of government, leaving too much to the uncontrolled passions or caprices of a single man, was one thing; to place himself, as a Governor-General, within the reach of those controlling influences, the exercise of which he deemed so desirable, was another. It was thought in England that Lord Ellenborough's besetting sin was *vanity*. As a statesman, no opportunity of indulging that vanity had been afforded to him; and it found an outlet in personal eccentricities, more calculated to amuse than to offend. In England, he was one of many; his power was small; his arena was circumscribed; and with this limited power and this circumscribed arena, he contrived, though not much respected in private, to earn a reputation as a respectable public man. In India the case was widely different; he was suddenly elevated to the government of an immense empire, and became one of the most magnificent potentates in the world, with immense power and immense responsibility.

His personal eccentricities then seem to have subsided;—he was no longer a coxcomb in little things; but the vanity which had before been a harmless vanity, now showing itself in great things, began rather to alarm than to amuse; and it was soon apparent that the eccentricities of a Governor-General of India were somewhat more dangerous than the light follies, the airy flippancies, of a London exquisite.

There is, we admit, great temptation to excess in all the environments of a Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough, with very great talents, was not what is commonly called "a strong minded man." He had not the qualities necessary to the exertion of a successful antagonism to the seductions of a false ambition. The glare of "pomp and circumstance" dazzled him; he could not look upon it with steadfast eyes. He became, in spite of himself, a ruler of a totally different character from that which he had contemplated under the smoky influences of London life. Instead of endeavoring to consolidate, by acts of peaceful benevolence, the already enormous empire which Providence had committed to his care, he withdrew from one war only to plunge into another; he broke in pieces the war-gods of his predecessor, and then set up a temple full of his own. The camp became his favorite residence,* the Army his chosen

* Lord Ellenborough's military propensities seem to have sprung suddenly into existence, full grown and full armed. He evinced no such predilections in England;

associates. Magniloquent proclamations were issued in the place of the beneficent acts of Council to which we had looked forward: and instead of new and sanatory laws, the prosecution of great works of public utility, the diffusion of the many blessings of civilization, we had medals, and crosses, and tricolor ribbands, and colored lamps, and fireworks, and revivals of the old physical-force doctrines of the dark ages.

Let us not be misunderstood. Anxious as we are to err rather on the charitable side, in our estimate of Lord Ellenborough's adminstration, we should not, from the simple fact of his having declared his attachment to one course of policy and pursued another totally different, derive a conviction that he had wholly abandoned in India the principles, which he had professed in England. *L' Homme propose, Dieu dispose.* Circumstances, not calculated upon, may arise to turn aside any statesman from the path which he has desired and proposed to pursue; and we may, to a certain extent, consider all pledges and promises uttered by a Governor-General before assuming office, as merely conditional pledges and promises—so that if Lord Ellenborough, the pacific, had, under the force of circumstances, grown into Lord Ellenborough, the bellicose, and become a warrior *malgré lui*, we might have deplored the circumstance, but not reproached the man. But the truth we fear is not to be concealed—Lord Ellenborough abandoned not only the pacific measures on which he had determined, but the pacific spirit with which he had been imbued; and whilst under the force of circumstances, he pursued a new and unexpected line of policy, he betrayed not the faintest indication of regret that he had been turned aside from his original intentions. It was not so much in what he did, as in what he cared to do, that this deviation from principle was apparent. As Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough, during his two years' tenure of office, gave no sign of any interest in the intellectual and moral advancement of the people; he did not evince by one single act, however trifling, that the civilization of India was really a cherished object, deferred but not abandoned. Even admitting the absolute necessity of the hostile measures which engaged so much of his attention, there were intervals in which he might, had he felt it, evinced an interest in the

none on first reaching India. It is very certain that he did not inherit them. His father was the most unmilitary of men. We remember hearing one of his contemporaries, who during the volunteer mania, served in the same company with the Chief Justice, declare that Lord Ellenborough was beyond all compare the most awkward man in the squad. After repeated wiggings, for always looking down at his feet when the company was ordered to dress, he burst forth with an indignant exclamation that he "knew no process of the mind by which he could contrive to get his feet into the angle of 45° without looking down at them."

intellectual and moral advancement of the people of India, and done very much to further it. Nay, we do not hesitate to say that the little snatches of time—if they were no more—which his Lordship consumed in the superintendence of idle gew-gaws, and the ordering of senseless parades, would have sufficed, had they been devoted to better purposes, to prove an earnest interest in the welfare of the people, and to contribute much to its advancement. It is a fact, we believe, that Lord Ellenborough never on one solitary occasion, visited any of the noble educational institutions, which in late years have sprung up in the country; nor did he, in any other manner, show an attachment to any other part of the native population, than that which constitutes the sepoy army. It is idle to assert that he had no opportunities. Opportunities were frequent; but he neglected them. . This, coupled with his own specific declarations—his own frequent expositions of his tastes, his feelings, his desires—is more than enough to condemn him. The army engrossed all his affection; he had none to bestow on the great and generous people, who figured in the London Tavern oration.

That the progress of national improvement was entirely arrested during the adminstration of Lord Ellenborough we do not assert, because we do not believe. The government machinery worked on as usual, and occasionally turned out a beneficial enactment. Thus, early in January 1843, just as Lord Ellenborough was turning has back upon the Army of Reserve, an act was published for the virtual abolition of slavery in the British possessions in the East. This great measure had, years before, been projected, in accordance with the spirit of the times; the Law Commissioners had long been engaged in collecting information and reporting on the subject; there had been a very strong pressure from without; Lord Auckland, as he himself declared in the House of Lords, had left the measure all but consummated, when he quitted India; and when at last an enactment, in all due formality, issued from the Legislative Council at Calcutta, Lord Ellenborough was in the uttermost station of India. The credit of having opposed no obstacle to the consummation of a measure which humanity demanded, is undeniably his; but beyond this we cannot fairly proceed in our commendation. The same may be said of the lottery-abolition act, the merit of which we believe is entirely due to Mr. Bird. The appointment of a Finance Committee was Lord Ellenborough's own act; but like some other measures of the same family, it produced nothing, but died in the first throes of labour. The organisation, in some of our disturbed

border districts, of a Military Police Force, under efficient European controul, for which we are also indebted to Lord Ellenborough, was a measure, which entitled him to much credit; and the tongue-tying order, for the suppression of public information, so opposed to the spirit of his predecessor's Government, and of the times, was a step backwards, which reflects no great credit on his administration. His abandonment of the patronage of the Bengal and Agra Governments,* and his separation of their civil duties from those of the Supreme Government, was conceived in a better spirit; and should the change become permanent, which appears doubtful, will be laden with most beneficial results. The abolition of the Transit-duties in the Madras Presidency was the payment of a debt of justice long overdue, which the more liberal views of the Court of Directors, who have not sanctioned the salt-tax, which had been imposed as a succedaneum, will render a real blessing to the people. Such are the principal measures of general utility belonging to his administration; and to these may be added more than one public act of kindness and liberality to the Service which he so passionately loved.

But it must, in all candour, be acknowledged that Lord Ellenborough possessed many qualities, which, had they not been neutralised or vitiated, would have earned for him much admiration as a statesman and much affection as a man. He had abilities of no common order; great quickness of perception; extraordinary energy and ardor of temperament; unquestionable courage; and indefatigable industry. The moral sense was not very strong—as the appropriation of Sindh amply testifies—but he was capable of acts of justice and moderation, and sometimes exhibited in his conduct the generosity of a great mind. His impulses were often kindly, often noble; and his errors were seldom the growth of mean and corrupt motives. There was nothing inherently low in his nature; but he was subject to very strong prejudices, which he had not always the magnanimity to resist, and which therefore sometimes caused him to commit mean and unworthy actions. As in his policy, so in his personal bearing, he was impulsive and uncertain. With strong predilections and strong antipathies, which sometimes alternated towards the same individual, he was by turns courteous and uncourteous; attractive and repulsive; now producing impressions of deep gratitude, now of ineradicable dislike. Though he often showed great kindliness and condescension towards indi-

* The emoluments of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western provinces have been greatly reduced. Mr. G. Clerk was appointed to the office, shorn of much of its pristine grandeur.

viduals, he at other times betrayed an utter disregard for their feelings; and hesitated neither, as the whim led him, to caress nor to strike those beneath him.*

In this manner he made many enemies and many friends; and the different judgments which have been passed upon him by different parties can never afford matter for surprise. There is generally in the public treatment of an individual a just compensation in the end; his virtues are exaggerated by one party; his vices by another; and the undue enthusiasm of his friends is balanced by the undue bitterness of his enemies. Thus has it been with Lord Ellenborough. His avowed predilection in favor of the army, and the sincerity with which he acted up to these avowals, is one of those marked characteristics, which no limner should omit to pourtray. There are many who think that this failing "leaned towards virtue's side." Many more, who think that it was no failing, but an absolute virtue. The truth appears to be this—The Civil Service had for many years been a favored service. It had fattened upon the golden eggs and scattered the feathers among the military. It had not only appropriated all the large salaries, and divided almost all the honors of the state; but had, on every occasion, been permitted to ride rough-shod over the military. The Court of Directors had especially cherished this privileged class; and Governors-General had been too prone to imitate this exaltation of one service at the expense of another. It was a just and a generous thing to raise the military, too long degraded, to their right position. Only a few months before the arrival of Lord Ellenborough in India, a new warrant had been passed, settling the Precedence of the Company's servants; and giving to the mere boy-civilian a higher social rank than the grey haired and decorated veteran officer. The new Governor-General, apparently resolving not to fall into this error of giving undue preponderance to a class, fell into the very excess which he desired to avoid, only giving to it a different direction. He exalted the military at the expense of the civil service. Had

* We have often thought, that he inherited some of the characteristics of his illustrious father, who is thus described by one who had abundant opportunities of forming a correct judgment (Archdeacon Coxe), "Of a warm and generous disposition '.....his thoughts and conceptions are uncommonly great and striking; his 'language and expressions are strong and nervous, and partake of the color of his 'sentiments As all his views are honest, and his intentions direct, he scorns to dis-'guise his feelings or palliate his sentiments. This disposition has been productive 'of uneasiness to himself, and to his friends; for his open and unsuspecting 'temper leads him to use a warmth of expression, which sometime assumes the 'appearance of *fierté*. This has frequently disgusted his acquaintance, but his 'friends know the goodness of his heart, and pardon a foible that arises from the 'candour and openness of his temper.....Active and enterprising, he pur-'sues with eagerness whatever strikes him the most forcibly....&c. &c."

his efforts gone no further than a correct adjustment of the balance, he would have been entitled to all praise: but he carried his avowed predilections for the military class to an extent unbecoming a Governor-General, whose duty is to regard alike the interests of *all* classes. To equalize, as far as possible under the present unequal system, the honors and emoluments of the two services, would have been a generous and a praiseworthy act; but to set aside the claims of deserving civilians—even to the extent of a rude and degrading supersession—in order that he might create vacancies to be filled by his military protégés; and publicly to declare that service in the field should ever be the first claim upon his patronage—these were not praiseworthy acts. It was right, that at such a time, the character of the military service should find a strong and powerful hand to raise it to its true social position—but it was not right that in stretching out this strong and powerful hand he should have manifested and avowed predilections, which no Governor-General ought to entertain.

We do not propose to enquire into the real claims of Lord Ellenborough to the distinctive title of the "Friend of the Army"—it is enough for us, that by the consent of a large portion of that army, he rejoices in the flattering soubriquet. We leave the question to be settled among those whom it most nearly concerns; but before we bring this rapid sketch to a close, we must bestow a few words upon a point to which, in forming an estimate of a Governor-General's career, it is common to attach much importance—we refer to the subject of patronage. Lord Ellenborough, it has been said, and truly said, distributed his patronage openly and honestly. Nepotism was far from him. Back-stairs influences were never at work to turn his patronage into a corrupt channel. The importunites of powerful friends availed nothing—nay rather they injured the cause of the party for whom they were employed. Interest was not spoken of as the one thing needful to success during his administration. Neither the recommendations of Leaden-hall nor Downing Street were any longer omnipotent. The Governor-General cared not to please others; but was resolute to please himself. He regarded the characters and qualifications of men, not their friends, or their friends' friends; and determined to bestow the best appointments in his gift upon those alone whom he considered to deserve them. We believe that he was sincere; that his intentions were excellent; that he was desirous to do justice to the state and to the servants of the state; but the result of his honest endeavors to emancipate himself from the trammels which had bound his predecessors, was by no means as successful, as the design was

good. Lord Ellenborough was led astray by what may be even more dangerous than the littleness of nepotism—his own strong personal prejudices. Caprice is often not less fertile in injustice than corruption; and the ruler, who in the distribution of patronage suffers himself to be actuated by his own likes and dislikes, is not so very far in advance of the man, who yields to the solicitations of his friends. There is another *ism* often as bad—sometimes worse than nepotism; and from that no man was ever less free than Lord Ellenborough. Egotism was one of his greatest failings; and whether in framing a proclamation or in bestowing an appointment, self was ever sure to be uppermost. That he promoted very many deserving men to offices of high trust and emolument—men whose claims would probably have been neglected by some Governors-General—is a fact not to be disputed. We have but to mention the names of Generals Pollock and Nott; of Colonel Richmond; of Captains Lawrence, Anderson, A. Abbott, Burn, and Broadfoot; of Lieutenants Mayne, Chamberlaine, and others; to prove that Lord Ellenborough's patronage often flowed in the right direction; but even in some of these cases, an injustice was perpetrated on one deserving public servant to afford the means of rewarding another; and it is not to be denied that whilst many officers were raised for their merits, many were by the same hand degraded without a fault. To record the names of Erskine, Hammersley, Hodgson, Blundell, Outram, Pottinger, MacGregor, J. Abbott, &c., and the whole establishment of Saugor political officers, is to recall to the mind of the reader so many cases of deserving officers, who suffered under the injustice or neglect of the late Governor General of India.

In this, as in the greater matters of state, was strikingly apparent the deficiency which more or less influenced all that he did; a want of fixity of purpose, of steady unvarying principle. Egotistical and impulsive in little things and in great, he now denounced a policy, because it was favored by his predecessor, and now for the same reason neglected a deserving man. It seemed as though he had no toleration for any body or anything, which was not in some measure his own. This intense self-appreciation and attendant contempt of others, in due time wrought its own punishment; and it is generally believed that when Lord Ellenborough fell, he fell a sacrifice to his own self-confidence and self-complacency, struck down by those whose power he had despised, and whose opposition he thought he had demolished.

That Lord Ellenborough left the country in a more satisfactory state than that in which he found it, is a fact, which his worst

enemy will admit. But it is scarcely possible that it should have been otherwise. When a ship is on its beam ends, it must either right or go to the bottom. Now, affairs were in such a state upon Lord Ellenborough's arrival that under ordinary management, any change must have been for the better.* There was not a man of common intelligence in the two houses of Parliament, who if he had been sent out to India in that conjuncture, would not, at the end of two active or passive years, have found that he had lived to see a vast improvement. When a new physician is called in to the patient, after the crisis of the disorder has passed, he earns, at small cost, the reputation of having achieved the cure. There is a *vis medicatrix naturæ* in political, as in bodily ailments; and the mere fact of a political improvement during the administration of a certain Governor is not in itself a proof that the amelioration of affairs is the work of that particular Governor. We desire something more than mere contemporary existence to establish the case of cause and effect. It is true that Lord Ellenborough has left no new war to his successor, unless the present Governor-General determine to find one in the Punjaub; but during the two years of his administration, having brought one war to a close, he originated and perfected two more. During those two years the gallantry of the British forces in the field has been nobly manifested—but the character of the native army has been injured by acts of gross insubordination; and the decay of discipline has been such as to render necessary the reintroduction of the exploded system of corporal punishment. During those two years we have acquired territory; "young Egypt" has been added to the British dominions—but we have done little to raise our character for substantive justice. During those two years, medals and ribbands have been distributed in profusion, and many grandiloquent proclamations have been issued, but the people of India have received but scanty proofs of the blessings of English rule. This, it is said, must follow in due course. We earnestly hope that under a new Governor-General it may follow; but we cannot honestly express a belief that it would have followed, had Lord Ellenborough continued to hold the reins of Government. Since the time when he addressed the Court of

* The boasted financial improvement during Lord Ellenborough's reign was more the result of a natural self-adjustment than of any very skilful cherishing on the part of the Supreme Government. There has been an immense increase in the Opium Revenue, and increased profits from other sources, customs, excise, &c. The China out-lay has been recovered: the Affghanistan drag has been abandoned; and Gwalior compelled to pay the expences of our interference with it. The Sindh business has proved unprofitable. This was a measure of Lord Ellenborough's own; and the Treasury would have been richer if "young Egypt" had been left to itself.

Directors and their guests at the London Tavern, he had betrayed no sign of a heart-felt interest in the condition of the children of the soil—an interest, which though less operative, might have been evinced as clearly in a season of peace as of war. Throughout the twenty-seven months of his administration, we anxiously looked for such a sign; but we looked to the last, in vain. Had we discerned anything to render us hopeful of a redemption of his pledges, we should have deplored his removal at the present time from office; for from the right direction of such ability and energy as he unquestionably possessed, the happiest results might have been expected to flow. But there is too much reason to think that as he began, so he would have continued to the end, wasting himself in the strenuous idleness of camps and pageants, and never settling down to the nobler, but less dazzling work of reforming the institutions of the country, and by the introduction of new and beneficent laws for the protection and civilization of the people—laws whose influences should extend to the very depths of native society—rendering his rule a blessing to future generations, as to the present. To leave behind him no monument of his greatness, but a few captured cannon—a volume of proclamations—and an infinite quantity of parti-colored ribband, is but a poor achievement after all; and when years hence we enquire what great works are associated with the name of Ellenborough, we may point to a fantastical gun-carriage, a new road to Government House, and an unusual number of half-crown pieces pendent from manly breasts in every ball-room in the country.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The Child's Wreath of Hymns and Songs; selected by Mrs. C. J. Simons. Moulmein, American Baptist Mission Press, 1840. 1 *vol.* 12*mo. pp.* 159.

This small and unpretending volume possesses a peculiar interest, not only as one of the few works for children that have appeared in India, but as coming from one of the furthest outposts of civilization. The supply in the market affords a pretty sure criterion of the demand: the Calcutta Press lost no time in issuing cheap re-prints of Theodore Hooke's and Charles Dickens' tales, and of other less unexceptionable popular works; but we might count on our fingers the republications within our city of books relating to either mothers or children.*

Mrs. Simons has given a selection from various popular hymn-writers, and added several original verses. To some of the poems we decidedly object; as leading to the pernicious habit of slipping off the tongue expressions of self-condemnation and of devotion equally beyond the possible calibre of a child's mind. Those who look back through years of experience, who have felt the power of temptation, and how their best strength often proved weakness in the hour of trial, may learn in all humility of soul that they are fashioned of the same clay as open transgressors; but how can a child, incapable of estimating that which constitutes the exceeding sinfulness of sin as alienating the soul from its Maker, even though it be accompanied by a due fulfilment of relative duties,—how we say, can a child, repeat such words as the following with any degree of understanding?

> Madly I ran my sinful race.
> * * * * *
> Vidictive Justice stood in view.
> To Sinai's fiery mount I flew.

A mature mind can in a measure apprehend the disorder which disobedience introduces among the works of God, and the moral disease of the heart that is estranged from its maker. Besides the individual consciousness of a sin requiring *pardon*, it can understand how infinite wisdom may require an *atonement*. But on infantine lips what meaning can be attached to these expressions?

> You were wretched, weak, and vile,
> You deserved His holy frown,
> But he saw you with a smile,
> And to save you hastened down.

We dwell on this point from the conviction that children of religious parents have their simplicity sadly deteriorated, by the early habit of using words far in advance of their feelings—*of acting falsehoods*. How often have we heard a little creature of four or five years old, who could

* Educational Works have been issued from the Serampore and some other Missionary Presses; these are important, but they are published rather to create than to meet a demand.

hardly be kept quiet on mamma's lap long enough to finish the words, repeating

We must neither work nor play
Because it is the Sabbath day;

And then spring off like a bird to the frolics and gambols, from which no rational parent would withhold a young thing, more especially on that day which it was to be taught "to call a delight."

Let not the foregoing opinions be thought to compromise our adherence to every doctrine contained in Scripture: we only advocate selection, that milk should be kept for babes, and that they should not be fed on the strong meat which an Apostle tells us belongs only to those whose senses are exercised to discern good and evil. We believe that love, truth, and obedience, with a conscience* trained to healthy tenderness, and a sense of an unseen presence, constitute the religion of a child, and that harm is done by presenting to the immature mind any more abstruse doctrine: and never let it be forgotten that childhood is the season for familiarizing the pupil with all the rich and varied narrative of Scripture. We would recommend that this should first be done wholly by word of mouth, adding all the details of the picture that the sketch warrants, and giving it as far as possible a dialogue form. The picture is thus lodged in the child's memory, and when he proceeds to read the written text, it will not come before him as a lifeless letter, but a vivid reality.†

We cannot close the condemnatory part of our observations on Mrs. Simon's work, without protesting against a very grave fault into which she has fallen—to wit, altering the words, and often the meaning, of the borrowed hymns, and that without the slightest intimation of the liberty taken. It is melancholy to observe how almost every collector of religious poetry thus breaks the ninth commandment, by misrepresenting the sentiments of the author whose works he misquotes. It is very tempting when the alteration of perhaps a word will make a hymn speak our own sentiments instead of the writer's—but the temptation is *to an act of dishonesty*. Lament, if you will, that he did not think as you do: diffuse your own views of truth by every proper means, but tamper not with another man's property. What would Watts or Wesley have thought of the alteration of his writings by a Quaker or a Roman Catholic? After all, *it is a failure:* it is like cutting a court suit into a dressing gown: one is spoiled and the other is incomplete.‡

We hope, if these pages ever meet Mrs. Simon's eye, she will take them in the spirit in which they are written. We are so well pleased with much of the book that we would fain expunge its errors. As we hope to number many parents among our readers, we will extract one entire specimen of Mrs. Simons' versification, well knowing that the

* On the subject of an educated conscience, we recommend the conversations on the ten commandments, in a valuable book entitled "Aids to Development."

† We would recommend to mothers the preface to a little work called "the Peep of Day," as furnishing admirable hints on early religious instruction.

‡ Caroline Fry's "Scripture Principles of Education" contains excellent remarks on practical veracity.

mother's delight is quite equal to that of her child, in lighting on some thing "so very pretty."

MARY'S LAMB.

I.

Mary had a little lamb,
Its fleece was white as snow,
And every where that Mary went,
The lamb was sure to go;
He followed her to school one day—
That was against the rule,
It made the children laugh and play,
To see a lamb at School.

II.

So the teacher turned him out,
But still he lingered near,
And waited patiently about,
Till Mary did appear;
And then he ran to her, and laid
His head upon her arm,
As if he said—I'm not afraid—
You'll keep me from all harm.

III.

What makes the lamb love Mary so?
The eager children cry—
"O Mary loves the lamb, you know,'
The teacher did reply;—
"And you each gentle animal
In confidence may bind,
And make them follow at your call,
If you are always kind."

Like all really good books for children, the volume before us affords much matter for parents' consideration, and to them is a portion of it specifically addressed. Every bereaved mother will thank us for the following extract from a poem entitled "the four children."

* * * * * * * *

I have a child, a third sweet one,
Her age I cannot tell,
For they reckon not by years and months
Where she has gone to dwell;

To us for fourteen anxious months,
Her infant smiles were given,
And then she bade farewell to earth,
And went to live in heaven.

I cannot tell what form is hers,
What looks she weareth now,
Nor guess how bright a glory crowns
Her shining seraph brow.

The thoughts that fill her sinless soul,
The bliss which she doth feel,
Are numbered with the secret things
Which God doth not reveal.

But I know (for God hath told me this)
That she is now at rest,
Where other blessed infants be,
On their Saviour's loving breast;

Whate'er befalls her brethren twain,
Her bliss can never cease;
Their lot may here be grief and fear,
But her's is certain peace.

It may be that the tempter's wiles
Their souls from bliss may sever,
But if our own poor faith fail not,
She must be ours for ever.

I have a fourth, the darling babe,
For one brief week was lent,
Then to her sister in the skies,
Her ransomed spirit went.

The same day we our third resigned
To her silent bed in dust;
Our broken hearts must e'en give up
The new born infant trust;

I will not—cannot if I would,
Tell what their mother felt;
Suffice, that in her sorrowing heart,
Mild resignation dwelt.

Their elder brother—Oh I feared,
His tender soul would burst,
For that sweet sister he had loved,
Amused and led, and nursed.

"Where is sweet sister gone, mamma,
Do tell me where, and how
Can she be happy without you,
And who will tend her now?"

The younger one, with noiseless step,
Near the empty cradle crept,
Lifted his sorrow-broken voice,
And for his sisters wept.

For me my spirit must have sunk,
Oh God! but for the hold
I had on thee, in that dark hour,
When thy billows o'er me rolled.

But we think of what our darlings are,
What we hope soon to be,
Compare this fleeting scene with Heaven,
Our present duty see.

And feel that our loving Saviour-God
Hath well, and wisely given
These two a while to earthly change,
Those to their rest in heaven.

This reads very much like a graft of Dr. Watts on the stock of Mrs. Hemans.

There is great difficulty in finding suitable books for our little folks in India; the habits referred to, the whole *locale* of an English story is so different from India, that our children are puzzled. Some of Mrs. Sherwood's supply this deficiency admirably, though we cannot give them unqualified praise. We still want a Maria Edgeworth and a Jane Taylor of our own.

It is true that the children of our local aristocracy are sent to England

for their education; but there are in India hundreds, nay thousands, both of boys and girls, with skins as fair as our own, who will live and die in the country; the children of our European soldiers and others, the neglect of whom is a disgrace to the ladies of India. Making due allowance for climate, and without any ostentatious theories about "woman's mission," we yet affirm, that there will be a heavy account one day to be rendered on this score. At present we limit our observations to the children of Civil and Military officers in India, and will venture a few hints and questions on the way in which their education is conducted. The very word *Education* presents a problem beset with difficulties all over the world; but in India so peculiarly difficult of solution that most mothers give it up in despair; or when their children's faults are forced upon their notice, quiet their consciences by the thought that "a year at home will set all to rights." Grievous indeed, is the unnatural position of parents and children, when the latter must be removed at an early age from their natural guardians; and we cannot but hope, that ere long in a country comprising so many climates as that of India, some asylum for our little ones may be discovered, by means of which the evils of separation may be lessened. Before, however, even a healthy climate can enable us to keep our children in India, there must be a vast change in the influences to which their minds are subjected. During our own generation probably we must, in justice to our offspring, send them to England, at an early age, but how preposterous then is the inference practically drawn from this necessity, by most parents! "Because I have only a short time for performing a great work, I will neglect that work altogether." Ignorance *must* be the cause of such neglect—a mother who considered the case in its true light *must* find a voice within her, crying out, "if I can only keep my child with me for a few years, then never let it be an hour unnecessarily out of my sight: let the first dawning of its love be mine, let me try to imprint on its heart such an image of myself as shall never be obliterated."

The grand error in our educational system arises from a misconception of the age at which children begin to receive impressions from external objects. Much ignorance prevails on this head, and indolence renders us unwilling to be enlightened. Few women, till they become mothers, have watched the dawnings of an infant's mind; so that when a little bud is put into their own hands, they see, without perceiving, its expansion. A mother's heart will glow when her infant begins to recognise her, and call her by the sweet name of "Mamma:" she will dwell with delight on his little winning ways, and tokens of intelligence. How then can she fail to observe that these outward and visible signs indicate an inward and spiritual growth? How is she deaf to the voice of her Creator, telling her that now the work of discipline is to begin? "But while men," (and women, too,) "slumber, the enemy soweth tares," and the parent wakens in astonishment to find her child at two or three years old, awkward and disobedient, perhaps deceitful and tyrannical. Then the task of correcting these evils is too difficult for her; other young ones are springing up, who naturally tread in the

[illegible] not so close that [illegible] to [illegible], and the mother [illegible] "that her children are much like other people's."

Little is to be hoped from addressing parents, who have adopted this defence; it is too convenient to be readily relinquished: but there may be a possibility of rousing mothers who are just entering on their charge; of leading these to look their new duties and difficulties boldly in the face, that they may seek for the only help whereby they may be enabled to perform their high and holy work. To such we would especially address ourselves.

Setting aside for the present the evils of climate, there remains the terrible drawback of native servants. Many a fond mother yearns to send away her children from such contamination, as much as from a debilitating clime: indeed we have rarely seen a child brought up in this country to the age of five or six years, who was not deceitful, overbearing, indelicate, and selfish; and presenting a fair prospect of becoming in after-life a lover of eating, and of all other bodily indulgences. And are not these evils the fruit of neglect? So far as they are local, we venture to say that they are; let us inquire into their origin.

On arriving from England one is struck and often sorely annoyed by observing the children and their attendants allowed the freedom of the whole house, instead of being confined to the nursery. The natural inference would be that the little ones are the companions of their parents—yet we venture to affirm that alienation from the parents produces the greater part of the evils we see. This usually begins with their birth; the climate is seldom favorable to a lady's nursing her own child; and custom represents it as scarcely ever so. Then the infant is provided with a dhaee (wet nurse); its first dawning perceptions are exercised towards her, and to her does it look in all its little troubles. "Really," quoth the mamma, "baby is so fond of the dhaee, that it will not come to me, and it thrives so well with her, that I am quite satisfied." Quite satisfied!—Alas! alas!

From the nurse, poor baby passes to the ayah and the bearer. Yes—even little girls are entrusted to native men! It would be hard to believe this, if custom had not familiarized us with the evil. Under any circumstances, can a mother think it favorable to her daughter's delicacy, to be always with a man, to listen to his talk, ride with him, and be in all respects tended by him? But just think what our men servants are; and then, will you, deliberately, leave a girl's mind and habits to be formed by such? Results of this odious system do, now and then, transpire, such as "make both the ears of every one that heareth them to tingle;" but the amount of contamination contracted by children, especially by girls, before they leave India, is considered by very few. This is so terrible an evil that it throws into the shade another, and a very serious one—namely, the utter dependence on the services of others in which Indian children are brought up; to dress, to feed, or even to amuse themselves, is utterly beyond the thoughts

of these poor little artificial beings. A child, able to run about, who if healthy, and properly trained, should find its own amusement, requiring only some simple play-thing and a superintending eye, is followed by two or three servants, who forestal all its natural efforts at self-occupation, and create by their constant attendance, a new want in the child. Now, supposing these attendants were as moral and amiable as they are generally the reverse, still an injury is done by making the child dependent on others for amusement, and by training it to companionship with the servants. Take twenty children sent to England between five and ten years of age; ask them about India, and in nineteen cases their remembrances will be of the Ayah, the Bearer, and the Chapprassee—not of Papa and Mamma.

Now let us go to any large station in India, and see whom we meet in our evening drive. Abundance of children; some carried by an Ayah or Bearer; some riding ponies—some in little carriages, a man waving a chowrie over one; two or three holding another in his saddle—a servant carrying a chatta for a third; a couple of Ayahs walking after a fourth. But have these children no parents? Where are papa and mamma? Riding and driving in other directions, while the young ones are drinking in the instruction to be found in the refined jokes of their attendants, and in the gossip of the cantonments, or becoming proficients in gallee (abuse) from listening to the squabbles and brawls of the bazaar. Certainly every conveyance, even an omnibus, has limits; nor can half a dozen be stowed away in a vehicle constructed only for two; yet surely children need not be absolutely separated from their parents in the evening. Might not all go the same road? might not the young ones take it in turn to go in the Carriage or the Buggy? And you, madam, have but one little girl, why not take her with you in the tonjon? "Why, she's so troublesome, and she crumples my dress, and makes me hot and uncomfortable." Keeping her from you is not the way to make her docile, and would you rather leave her exposed to evil than exercise a little self-denial? Then call not yourself a mother.

Again, there is the crying evil of children speaking nothing but Hindustanee: they must almost inevitably learn that language, nor would we exclude it, if we could. Many advantages result from early familiarity with two languages, and an almost spontaneous fluency in translating from one to another must materially improve the mind. We know the facility with which Russians learn any language, arising, we may reasonably infer, from their speaking one language to their parents, another to their nurses, another to their tenantry, and another at Court. Besides, a large proportion of children born in India have the prospect of returning to it in after life, and a childish recollection of Hindustanee saves them in that case a world of trouble. We object not therefore to the language itself, but we earnestly protest against its taking the place of English; and that, on the ground that a child's strongest yearnings are towards those whose language he speaks—that from them he takes the tincture and texture of his mind. We speak not only of the evil children thus learn, but of the good they lose; even, suppose, which is

rarely the case, that a mother understands Hindustanee, as well as her children do, still, what an effectual barrier does the ignorance of English raise in the way of a child's improvement! What thousands of ideas do we wish to impart, for which the native language offers at best but a very imperfect equivalent! We do not dwell here on technical "*lessons*," for we hold it a matter of small moment whether a child reads at three or at six years of age; we speak of the mental constitution which is mainly formed by the conversation that passes around, the expression of thoughts which form a child's atmosphere. Mothers usually say they will "*soon* begin to teach their children English!" Pending this *soon*, all religious instruction is deferred, except what the bearer sometimes thinks proper to give concerning *his* divinities; unless perhaps just as the child is falling asleep at night, mamma calls out, "Baba, God bless," and the little one runs over a few words of prayer in English, perfectly unconscious of any meaning—such is the way in which the parent meets the Saviour's invitation to the little ones. There might be excuses for this neglect, if the ground could remain unoccupied till we chose to take possession of it—if we could keep the gate closed till we chose to unlock it, and admit the proper company. But our maker, when he opens the senses, sets wide a door which no man can shut; hourly must guests find admittance, ay, and take up their abode, in the mind—and the parent must answer for who and what they are.

We know that various excuses may be pleaded, various inconveniences set forth; but education, to be properly conducted, involves a round of self-denying duties to the mother; and most mothers, however deficient in system, have a glimmering of this truth. Nature shrinks from it, and the manifold excuses by which the unpalatable dose is avoided, result in every variety of family misgovernment noticeable all over the world. In India the duty calls for peculiar self denial, and so there is special temptation to seek for excuses; and they abound, look very like truth, and are circulated in a society too much interested in their credit to be very scrupulous in examining them. Our children are first spoiled and then sent home. "It is a sad thing, but it cannot be helped." The question whether it *could* have been helped remains yet to be put in a more sifting manner, and in a day when our present facility at finding excuses will wofully fail us.

With respect then to the point, which we are now considering, of teaching our children English, we urge it the more earnestly because we have seen and known its practicability. "If I could afford to keep an European servant, I would do it," is the usual cry; but this is a mere excuse; there are children to be found in the remotest parts of this country, who rarely see a white face except their parents', and who speak English with perfect fluency. The secret lies, in seizing the first two or three years—at the risk of provoking a smile, we will say, the *very first* year; no mother ever dressed and nursed and bathed an infant without talking to it a certain quantum of that nonsense which is then the best philosophy; all we plead for is *English nonsense;* let the infant ear be *first* familiarized with its *mother* tongue, and for the next year, let none of its wants be attended to, in ordinary cases, till expressed in

English; persevere in this till the child can articulate distinctly; the trouble is very small while it lasts, and before three years it is over. None but those who, as parents, have studied and observed children, can appreciate the difference between those who have this living link with the parent's mind, and those who look at all European (that is to say, all *Christian*) subjects through the *ground-glass* medium created by ignorance of English. We have at this moment before us two boys, aged five and six years, both of good abilities and disposition; the one has always spoken his parents' language; to him every object is of interest; in every little difficulty he runs to his father or mother for help and explanation; he has ceaseless resources in books, in printing words from them, in pictures and stories; and he talks familiarly of "what they are doing at home now." The other resorts from preference to the servants, with whom he feels at ease, and finds the company of Europeans a bondage; his mind has scarcely one of the points of contact with the surrounding world, that the other has on every side. Now who can compare the pleasure these children respectively give their parents? or the recollections the two boys would respectively carry away if sent from India to-morrow?

We have dwelt on the drawbacks that exist in this country to the education of our children; but let us not forget the great advantage Oriental customs give us, especially in setting the Scripture narratives before the young mind, as realities. We have been sensibly struck with the difference when recounting the same particulars to children at home and in India. "How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me who am a woman of Samaria?" gives a very vague idea of *something wrong* to those who have never left a Christian country; but here the child exclaims, "O yes, Mamma—just as the bearer and ayah have different lotas!" "Take up thy bed and go to thy house," appears a strange command to those who have only seen four-post beds, with mattresses and curtains; but we heard a child of five years old, the other day, when hearing the story say, "And then Mamma, he just rolled up his bichowna." The same child, seeing an image of a bull, observed, "And was *that* what the Israelites prayed to? As if *that* could hear them." It would be endless to multiply instances, of the "tents and camels," the "unleavened cakes," "the early and the latter rain," "the parched corn," the petitioners "taking a present in their hand," and other instances wherein this country *shews* what was done of old, and gives to those who first learn the narrative here, a vivid idea of the facts, after which we vainly toil amid books and pictures. These hints are worth considering, for such distinct impressions of what *was* and *is*, would disarm many an idle jeer cast at the Scripture narrative by those who judge it by an European standard.

The subject is an interesting one, and we are tempted to pursue it further; but in this division of our work we are compelled to be brief, and must therefore break off, for the present, with the expression of a lively hope that even these few observations will not have been written in vain.

Qurán: Maulavi 'Abdul Qádir ka Tarjuma, Zuban i Urdu Men, aur Hashiye Nasara Musanif ke. Ilahabad, Presbyterian Mishan Press, 1844.

(Sold by Hay and Meik, Calcutta.)

THIS is a work, which, as the title imports, has recently issued from the Allahabad Presbyterian Mission Press. It is a translation of the Qurán (Koran) into Urdu or Hindustani, with preface and notes, in Roman character. It is mainly intended as a help to Missionaries, teachers and others interested in the enlightenment of the Muhammadan population; and, in this respect, cannot fail to be extremely useful. The style of the Urdu version may, perhaps, be rather too *Persianized* for some; but this is purely a matter of taste; and ought not to be allowed by any candid mind to weigh against its manifold excellences. The preface is a well digested and comprehensive treatise; the nature and importance of which may be best inferred from the following brief sketch or analysis of its contents:—

SEC. 1.—It often happens in the world that remarkable characters appear. The circumstances connected with these should be carefully examined. It is only in this way that we can understand those things which contributed to the realization of the objects they had in view. The wise man will also consider the difficulties they had to encounter: whether they were of such a nature as to be overcome only by divine power and assistance; or whether they are of such a character as to be met by the wisdom and prudence of man.

Again, when any remarkable individual has been raised up by God; there is the further inquiry as to whether such an one is indeed approved of God; or whether he be only as a sword in the hands of the Almighty, for the purpose of carrying out His purposes of punishment and judgment upon sinners. Thus God raised up the Kings of Egypt, Babylon and Syria, all idolators, that he might use them as His weapons against the Jews. They were the instruments of His vengeance, but were not approved, or delighted in, by Him.

The rise and progress of Muhammadanism cannot be rightly understood by those who are unacquainted with ancient history. The history of that period should be diligently studied. Otherwise, the lustre of the warlike exploits of Muhammad and the Caliphs may so deceive the mind as to carry it away entirely from the consideration of those things, which contributed to their success.

The period then to which reference is made, must be historically considered; in order that, on the one hand we may not impiously exalt the merely human, and on the other may not detract aught from that which is due to the character of Muhammad

The inquiry then proceeds as to the mission of Muhammad.

SEC. 2.—The objections of the Muhammadans, that the Jews and Christians have obliterated from their sacred writings the prophecies concerning Muhammad, are met by a reference to the curse pronounced both in the Old and New Testament "for any guilty of corrupting the word of God."

SEC. 3.—By the remarkable care with which Jews and Christians have ever preserved the word of God.

SEC. 4.—By the translation of the Scriptures into various languages before the birth of Muhammad.

SEC. 5.—The unchanged continuance to the present day in the old Testament of the Prophecies concerning Christ, so entirely opposed to their (the Jews') own general understanding of them and their expectations concerning Him. Yea, even to the propheey of Daniel, which speaks so plainly respecting the time of the coming of the Messiah, and other particulars.

SEC. 6.—The portions of LIII. Isaiah, which speak of the humiliation of Christ. These, the Jews, who looked for a temporal Deliverer, possessed of earthly dominion and authority, would surely have struck out, had they ever ventured upon any alteration or corruption of the word of God.

SEC. 7.—The improbability, that, if the Old and New Testaments really prophesied of one who was to be the fulfilment of such prophecies, the Jews and Christians should strike them out *before the coming* of him who was thus prophesied of. His

coming would be a fulfilment of their own scriptures, and they would never have *anticipated* from such an one any opposition to themselves.

SEC. 8.—The same thought extended. The Jews never looked for an enemy in the person of the Christ who was prophesied of in their scriptures

SEC. 9.—The consideration whether the Jews and Christians could have corrupted the scriptures *during the life time of Muhammad.* The previous translation of them into many various languages rendered this impossible.

SEC. 10.—An impostor appeared in Afghanistan about 200 hundred years ago, setting up pretensions to the prophetic character; could he have corrupted all the copies of the Qurán then existing? Had he even succeeded in so doing, in regard to the copies in Afghanistan, there still remained all the copies scattered throughout various other countries.

SEC. 11.—The prophecies of the old Testament do in some instances refer to Muhammad and the Muhammadan religion.

SEC. 12.—The prophecy at Daniel VIII. 23-24-25 applied to Muhammad. This is opened out in Sections 13—19.

SEC. 20.—Revelation VI. 4. applied to Muhammadanism. Sec. 21—Remarks to prove that the paraclete spoken of at John XIV. 16 and 17 could not possibly be Muhammad as stated by some Muhammadans.

Then follow, at Sections 22 to 27 inclusive, a few remarks on the state of the different neighbouring countries in the days of Muhammad, on the state of the Jews and Christians, of the Roman Empire and of Persia.

In the next Section, 28, which treats shortly of the character and genius of Muhammadanism, it is shewn to be a religion of war and extermination of those of another faith, commenced by fraud and propagated by the sword.

The 29th Section refers to the circumstances under which Muhammadan authors have always written. Wherever Muhammadanism held sway, they wrote under fear of the sword, and have never enjoyed liberty of thought or expression.

The 30th Section alludes to the Muhammadan traditions. It refers to the fact that ignorance and tradition have gone together. As in the cases of the Jews before the coming of Christ (Mark VII 5-17), the Christians shortly after the Apostolic age, the Hindus, Burmese, and Chinese.

The 31st Section is intended to shew, that the writer of the Qurán was, in fact, very ignorant of the Bible. As, for instance, "sacrifice" is the special subject of Bible teaching. The pardon of sin can only be by an appointed and sufficient sacrifice. Of this the Qurán says nothing. Again the Qurán says nothing, of the great prophecies of the Bible (Query—would it have suited the writer's purpose to have alluded to these subjects?)

SEC. 32.—The Qurán has in it quotations from the scriptures, but these are so mixed up with other expressions which pander to the lusts and animal appetites of men, that their meaning is entirely perverted All that is spiritual in the Bible is excluded; while in the Qurán all that is sensual and material finds a place. A paradise of wine and women is substituted for the pure and holy paradise of the Bible.

SEC. 33.—The tendency of Muhammadanism upon the mind is to make men cruel and savage. The true Muhammadan can never be humble and gentle.

SEC. 34 — The Qurán bears internal evidence, that Muhammad shrunk from inquiry, as, for instance "The Apostle, sent, or messenger, believeth in that which hath been sent down to him from his Lord, and the faithful also. Every one of them believeth in God, and his Angels and his Scriptures, and his messengers, we make no distinction at all between his messengers, Sura-i-Baqr, 285; and again —"They who believe not in God, and his messengers, and would make a distinction between God and his messengers, and say, we believe in some of the prophets, and reject others of them, and seek to take a middle way in this matter; these are really unbelievers and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment But they who believe in God and his messengers, and make no distinction between any of them, unto those will he surely give their reward," Sura-i-Nisà.

God commands to examine and discern between good and evil. Muhammad confounds true prophets and false prophets together, and says, "believe on them all"

SEC. 35.—No one in a Muhammadan country dares express any doubt as to the divine authority of the Qurán at the peril of his life. True inquiry is, therefore, not to be looked for.

SEC. 36.—Muhammad was often pressed to work miracles. His reply was that he was sent as a teacher not as a worker of miracles. At last, when hardly pressed he pointed to the Qurán itself as a miracle, and challenged the production of its equal.

SEC. 37.—Homer's Iliad will bear a comparison with the Qurán.

SEC. 38.—The brevity and elegance of the style of the Qurán admitted, but this is no proof of miraculous agency or inspiration. Many works beautiful in style indicate but little of piety in their authors, as Byron and Moore.

SEC. 39.—This claim for the Qurán set up by Muhammad was made great use of by his followers in propagating his system, for death was the sure consequence of denying it.

SEC. 40.—No doubt that Muhammad and the Caliphs had great success in war, but success in war is no proof of a divine mission, for instance Janghiz Khan, Timur Shah, Nadir Shah, and Napoleon Bonaparte.

SECS. 41, 42 and 43.—Contain brief references to the wars of Muhammad and the Caliphs.

The rest of the preface treats of the decline of Muhammadanism.

SEC. 44.—Reference to Daniel VII. 13-14. in proof of the increase and stability of Christ's Kingdom. Reference to Daniel VIII. two concluding clauses of verse 25; the first respecting the opposition of Muhammadanism to Christianity already accomplished. The last clause is on the eve of accomplishment.

SEC. 45.—Remarks on the peaceful character of the religion of Christ. In days of darkness and ignorance, certain have taken up the sword in the propagation of christianity, but this was contrary to its character, and did violence to its spirit. The wars of Moses, Joshua, and David recorded in the Bible, may possibly be alleged by Muhammadans in their defence. These were not wars for the propagation of religion; but for the punishment of heathen nations who had sinned against God.

SEC. 46.—The signs of the times are many, that Muhammadanism is on the decline. The decline of the Muhammadan power,—the "power of the sword" is taken out of their hands.

SEC. 47.—This sword is about to fall from the hands of the Muhammadan. This will not be without a struggle, but it *will* be. Reference to Revelation XIX. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16. The sword of Muhammad was in his hand. The sword of Christ proceeds from his mouth. The Kingdom of Muhammad destroys. The Kingdom of Christ blesses. The prophets testify, and experience confirms it, that the "word of God is quick," &c. (Hebrew IV. 12.) and that the entrance of the word of God giveth light. The light of the scriptures of truth has begun to arise upon the Muhammadan nations. The sword will not bar the light, any more than it can prevent the rising of the sun. The rising of the "Sun of Righteousness" upon the followers of Islam is now being effected by the instrumentality of the printing-press, and the circulation of the word of God. A knowledge of the Bible will put to flight all the lies of Muhammad as to the divine claims set up for the Qurán, and its communication to him by the Angel Gabriel.

The Notes consist of a series of running comments, designed to point out the absurdities and self-contradictions of the Qurán, and its wretchedly perverted notions of the Divine Character; while opportunity is taken pretty frequently to bring forward the doctrines of Christianity. These notes might, in some instances, have been fuller; but, in a *first* attempt of the kind, we ought not to be too particular, or expect too much. Experience, when a revised edition is called for, will suggest the requisite additions, enlargements, or amendments. Even in their present form, the notes will be found practically of no inconsiderable value. As a specimen of their drift and aim, we may here give the substance of some of those which appear on the second chapter of the Qurán:—

CHAP. 2D.—"The Cow." Note.—The name of this chapter is taken from the story of the red heifer (at page 10 of Sale's translation.) It is held in the highest estimation by the Muhammadans and some will have it that eighty angels came down with each verse of it. Among other things it is related that this chapter shall make such intercession for all its readers that they shall enter into paradise. Thus then it appears, that faith, good works and the intercession of Muhammad are not in themselves sufficient to procure salvation, and that some intercessor is needful. Did they but know the true intercessor, they would never resort to such intercessors as these.

2D VERSE.—"There is no doubt in this Book." Note.—This requires to be proved, Muhammad by denying that there is any doubt, has given occasion for

doubt. Had he felt conscious of the truth of what he was saying he would not have commenced with such an assertion as this.

3RD VERSE.—"Who believe in the mysteries of faith."—Occasion is taken in the note to show from this remark, that Muhammadanism admits that there are mysteries in religion, and yet it rejects the Doctrine of the Trinity because it is beyond the comprehension of finite man

4TH VERSE —"Who believe in that revelation which hath been sent down to thee."—The Muhammadans admit that the Old and New Testaments came from God, but in saying that the Old and New Testaments (as also the Qurán) were sent written from heaven, they contradict the internal evidence of the Bible See Exodus XXIV. 27. Deut. XXXI. 24. Mark XII. 19 John V. 4. 6; 2d. Timothy III. 16. Revelation I 11

VERSE 23 —"If ye be in doubt concerning that revelation which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it," &c Mark the cunning of this sudden transition of the party speaking, and of putting this expression into the mouth of God. This is made to appear as a challenge from God himself. Had any one attempted to answer the challenge. the Judge would have been one of Muhammad's followers and the sword would have decided the cause.

VERSE 25 —"There shall they enjoy wives subject to no impurity. &c" Compare the Paradise of the Christian with the Paradise of the Muhammadan. Muhammad has often asserted, that the Qurán was the completion and fulfilment of the Old and New Testaments. How so? See Mathew XXII. 29 and 30, and Luke XX 34 and 35. Muhammad knew well the character of those whom he wished to gain. while he knew nothing of the life to come, and hence the promises and prospects of his sensual paradise

VERSE 30 to 34.—This is shown in the note to be an attempt to improve upon Genesis I. 26; but angels are here converted into idolaters.

VERSE 57.—The note points out that the Israelites had no cities into which to enter during their wanderings in the wilderness. This appears to be a confused reference to the cities of refuge. Joshua XX.

VERSE 59.—Occasion is taken to point out Christ as the Rock alluded to in the Old Testament; 1st Corinthians X 4.

VERSE 62.—The writer of the Qurán has here mistaken a Syrian word which signifies "coming down or descending" for one which signifies "lifting up" The allusion is to Exodus XIX 18, but instead of saying that God came down or descended upon Mount Sinai—Muhammad says that he lifted it up.

VERSE. 66—The note points out that this is taken in some confused manner from the account at Numbers XXIX. 1 to 10,and occasion is taken to show how the Scripture passage refers to Christ.

VERSE 86.—The note refers to the four interpretations by the Muhammadans of the term "Holy Spirit." 1st the pure soul of Jesus, 2nd. the Angel Gabriel, 3rd, a name of power by which Jesus raised the dead, 4th, the Gospel itself; and shows the folly of them all.

When the proposal was made, some years ago, to publish the present work, exceptions were taken to it, in certain quarters, with which we could not possibly sympathize. The projectors, in their original prospectus, announced that it was one part of their design to render the Qurán accessible, in an intelligible form, to the general mass of the people, who were debarred from all knowledge of its actual contents, by the shroud of the Arabic language—and that the practical effect of this would be, to render them better acquainted with its real merits, or rather, its vast and multitudinous demerits. From all this they anticipated a result favourable to the detection and exposure of error, and to the spread and establishment of truth. The objection raised against the plan, was to the effect, that it is the duty of Christians to print and distribute Christian truth, but not that which they know to be a cheat and a lie—and that to print and circulate that which they know and believe to be the grossest and most influential of all impostures, comes within the category of doing evil that good may come. Now, in our opinion this is a perfect *non-sequitur*. And, while

we admire the motive, we cannot but suspect the soundness of the judgment, whence it originated. We ourselves would shrink, with all the sensitiveness of moral recoil, from propagating simple undiluted error, or from lending any sanction to the Jesuitical maxim of "doing evil that good may come." But we cannot see how the Allahabad Missionaries have, in the present undertaking, exposed themselves to any such charges. Had they published the Qurán, in a vernacular dialect, *without note or comment*, there might indeed be some room for the allegation. But when they have published it, *with preface and notes, purposely designed to lay bare its false pretensions, incoherencies, and self-contradictions*, we cannot perceive the shadow of a foundation for the objection. If the *principle* of the objection were carried to its legitimate extent, no error whatsoever could be confuted. For he who confutes, must, of necessity, announce what he designs to confute. In other words, if he purposes to expose error, he must print and circulate the error along with the exposure. If the principle of the objection were valid, it would sweep away some of the best defences of Christianity ever written. Yea, it would invalidate the claims of the Bible itself. For accounts are there given of immoral acts, purposely to condemn them; and of grievous errors, purposely to hold them up to utter reprobation. At this moment, there is among our Hindu fellow subjects a sore delusion repecting the *supposed transcendental excellence of the Vedas*. Now, so absolutely baseless is such a belief, and so absolutely contrary to what these celebrated writings really merit, that we can scarcely imagine a greater service to the cause of truth, than what would accrue from a translation of these into the vernacular dialects of the country—accompanied with running comments, in the style of the Allahabad edition of the Qurán, pointing out their endless mistakes and errors in every department of knowledge, and, at the same time, directing attention to the counterpart truths. On the whole, our conviction is, that the American Missionaries at Allahabad, have displayed considerable sagacity and tact in editing the present volume. We, therefore, earnestly commend it to the serious attention of all who are interested in the intellectual, moral and social improvement of the Muhammadan population.

Letters to Friends at Home by an Idler—First and Second Series. Calcutta, 1843-44.

THESE volumes contain reprints of a series of letters, published during the two last years in the Overland *Calcutta Star*. As rapid sketches of passing events—dashed off in a free, bold style—they are always readable, often amusing; and, but for a little excess of bitterness, would be very pleasant reading throughout. We feel inclined to persuade the author to wash a little of the gall out of his inkstand. He might, with less of acerbity, be equally piquant, and he would assuredly be more popular. He has an animated graphic style, to the freedom of which the vehicle he has selected is well adapted; and he dashes off from one subject to another with a velocity, which can not fail to keep up the attention of the reader. Lord Ellenborough is the *Idler's* "favorite

aversion;" and [illegible] allowance," which [illegible] very often right. [illegible] increase than [illegible] ridicule. "There is a [illegible] not repel inquiry, operates [illegible] vehemence; and which, where it [illegible] respect of an antagonist. We are inclined to think [illegible] expenditure of talent, the author might have [illegible] santer volumes, if he had [illegible] month, into a fitting state of [illegible] of his work as pleasant as the [illegible] give a few extracts, before [illegible] the 1st series; it gives [illegible] pore, which we have [illegible] Administration:—

I also suggested [illegible] might have had [illegible] say, except that [illegible] goodly company [illegible] ing showers, with [illegible] have a very good [illegible] in torrents yet [illegible] threatened to rival [illegible] enswamped. The [illegible] perhaps they were [illegible] rified at the [illegible] fashion of four [illegible] Camp broke up, [illegible] ever there was [illegible] Ned, as he is [illegible] to his left, [illegible] and the welcoming [illegible] the exact number [illegible] ments, even to [illegible] happily carried out, [illegible] a curve at the [illegible] the column on two [illegible] but where was Lady [illegible] started [illegible]

[illegible] for [illegible] Captain [illegible] rison, and [illegible] some of the [illegible] suppose he [illegible] took the [illegible] exertions he was [illegible] and he would [illegible] enthusiasm. [illegible] officers,' and his [illegible]

There is a [illegible] "Lady Elizabeth," we [illegible] incident of the [illegible] superintendence of [illegible] toria doubt;" but if the sun [illegible] declare that "the [illegible]

Our next extract relates to a very different man—Lord Auckland. The annexed passages contain a vast deal of truth:—

It is unnecessary to say a word in defence of Lord Auckland. There is not a point on which he is vulnerable; party spirit may malign him, but the calm enquirer who acquaints himself with facts, will find him above reproach. The policy was outlined at home, and I believe it would have been much the same had the Tories been in power instead of the Whigs. Be that as it may, to throw the responsibility of it upon Lord A. is monstrous. I doubt whether he has a single friend who does not regret that the motion for a committee was lost. To blame him for the disasters that occurred is more monstrous. Not a syllable has been disclosed that makes him in the remotest degree responsible. The strongest point that can be urged against him is, that he appointed General Elphinstone, a distinguished soldier, but a man passed his day. It has been said his Lordship was told this, and that he was not fit for the command It may be so, but there is much excuse for the appointment in Elphinstone's position and his services, and not to have named him might have been to bring down another kind of attack.

Had his Lordship failed in the trying hour, had he vacillated and shown himself unequal to the emergency, then indeed there might have been a mark set against his name. It was not so. He faced our misfortunes with the nerve of a man, and prepared to retrieve them with the vigour of a statesman. Never anything more untrue was uttered, in the spirit in which it was said, than that Lord Ellenborough came and reversed the policy of Lord Auckland. Look in the Blue Book at Lord E.'s first letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and you will find it follow with the strictest fidelity the policy Lord A. had chalked out. That policy was certainly reversed in one sense. Redress was to have been taken as soon as the means were commensurate; instead of which a well-equipped and powerful force was allowed to remain in spirit-breaking inactivity for months; fatally would it have been reversed had it not been for the noble conduct of Lord Auckland's Generals Had there been a line to show that Lord Auckland ever contemplated the retention of the country, as well as the recovery of our honour, then indeed there might have been some ground for saying his policy had been reversed, but it is in black and white that on his own responsibility he would never do it. Is it not strange that Peel should declare the policy was reversed, when only last session the man said with a threat to Lord Palmerston, 'Who contemplated *the abandonment* of Affghanistan? I could tell him. Beware, I say; let the noble Lord beware of indiscriminate reflections upon those now in office.' And this was based on Lord Auckland's order, that if the force could not make itself safe at Jellalabad, it was to retire on Peshawur and wait further orders. Lo, what have we from the same lips! A declaration that Affghanistan was to be abandoned, and a declaration that the abandonment is a reversal of that policy! But it may be said, Peel meant an abandonment by Lord Auckland without striking a blow. That such was intended is notoriously untrue, and it is contradicted by the language used. Lord Ellenborough orders a withdrawal within the Indus! not a syllable about further orders! and that, my dear Mackenzie is, what?—only being a little 'over cautious!' Party, Party, what does it not do with the justice and honesty of man!

We do not go quite so far as the IDLER in his out-and-out exculpation of Lord Auckland, for he was somewhat too willing to credit that monstrous delusion—the tranquillity of Affghanistan; and to resent the expression of any doubts on the subject—but the account of his conduct, on the outbreak of the insurrection, does him no more than justice.

The first series of these letters is dedicated to Lord Ellenborough, "Governor General of India." The second to Lord Ellenborough, "late Governor General of India." Both of these dedicatory epistles are very stinging. The capsicum in the latter is particularly strong. We cannot however resist taking one passage from it, because we think that the rebuke it contains has, unfortunately for the country, been fully earned:—

'You came to this country, my Lord, with the words of peace on your lips—God knows what was in your heart, but I believe honesty of purpose. I think you meant

well, that you desired to reduce the expenditure of the country, to increase the revenue by developing its resources, to foster the Arts and Sciences, and, in your own language, to elevate the character and better the condition of the generous and mighty people committed to your charge.

It would be shocking to imagine that speech of your's, my Lord, delivered in solemn mockery; yet had it been so, how could you more bitterly have made us feel it. Let those who can reconcile your words at home with your actions here, do it—believe me, my Lord, it is essential to the integrity of your public character. I ask them to reconcile your address to the Court of Directors with your address to the people of Calcutta. You told the former that your aim would be to enrich the country, to emulate the magnificent benevolence of the Mahomedan Emperors, and to the latter you spoke of India being a great Camp to be kept by the sword! Few imagined, my Lord, when you talked of enriching the country, you proposed doing it by territorial aggrandizement and the spoils of unjust war.

This is no place for an examination into your policy—I have to deal only with results. Your Lordship's reign was something more than two years, and we have had peace for a few months, devoted to preparations for new wars, while the benevolence of your rule has been at best no more than benevolent intentions, reaching us only in rumours which the most generous might be excused for doubting. Even with war on his hands, a wise ruler will never forget to deserve the favour of those to whom all wars are odious, and to mitigate the displeasure of such as may only dissent from his immediate policy. He will, my Lord, affect an interest, even if he does not feel it, in the institutions of his country—its hospitals, its colleges, its schools; he will countenance undertakings of great enterprize in the cause of human improvement, if he does not originate them, and, in a word, assume the virtue of caring for his people if he have it not. Whatever credit may attach to the boldness of being undisguisedly indifferent to public opinion, is your's, my Lord, without dispute.

My Lord, I will not say you have been indifferent to the welfare of the country, for who can read another's breast; but I think you have given no evidence of having it much at heart. I know no single act of your Government, emanating from yourself, that speaks sympathy with the benighted millions of this empire, and I can but account for the ready oblivion of all you pledged yourself to attempt, by believing that Military success—with which you had nothing to do—dazzled, bewildered, and finally obscured the good sense which sketched a career promising honor to yourself and real glory to India.

We would fain make some more extracts from these clever volumes; and, did time and space allow us, canvass some of the expressed opinions from which we differ; but we are compelled to bring our notice to a close. We hope the *Idler* will soon give us an opportunity of reviewing a work from his pen, of a more permanent character, than these Sketches of passing events, which, however cleverly hit off, cannot retain their interest much longer than the events which they represent. He has ability, if he has the inclination, to do still better things than these.

A few Local Sketches, by J. M. Calcutta, W. H. Carey, 1844.

THESE sketches were originally published in a Calcutta newspaper (the *Bengal Hurkaru*) whence they have been rescued by the author and collected into a neat duodecimo volume. They are precisely what they profess to be, and are very good of their kind—thoroughly local and graphic, of undeniable verisimilitude. The "Heads of the People"—a brief, too brief Indian series, are all of them "true and lively portraitures;" portraits of a class, but being faithful, sure to fit individuals. The sources whence these sketches are drawn is not yet exhausted; there is a mine still to be worked out; and we may hope, therefore, ere long

to see a few more of our Eastern brethren hit off after the same lively fashion. Of those now before us the OLD BABOO and EURASIAN BELLE are our favorites.—We have but limited space left us for extracts; but we must in justice to the author of this pleasant little volume, give a few brief specimens of his style :—

THE OLD BABOO'S FIRST VENTURE.

Our OLD BABOO, as has been already intimated, began his career in the capacity of a *running sirkar*. He was one of the many sons of a poor man, and consequently had to create his own capital—or—to do without it. Nor was it long before Nilcomul began this most interesting branch of manufactures. His first experiment was as follows :—One lucky day, as he was plodding along the Strand, he saw some boatmen engaged in hauling from the water some fathoms of a coir-cable which they had found floating down the river. Nilcomul discovered that a ready-money purchaser of their prize, would be likely to make a good bargain with the fortunate finders; and as he happened just to have received his monthly *tuttub** of ten sicca rupees, he felt an irrepressible desire to invest a portion of it in the article before him. The boatmen asked eight rupees, Nilcomul offered four, and after less than the usual quantity of chaffering in which the Bengalee so much delights, the rope became his for five. Another rupee, judiciously applied, induced the police authorities on the spot, to waive their claims of *jetsam* and *flotsam*; and a few annas more secured its conveyance to the quadrangle of Nilcomul's, or rather his father's house. There, at the expence of a few more annas, it was reduced to the state of oakum, and afterwards sold so as to yield to its proprietor a clear nett profit of five rupees on the adventure.

THE OLD BABOO AT HOME.

Through the kindness of a mutual friend—himself a Hindoo, and consequently, possessing opportunities of observation denied to us *Goraclok*†, we are enabled to present a brief account of the doings of our OLD BABOO in his retirement;—in those hours which are devoted to domestic duties and enjoyments.

Deep in those recesses of the Black Town where a white face is a thing to scare children with, stands the mansion of that branch of the Bysack family, of which Nilcomul is the head. It is of the kind of which there are so many specimens in those regions. Outwardly a square donjon-keep like erection of dark-red brick, with a turret at one corner; inwardly it exhibits two or three tiers of wooden galleries surrounding an open quadrangular court. It is like most of the Hindoo family mansions, populous as a rabbit-warren. As but a portion of its inhabitants we may reckon up the Baboo and his wife, his five sons and their five wives, his three daughters and their three husbands; with a matter of about twenty grandchildren. Over this community Nilcomul reigns with patriarchal sway. At his expense all its members live. Other and larger communities have to support their rulers, but here the case is reversed.

On the authority of our intelligent friend aforementioned, we offer the following as a sketch of the usual daily routine of the home-life of an OLD BABOO. Nilcomul, who has grown rich, as much by saving as by gaining; and who practically recognises the truth of the maxim, "If you would be well-served, serve yourself!" generally begins the day by acting as caterer for the household which subsist at his cost. With the coadjutancy of the old lady, his wife, he forms a Committee of Supply in which it is determined what provisions are required for the consumption of the day. This delicate point being settled, he summons Buloram his servant, to attend him with basket and bag, and attired in soiled *dhootie* and *chudder* (the *chapkan* he dispenses with on such occasions) and thrusting his toes into his oldest slippers, he sallies forth on a foraging expedition. On his way to the *bazar* (Lallo Baboo's is his favourite resort) he makes a point of inquiring at the shops which he passes, the current prices of oil, ghee, spices, &c. This is not from idle curiosity. He thereby secures himself against the possibility of being cheated by his servant to whom he is obliged to entrust the purchase of such articles.

As *fish* is the only kind of animal food which the laws of caste allow to the Bysacks, and as it is at the same time the most important item in Nilcomul's bill-of-fare, it is that to the purchase of which he first devotes his energies. Those gigantic shrimps called *chingree*, being at once palatable, satisfying, and cheap, find great favour in the eyes of the economical Baboo, and of them he lays in a plentiful supply. But this is not done without much of that bargaining, the excitement of which is so pleasant both to purchaser and seller. Fishwomen are fishwomen all the world over, and the piscatory ladies of Lalla Baboo's Bazar are not a whit inferior to their sisters of Billingsgate, in any of those oratorical excellencies for which the latter are so famous. The language of the *muchhee bazar* is only that of Billingsgate translated into Bengalee. Nilcomul is well known to the Nereids of the fishmarket, and on his approach is greeted with some playful *badinage*, which he takes in very good part. He knows that he will have none the worse bargain for keeping them in good humour.

Having satisfactorily invested part of his funds in fish, Nilcomul seeks the *subjeewala* or dealer in fruit and vegetables—articles which figure largely in a Hindoo bill-of-fare. Here he lays in a stock of *puloo*, of potatoes (which though of foreign introduction have found great favour in the mouths of the Hindoos,) of *brinjals*, and of green plaintains, both of which are temptingly cheap. Then he lays out two or three pice on such greens as help to

* Wages. † White people.

fill up his basket most effectually. His last visit is to the *moyra* or confectioner, for there would be sour looks at home should he return without a sufficient supply of sweetmeats. His marketing being now finished, he returns home, quietly triumphing in his success, in what is, to him, a pleasant occupation. Of course on the way he forgets not to keep an eye on Buloram, who might otherwise be tempted to peck at the *Jelabees** which lie so invitingly on the top of the basket.

Having seen his purchases safe under charge of his thrifty helpmate, Nilcomul sets forth on his pilgrimage to the river side. There, having duly bathed, he employs himself, for an hour or so, in the repetition of *munters*, and the performance of the various motions and gesticulations which constitute so large a part of Hindoo devotion. Then having duly striped the bridge of his nose with the yellow pigment proper for the purpose, he returns home diligently counting *Hurrimams* on his beads, to the extent of some thousands. His devotions do not conclude immediately on his arrival at home, but he continues to perform the various *poojahs* which are enjoined to Hindoo piety, with the most scrupulous care. He fears that were he to omit *one*, the dereliction would probably be punished by want of success in his affairs during the day.

Meantime the Brahmin-cook has been preparing breakfast. This is not a social meal; Nilcomul takes his alone, his wife reverently waiting upon him. Hindoo etiquette does not allow of the wife's eating in presence of her husband, much less of her sitting down to take a meal with him, so Nilcomul's wife sits opposite him while he breakfasts, and entertains him with reports and remarks on household affairs, and the discussion of plans and projects for the current day.

Breakfast being disposed of, the Old Baboo masticates a *beetul*, indulges in a nap, for which his early labours have well qualified him; and rising about eleven o'clock gets into his old *palkee*, and is borne into the commercial regions of the city

On returning home in the evening, which he does between four and five o'clock, Nilcomul's first care is to wash off the pollution which he has suffered by contact with the Feringhees and their money. After this, instead of going, as many of his new fangled compatriots do, to display himself and a smart equipage on the Strand, he piously resorts to the neighbouring *Thakoorbarreet* of which he is a liberal patron, and spends an hour or more in devotion.

Now comes the period of enjoyment for the Old Baboo. His religious exercises being disposed of, he establishes himself in his *boitakhanah*, or sitting room, and prepares to receive company. The apartment is a somewhat confined one on the ground floor. It is furnished with a *tukht-posh* (a platform something like the *dais* of old) over which is spread a *sutringee* and about which are scattered eight or ten large pillows. The room is lit by two or three dim lamps in old fashioned wall-shades; and is adorned with pictorial representations of the incarnations of Vishnu. Seating himself, in an easy *dishabille* on the platform, Nilcomul in the full enjoyment of *otium cum dignitate* welcomes his favoured guests as they drop in, one after another "quite promiscuously." There is Gossainjee the spiritual adviser; and Buttacharjee the family priest, and others, Brahmins and Bustoms, steady old-fashioned people like himself. Their conversation partakes in a great measure of a religious character. They bewail the heresy and corruption of the rising generation, and comfort and encourage each other in their adherence to the doctrines and customs of their ancestors, which *must* be good because they are so old. Amongst other things, Nilcomul expresses his regret that he had been so far left to himself as to allow some of his boys to attend the Hindoo College. He had, indeed withdrawn them when he found they were acquiring infidel notions, but it was too late; the poison had begun to operate! His friends shut their eyes and shake their heads, and condole with him; and he finds consolation in their pity. Meantime the *hookah*, their sole refreshment, has been rapidly circulating, and aiding by its gentle inspiration their sober converse. At an early hour the friends retire, and then, and not till then, Nilcomul takes his solitary supper. As at breakfast, so now, the old woman attends him, to see his wants supplied, and to furnish him with a report of all that has passed during the day, the quarrels of the young women, the combats and insolence of the children.

Such is the dull routine of the private life of an Old Baboo, varied only by an occasional visit to some favorite suburban temple; and the one never-to-be forgotten pilgrimage to Juggernauth, in which he was accompanied by his whole family.

We must give one more morsel—but of a different character. From the greasy old Baboo we turn to the gentle East-Indian girl. Certainly our author knows how to appreciate beauty, whatever may be the color of it. He is right too. In form and feature, few of our genuine Europeans can vie with—

THE EURASIAN BELLE.

Truly, setting aside *the tint*, which after all is hardly skin-deep, your Eurasian belle is a very comely girl. Her portrait *in colours* might not win much admiration from the critical and fastidious Briton; but in a *plain* steel engraving, would not those neatly moulded and highly polished features, and above all, those large lustrous black eyes, with their long silky fringes, render it well worth a place in the Book of Beauty. And for a bust, could the sculptor desire any more graceful subject than is presented in that elegantly formed head, with its luxuriant hair gathered in a classical knot behind, and simply braided over a smooth open brow; those finely arched eye-brows; that almost Grecian (but slightly Roman) nose; those full rich lips; that round and dimpled chin; that well formed neck, rising so gracefully and

* A Sweetmeat. † Temple.

gradually from the sloping shoulders, and full bosom, and blending so beautifully with the head which it supports so elegantly. Are not these the materials for a bust that might rival the antique: or for a daguerreotype portrait, which might vie in beauty with that of the fairest and noblest of England's daughters? Yet the bust or the portrait would be but the likeness of an humble East Indian girl, sneered at under the denomination of a *half-caste*, a *chee-chee*, or "one of the Browns."

* * * * * * *

We have already said that our Eurasian Belle is the second daughter and fourth child of the abovementioned Peter. We have also given such a sketch of her personal charms, that when we add the information that, at seventeen, she is, though somewhat *petite* in figure, more womanly in appearance than the less precocious damsels of Europe at twenty; and that her colour, that sole drawback on her otherwise dazzling beauty, is that of very fine coffee with plenty of cream in it, the reader may form a pretty faithful idea of the face and figure of Miss Julia Jane Silvester. Of her mental qualifications, we are sorry that we cannot speak so highly as of her personal endowments. She is, we admit, sweet in temper, and of modest and amiable deportment. But it must be confessed, that although from her fifth to her fifteenth year she enjoyed all the advantages of the best "seminaries for young ladies" in Calcutta, she is after all a little of a dunce. Yet she can read without much hesitation, except at *very hard* words. She writes, as all of her class do, a very beautiful looking, but almost illegible hand. She can calculate to a nicety the value of ten yards of "quilling net," at six pice per yard. She can tell you the names of the capital cities of England, France, Russia, and Bengal. She knows who won the battle of Hastings; who signed Magna Charta; and how many wives Henry the Eighth had. She *could* repeat the Church Catechism from end to end, and almost all the Collects. And yet we have called her a dunce! we must and do recant, and apologise for the slander. We find she knows at least as much as the majority of English young ladies who have had only similar opportunities. Then, besides the more serious matters which we have enumerated, we must celebrate her skill in bead and worsted work—hoping to be rewarded for so doing with a specimen of it in each kind—a purse, and a pair of slippers. We must further praise her execution on the piano, though we cannot, conscientiously, speak so highly of her vocal performances—her voice is sweet enough, but it wants power.

The entire sketch from which this is taken is exceedingly good—humorous and picturesque—and is well worth the price of the little volume, though there are half-a-dozen equally good. We do not like the poetry so well as the prose; but there are few who excel in both.

A Narrative of the late Victorious Campaign in Affghanistan under General Pollock; by Lieutenant Greenwood, H. M.'s 31st Regiment. London, Colburn, 1844.

THOUGH we cannot help feeling a sort of shame when we detect ourselves in perusing with pleasure such a volume as this; there is undeniably something attractive in a smartly written narrative of a dashing campaign, interspersed with lively anecdotes from the pen of a manly young soldier. The animal spirits of which such a work is redolent have an exhilarating effect; and we read on from chapter to chapter, not pausing to moralise, quite as often as we ought. Lieutenant Greenwood was an officer of H. M.'s 31st foot, which Regiment formed part of Colonel Bolton's brigade which was sent up in the spring of 1842, to reinforce General Pollock, who had forced the Khybur and relieved Julalabad, before this reserve could come up with the main body of the force. The brigade joined the Head-quarters at Julalabad, without any very extraordinary adventures; but the Lieutenant was soon enabled to form a very fair estimate of the spirit in which the war was likely to be conducted. What follows may serve as a sample:—

On the way we fell in with some sepoys and an old subadar who joined us. I very narrowly escaped shooting a sepoy on this occasion; and, had it not been for the old native officer, most assuredly I should have done so. I was crossing over the summit of a hill, close under which the firing was pretty sharp, when I observed a fellow, whom I took to be a Kybereé, pointing his gun over a rock on the next hill at something below. I immediately presented my Manton, and was just pulling the trigger on him, when the subadar put his hand on my shoulder and exclaimed, "Sahib, sepahi hi." A sepoy it was, sure enough, who had come from camp in his native dress, which made me take him for a Kyberee.

The camels were eventually recovered, and five Kyberees shot. They were very large and powerful-looking men, and one of them made a desperate resistance. He got a ball in the leg, which stopped his running; and he then threw down his jezail, and drawing his long knife stood at bay. The first sepoy who came up to the spot, he rushed at, making a desperate stab at him. Fortunately he missed his aim, the blade of the long knife passing under the Hindoo's arm. The blow, however, knocked the sepoy down, but he immediately jumped on his legs, and seemingly forgetting he had his musket in his hands, picked up a large stone and hurled it at the Kyberee, who was in his turn tumbled over by the blow. Jack Sepoy now seemed to recover his recollection, and stuck his bayonet immediately into the Affghan's body. To make sure work, I suppose, he fired his musket into him also. The muzzle being close to the man's body, the discharge blew a hole through him large enough to admit a man's arm, and set fire to his clothes.

The slain were soon decapitated, and the sepoys *carried their heads into camp in triumph, stuck on the points of their bayonets.* Among the Kyberees who fell was one woman who I believe was killed by accident. But she was fighting in company with the others, and a bag of bullets, I heard, was taken from her person. I asked a sepoy who was near, how it was that they killed women?

"Sahib!" said he, "she must have been killed by mistake; but, as for males, I have lost twelve brethren in this cursed pass, *and I would bayonet a Kyberee of a month old at his mother's breast.*"

Such a feeling among the soldiers was not to be wondered at. The Kyberees had mutilated and cut up those who had fallen into their hands in a most inhuman manner; and, although their cruelty in torturing their victims was avoided by the British troops, it was not likely that their lives would ever be spared when the tables were turned upon them. Throughout the war, however, mercy and protection were extended to the females by all.

Lieutenant Greenwood writes somewhat coolly of the savage vindictiveness of the wretch, who declared himself ripe for infanticide—ready to murder the babe at its mother's breast; but he has a word of indignation to bestow on the ferocity of Affghan children:—

There is a *ferocity about the Affghans* which they seem to imbibe with their mother's milk. One of the officers of the 9th regiment related to me an occurrence which took place during the action when they forced the Kyber pass. In storming one of the heights, a colour sergeant was killed, and from some cause or other his body was left where it fell. A soldier of the same corps happening to pass by the spot some time after, saw a Kyberee boy apparently about six years of age with a large knife, which his puny arm had scarcely sufficient strength to wield, engaged in an attempt to hack off the head of the dead sergeant. The young urchin was so completely absorbed in his savage task, that he heeded not the near approach of the soldier, who *coolly took him up on his bayonet, and threw him over the cliff.*

We think that this soldier, who committed the revolting act thus described, must have "sucked in ferocity with his mother's milk." The less that is said after this, about the ferocity of the Affghans, the better.

The 31st formed part of the destroying brigade sent out, during the halt at Julalabad, to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Peshbolak. Lieutenant Greenwood thus describes the occupations of the force:—

The tribes about Goulai, however, had all absconded, leaving numberless forts and *villages at our mercy.* These we pulled down and *utterly destroyed. Their wells by means of which, they irrigated the land, were blown up with gunpowder and rendered useless.* These people lived, in a great measure, on dried mulberries, as the land would not produce sufficient corn for their consumption. There were beautiful topes* of mulberry trees around the forts. *Every morning and evening two companies from each regiment were sent out to cut them down.*

We found out that by cutting rings through the bark into the heart of the tree, it was as effectually destroyed as if cut down: and it was a more expeditious plan as well as lighter work. It was, therefore, adopted after the first few days. *We became quite adepts in the work of destruction, and a greater scene of devastation was perhaps never beheld.* The Goulai people had, however, richly deserved it all. They behaved most treacherously and infamously to Captain Ferris and also to General Sale, and could, therefore, expect no better treatment when the game was again in our hands.

As a companion picture to the above we may append Lieutenant Greenwood's account of the havoc committed at Caubul:—

After we had been at Cabul about a fortnight, a force of four companies of the 31st regiment, and of some detachments from the different native corps, was ordered one evening to be in readiness to march on the following morning into the city. The object was not stated, but we could form a pretty good idea of what we were to do, and the result proved that our expectations were correct. *We proceeded the next morning, and blew up all*

* Woods.

the principal chokes and bazaars where Sir W. MacNaghten's head and others had been exposed, and set fire to the city in many places. The houses were of course gutted in a very short time, and *bales of cloth, muslins, fur cloaks, blankets, and wearing apparel of every description were turned out and destroyed.* Quantities of English belts and pouches, and a variety of other articles which they had taken from Elphinstone's force were also discovered. Some of the men found a number of English cases of hermetically sealed grouse, and other meats, on which, as may be imagined, they had a fine feast. In blowing up the bazaars, some of our officers and men received severe contusions from the falling beams.

We *continued the work of destruction until night closed upon us,* and then returned to camp tired enough. Many of our men looked just like chimney-sweepers, from the fire and smoke. On succeeding days other parties were sent, and the city of Caubul, with the exception of the Bala Hissar, and the kussilbash quarter, was utterly destroyed and burned to the ground — An immense deal of property was wasted; but we could not carry it away. *The houses were nearly all built of dry light wood, and when once a fire was kindled it would have been impossible to stay the ravaging element.* The *conflagration lasted during the whole time we remained* encamped in the vicinity, and we still saw it when entering the Koord Cabul pass, on our return. A large mosque which the Affghans had built in honour of their success over Elphinstone's army, and called the Ferringee's mosque, was also blown up and destroyed.

We apprehend that this story of the mosque built in honor of the defeat of the British force was a pure fabrication, though Lieutenant Greenwood, like many others, firmly believed it to be true. The destruction of the bazars and the property contained therein was, in our opinion, wholly inexcusable, especially as the injury thus inflicted scarcely fell upon the Affghans at all; the greater number of shop-owners being Hindoos, Armenians, &c. wholly guiltless of the blood of our countrymen.

That the soldiery should have delighted in the work of destruction is not to be wondered at, when we consider the scenes over which they had passed; but care should have been taken, as much as possible, whilst punishing the guilty to spare the innocent. Lieutenant Greenwood gives the following heart-rending account of the spectacle, which presented itself in the Khoord Cabul pass:—

The scene within the pass was of the most heart-rending description. Elphinstone's army had suffered most dreadfully here, and the dead lay in heaps. They seemed, indeed, in some places, to have been mowed down by whole battalions. They had been preserved in the snow, and their ghastly faces often apparently turned towards us, seemed to call upon their fellow-countrymen to revenge their fate.

On many of the bodies we found packets of letters in perfect preservation; and on one, evidently that of an officer, placed next his heart, a small packet containing a long fair lock of woman's hair. Alas; some fond heart, no doubt, still aches for him, whose once manly form still lies unburied in this fatal pass! What a lesson for human pride was this? Some of England's best blood—the officer of rank—the private soldier—and the humble camp follower, —lowest of the low, all lay here in one undistinguishable mass of slain!

Poor fellows, their gallantry deserved a better fate. They fought and died like soldiers, while gaunt famine was preying upon their very vitals. They did all that men could do but hunger and cold they could not overcome. Of the final mismanagement which led to the disastrous situation which cost so many brave men their lives, I shall, at present, say nothing, as it is my intention to make a few observations regarding it hereafter. It appears to be pretty well understood in England.

And such is war.

The Oriental Rambler, or the Papers of Polyphilus—Part I. To which is added Food for the Traveller's Bungalow. Madras, T. B. Pharoah and Co.

"This little volume is precisely what it purports to be—Food for the Traveller's Bungalow. It contains a variety of light Essays, Anecdotes, and Scraps of Information, some original and some selected; and the most learned reader could scarcely take it up without gathering something new from its pages. It is a very good palanquin companion; and as such we strongly recommend it. Like all Mr. Pharoah's productions, it is extremely well got up.

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